

CRUSADERS AND CRUSADING IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY



Giles Constable



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

CRUSADERS AND CRUSADING IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

This page intentionally left blank

Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century

GILES CONSTABLE

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2008 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Giles Constable 2008

Giles Constable has asserted his moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Constable, Giles

Crusaders and crusading in the twelfth century: collected studies

1. Crusades

I. Title

940.1'82

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Constable, Giles.

Crusaders and crusading in the twelfth century / Giles Constable.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-7546-6523-6

1. Crusades. I. Title.

D157.C764 2008

909.07-dc22

2008023805

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-6523-6 (hbk)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
Introduction	1
1 The Historiography of the Crusades	3
2 The Cross of the Crusaders	45
3 Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades	93
4 The Financing of the Crusades	117
5 The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society	143
6 The Military Orders	165
7 Cluny and the First Crusade	183
8 Early Crusading in Eastern Germany: The Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8	197
9 The Three Lives of Odo Arpinus: Viscount of Bourges, Crusader, Monk of Cluny	215
10 The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries	229
11 Two Notes on the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147-8	301
12 The Crusading Project of 1150	311
13 The Fourth Crusade	321
<i>Appendix A: The Terminology of Crusading</i>	349
<i>Appendix B: The Numbering of the Crusades</i>	353
<i>General Index</i>	357
<i>Index of Biblical Citations</i>	373
<i>Index of Papal Documents listed in JL</i>	375

This page intentionally left blank

List of Figures

1.1	Thomas Fuller, <i>History of the Holy Warre</i> (London 1639), frontispiece	12
1.2	Illustration by Gustave Doré for J. F. Michaud, <i>Histoire des croisades</i> (Paris 1877)	15
2.1	Silos, Santo Domingo, cloister	58
2.2	Sculpture from Belval (Nancy, Musée municipal)	59
2.3	St Albans Psalter, p. 69 (see Otto Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, Francis Wormald, <i>The St. Albans Psalter</i> [Studies of the Warburg Institute 25; London 1960], 9, 73-9, 96, pl.38)	60
2.4	Autun Cathedral, tympanum	62
2.5	MS Vat. Lat. 2002, f.1 (Frederick Barbarossa as a crusader)	72
2.6	Ste Marie de la Règle (Limoges, Musée municipal de l'Evêché)	74
2.7	Window from St Denis (Bernard de Montfaucon, <i>Les monuments de la monarchie française</i> , I [Paris 1729], 390, pl. 1)	75
2.8	Stavelot Triptych (New York, J. P. Morgan Library)	76
2.9	MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl., 76 F5, f.1 (from St Bertin)	79
2.10	Cressac (Charente)	80
5.1	St Albans Psalter, p. 72 (see Pächt/Dodwell/Wormald, <i>St. Albans Psalter</i> , 147-52, 163, 164)	148
5.2	MS Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 168, f.4v	151

This page intentionally left blank

List of Abbreviations

<i>Abh.</i>	<i>Abhandlungen</i> (followed by name of town in which academy located)
<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , 3 ed., 60 vols (Paris-Rome-Brussels 1863-70)
<i>Anal. boll.</i>	<i>Analecta bollandiana</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
Bernard, ed. Leclercq	<i>Sancti Bernardi opera</i> , ed. Jean Leclercq, Charles H. Talbot, Henri-Marie Rochais, 9 vols (Rome 1957-77)
Bernard, ed. Mabillon	<i>Sancti Bernardi opera omnia</i> , ed. Jean Mabillon, 3 vols in 6 (Paris 1839)
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina</i> (Subsidia hagiographica 6; Brussels 1898-1901); <i>Novum supplementum</i> (Subsidia hagiographica 70; Brussels 1986)
<i>CC:CM</i>	<i>Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout 1966f)
<i>CC:SL</i>	<i>Corpus christianorum. Series latina</i> (Turnhout 1953f)
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicon, Chronica</i>
<i>Conc. oec. dec.</i>	<i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta</i> , ed. Giuseppe Alberigo a.o., 3 ed. (Bologna 1973)
<i>Corpus iuris canon.</i>	<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig 1879)
<i>CS</i>	Collected Studies
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> (Vienna 1866f)
Erdmann, <i>Idea of Crusade</i>	Carl Erdmann, <i>The Origin of the Idea of Crusade</i> , ed. and tr. Marshall Baldwin, Walter Goffart (Princeton 1977)
<i>España sagrada</i>	<i>España sagrada</i> , ed. Enrique Florez a.o., 51 vols (Madrid 1747-1886)
<i>F</i>	Folge
<i>GC</i>	<i>Gallia christiana</i> , 16 vols (Paris 1715-1865)
<i>IP</i>	<i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum. Italia pontificia</i> , ed. Paul F. Kehr, 10 vols (Berlin-Zurich 1906-75)

JL	Philipp Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum</i> , 2 ed. (under the direction of Wilhelm Wattenbach), Samuel Löwenfeld (JL: 882-1198), 2 vols (Leipzig 1885-8)
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, 31 vols (Florence-Venice 1759-98; repr. 1901-27)
Max. bibl.	<i>Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum</i> , ed. Marguerin de la Bigne, 27 vols (Lyons 1677)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
<i>Constitutiones</i>	<i>Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</i> (Hanover 1893f)
<i>Diplomata</i>	<i>Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae</i> (Hanover-Berlin-Weimar 1879f)
<i>Libelli</i>	<i>Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti</i> , 3 vols (Hanover 1891-7)
Schriften	Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica (Stuttgart 1938f)
SS	<i>Scriptores</i> in folio (Hanover 1826f)
SS r.g.	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> (Hanover-Berlin 1871f)
Nachr.	<i>Nachrichten</i> (cf. <i>Abh.</i>)
NF	Neue Folge
NR	Neue Reihe
NS	New Series
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts (cont. of [Nelson's] Mediaeval Classics)
PL	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris 1841-64)
PU	<i>Papsturkunden</i> volumes in <i>Nachr.</i> ... Göttingen
RHC, Hist. occ.	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux</i> , 5 vols (Paris 1844-95)
RHC, Hist. orient.	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux</i> , 5 vols (Paris 1872-98)
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , 24 vols (Paris 1738-1904)
RIS ²	<i>Rerum italicarum scriptores</i> , 2 ed. (Città di Castello 1900f)
RS	Rolls Series, 99 vols (=Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages; London 1858-96)
S	Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes (Paris 1941f)

Wisconsin *History*

A History of the Crusades, ed. Kenneth Setton a.o., 6
vols (1-2 2 ed.) (Madison-Milwaukee-London 1969-
89)

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

My interest in the history of the crusades goes back many years and has formed an important part of my broader research on the religious life and institutions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of the 15 chapters in this volume, including the two appendices, eight (Chapters 1, 3, 4, 7-10, 12) are revised reprints of previously published articles, four (Chapters 2, 13, and the two appendices) and the third part of Chapter 1 – over a quarter of the entire volume – are published here for the first time, two (Chapters 5 and 6) are rewritten versions of parts of a published article, and one (Chapter 11) combines two brief articles published at a distance of 50 years. Since each paper was written separately and designed to be read as a self-contained entity, there are inevitably some overlaps and repetitions, as of a passage from the Würzburg chronicle and a Fleury charter, which are relevant to more than one subject. The style has been made as consistent as possible, using the past rather than the present tense (in all except Chapter 10) and avoiding the first person plural and the term ‘recent’ (now often not so recent!). The use of capital letters has been reduced, especially for the church, the points of the compass, and the crusades, in order to avoid giving the impression that they were an institution at a time when they were still events. The same reason accounts for the title *Crusaders and Crusading* [rather than the Crusades] *in the Twelfth Century*.

In the original publications the style of the notes varied greatly, depending on the requirements of the publishers. They have been revised, mostly along the lines of the relatively spare style of *Traditio*, in which my first long article on the crusades was published, but anyone who has tried to impose consistency on articles written at different times will know the difficulty of the task, and some inconsistencies inevitably remain. Cross references are given for works cited within the same chapter (but *not* in the same note or in other chapters, nor for works listed in the Abbreviations), as are the titles of series and (when possible) the first names of authors. Over the years I have wasted a lot of time looking for references cited by abbreviated titles or by op. cit. and loc. cit. and for authors whose names are cited with initials or, sometimes in French, only with M (for Monsieur) or Abbé. Secondary references are in chronological order by date of original publication and without ‘and’ and periods (as in NS). Quotation marks are outside the final punctuation when the quotation is a full sentence, otherwise inside. In dates a slash (/) means ‘at some time between’ and a hyphen (-) means ‘from ... to’. A number of the remaining inconsistencies go back to the source, such as the accents on Liège/Liège and ‘pélerin’/‘pelerin’, and the umlaut in ‘Kreuzzüge’/‘Kreuzzuge’. The biography of St Bernard by Vacandard is cited in the first edition because later ‘editions’ are in fact abbreviated reprints, and the seminal work of Erdmann in the English translation owing to the additions made by the translators.

In view of the ever-growing number of works on the crusades published during the past 50 years, my greatest difficulty has been to revise the bibliographies without suggesting that the articles were written later than they were. I have inserted references to works which are relevant (and have come to my attention), but I have made no systematic effort, especially in the chapter on the second crusade, to bring the references fully up to date.

It is impossible to list here all the scholarly debts incurred over the years, but special thanks should be given of Robert Lee Wolff, in whose seminar on the crusades the paper on the second crusade originated. Mention should also be made of Virginia Berry, Herbert Bloch, Helen Cam, Michael Curschmann, John Davis, Philip Grierson, Alexander Kazhdan, Jean Leclercq, Jean-Loup Lemaître, Dietrich Lohrmann, and Robert Somerville. Others names are referred in the notes to the individual chapters, and there are many whose names are known (as is said in the medieval *Libri vitae*) to God. Among those are members of the successive medieval seminars at the Institute for Advanced Study, at which versions of these papers were presented from time to time. Finally, this volume is dedicated to the memory of my wife Evhy, who read and criticized many of the original contributions but did not live to see them published together.

Giles Constable
Princeton

Chapter 1

The Historiography of the Crusades

Periodizing the Historiography of the Crusades

The crusades have from their inception been seen from many different points of view. Every account and reference in the sources must therefore be interpreted in the light of where, when, by whom, and in whose interests it was written. Each participant made his – and in a few cases her – own crusade, and the leaders had their own interests, motives, and objectives, which often put them at odds with one another. They were all distrusted by the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenos, whose point of view is presented in the *Alexiad* written in the middle of the twelfth century by his daughter Anna Comnena. The Turkish sultan Kilij Arslan naturally saw things from another perspective, as did the indigenous Christian populations in the east, especially the Armenians, and the peoples of the Muslim principalities of the eastern Mediterranean. The rulers of Edessa, Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, and beyond them Cairo and Baghdad, each had their own attitudes towards the crusades, which are reflected in the sources. To these must be added the peoples through whose lands the crusaders passed on their way to the east, and in particular the Jews who suffered at the hands of the followers of Peter the Hermit.¹

The historiography of the crusades thus begins with the earliest accounts of their origins and history. Aside from some studies of individual sources, however, and a number of bibliographies and bibliographical articles,² it has

¹ *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, ed. and tr. Shlomo Eidelberg (Madison 1977). Among secondary works, see Dietrich Lohrmann, 'Albert von Aachen und die Judenpogrome des Jahres 1096', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 100 (1995-6), 129-51; Benjamin Kedar, 'The Forcible Baptisms of 1096: History and Historiography', *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Landesgeschichte zum 65. Geburtstag ... dargebracht Peter Herde*, ed. Karl Boschardt, Enno Bünz (Stuttgart 1998), 183-96; Robert Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2000); and the articles in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Vorträge und Forschungen 47; Sigmaringen 1999) and *Jews and Christians in Twelfth Century Europe* (Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 10; Notre Dame 2001).

² Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960); idem and Joyce McLellan, 'Select Bibliography of the Crusades', in *Wisconsin History*, VI, 511-664. Other general bibliographies are Louis de Germon, Louis Polain, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. le comte Riant. Deuxième partie* (Paris 1899); Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade: Historiography and Bibliography* (Bloomington-London 1962), which

received comparatively little attention from scholars. The only general works are a long and still useful appendix to the first (but not the second) edition of Heinrich von Sybel's *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, which appeared in 1841 and was translated into English in 1861, and the two volumes (in Russian) by M. A. Zaborov entitled *Introduction to the Historiography of the Crusades*, which deals with the medieval sources, and *Historiography of the Crusades (15th-19th century)*, which were published in 1966 and 1971 respectively.³ To these can be added a long article, partly historiographical and partly bibliographical, by Laetitia Boehm entitled '“Gesta Dei per Francos” - oder “Gesta Francorum”? Die Kreuzzüge als historiographisches Problem' and a chapter by Jonathan Riley-Smith on 'The crusading movement and historians' in the *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*.⁴ It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that there is no sustained treatment of historiography in the general histories of the crusades by Grousset,

has a section on historiography (17-28). Among the review articles, see Gustav Schnürer, 'Neuere Arbeiten zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 34 (1914), 848-55; Thomas S. R. Boase, 'Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography', *History* NS 22 (1937), 110-25; John LaMonte, 'Some Problems in Crusading Historiography', *Speculum* 15 (1940), 57-75; James A. Brundage, 'Recent Crusade Historiography: Some Observations and Suggestions', *Catholic Historical Review* 49 (1964), 493-507; Franco Cardini, 'Gli studi sulle crociate dal 1945 ad oggi', *Revista storica italiana* 80 (1968), 79-106; Hannes Möhring, 'Kreuzzug und Dschihad in der mediaevistischen und orientalistischen Forschung 1965-1985', *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 10/11 (1988), 361-86; Pierre-Vincent Clavierie, 'Des dernières tendances de l'historiographie de l'Orient latin (1995-1999)', *Le Moyen Age* 106 (2000), 577-94; Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, 'Las Conmemoraciones intelectuales de la primera cruzada, 1995-1999', *Medievalismo* 10 (2000), 175-205; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Islam and the Crusades in History and Imagination', 8 November 1898-11 September 2001', *Crusades* 2 (2003), 151-67; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow-London 2004), 1-22 ('Problems in crusading historiography'). Many of the articles in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi, József Laszlovsky (Budapest 2001) are concerned with crusading historiography. An interesting 'longitudinal' study of a particular episode, mentioning many of the authors discussed here, is Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades* 3 (2004), 15-75.

³ Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Düsseldorf 1841), 148-80, tr. Lady Duff Gordon, *The History and Literature of the Crusades* (London 1861), 311-56; Mikhail A. Zaborov, *Vredenye v istoriografiju Krestovykh pokhodov* (Moscow 1966); idem, *Istoriografija Krestovykh pokhodov (XV-XIX vv.)* (Moscow 1971).

⁴ Laetitia Boehm, '“Gesta Dei per Francos” - oder “Gesta Francorum”? Die Kreuzzüge als historiographisches Problem', *Saeculum* 8 (1957), 43-81; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Crusading Movement and Historians', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford 1995), 1-12. See also Laetitia Boehm, 'Die Kreuzzüge in bibliographischer und historiographischer Sicht', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 81 (1962), 223-37.

Runciman, and Mayer, nor in the six-volume cooperative *History of the Crusades* edited by Kenneth Setton.⁵

The historiography of the crusades as seen from the west, with which this chapter is concerned, can be divided into four periods, of which the first, and longest, went from 1095 until the end of the sixteenth century; the second covered the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the third went from the early nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth; and the fourth comes down to the present. There was some overlap between the periods, but broadly speaking, during the first, the Muslims were a continuing threat to western Europe and the defense of Christendom was seen as a pressing concern. In the second period, the crusades moved increasingly from the present time into the past, but a past that was colored by confessional or rationalist values, which changed in the third period, when the crusades were subjected to serious, though not always impartial, scholarly investigation. This third period breaks down into the nineteenth century, when the crusades were generally well regarded, and the twentieth century, when there was a rising tide of criticism. In the fourth period there has been a growing division between scholarly and popular views of the crusades.

Interest in the crusades today is deeply influenced by political and ideological interests, including the consequences of European colonialism, the tensions between western and non-western societies, especially in the Middle East, and, more broadly, the legitimacy of using force to promote even worthy and legitimate causes.⁶ These concerns contributed to the change from the comparatively favorable attitude towards the crusades that prevailed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into a more critical, and even hostile, view. Steven Runciman in his influential *History of the Crusades* concluded that 'The Holy War itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost.'⁷ Geoffrey Barraclough echoed this view in 1970:

We no longer regard the crusades ... as a great movement in defense of Western Christendom, but rather as the manifestation of a new, driving, aggressive spirit which now became the mark of Western civilization. We no longer regard the

⁵ There is likewise no section on crusading historiography in James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (New York 1942).

⁶ Paul Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La croisade* (Lausanne 1983), 206-8; Karen Armstrong, *Holy War* (London 1988), xiii-xiv; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'History, the Crusades and the Latin East 1095-1204: A Personal View', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (The Medieval Mediterranean 1; Leiden-New York-Cologne 1993), 7-8; idem, 'Revival and Survival', in *Oxford History* (n. 4), 386.

⁷ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1952-4), III, 480. In his essay 'Byzantium and the Crusades' (1985), repr. in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas Madden (Oxford 2002), Runciman referred to 'that great barbarian invasion which we call the Crusades'.

Latin states of Asia Minor as outposts of civilization in a world of unbelievers, but rather as radically unstable centers of colonial exploitation.

He attributed this change in 'our verdict on the Crusades' to 'our experience of total war and the hazards of living in a thermonuclear age. War is always evil, if sometimes an inescapable evil; Holy War is the evil of evils'.⁸ And John Ward described the crusades as 'a movement of violent white supremacist colonialism'.⁹

This view is now common in works addressed to the general public, including popular presentations and movies. A leaflet distributed in Clermont during the conference held in 1995 to commemorate the summons to the first crusade was headed 'The Crusades – did God will it?', echoing the crusading cry of 'Deus le volt'. It went on to ask 'Can the Church memorialize the crusades without asking forgiveness?' and called on the pope to deny that any war can be holy and that sins can be forgiven by killing pagans. According to this view, the crusaders were inspired by greed and religious fanaticism and the Muslims were the innocent victims of expansionist aggression. Many scholars today, however, reject this hostile judgment and emphasize the defensive character of the crusades as they were seen by contemporaries, who believed that Christianity was endangered by enemies who had already overrun much of the traditional Christian world, including Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and who threatened to take over the remainder.

Almost all the historians and chroniclers of the expeditions that were later called the first crusade considered them a response to the Muslim threats to Christian holy places and peoples in the east.¹⁰ They wrote from several points of view, however, used varying terminology and cited different biblical passages.¹¹ Guibert of Nogent stressed the apocalyptic and millenarian aspects, and Ekkehard of Aura

⁸ Geoffrey Barraclough, 'Deus le volt?', *New York Review of Books*, 21 May 1970, 16.

⁹ John Ward, 'The First Crusade as Disaster: Apocalypticism and the Genesis of the Crusading Movement', in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman* (Bar-Ilan Studies in History 4; Ramat-Gan 1995), 255. Cf. on the current unfavorable view of the crusades Michel Balard, *Les Croisades* (Paris 1988), 9; Riley-Smith, 'History' (n. 6), 1-2; the review of Terry Jones, Alan Ereira, *Crusades*, by Michael Evans, David Green, J. M. B. Porter in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995), 201.

¹⁰ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 8, 349; Etienne Delaruelle, *Idée de croisade au Moyen Age* (Turin 1980), 23; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London-Basingstoke 1977), 22-33, who stressed the recurrence of 'the ideas of liberation (another word for recovery) and defense' (23) and said that 'A crusade, whenever and against whomever it was aimed, was regarded as being essentially defensive' (29). See also Jean Flori, 'Guerre sainte et retributions spirituelles dans la 2e moitié du XIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 85 (1990), 627-8, on the concept of the legitimacy of recovering wrongly taken lands.

¹¹ Paul Alphandéry, 'Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 90 (1929), 139-57.

the supernatural and physical phenomena that preceded and accompanied the crusade. Many writers had their own heroes. The roles of Godfrey of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit were central for Albert of Aachen; Bohemund of Taranto in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*; his nephew Tancred for Ralph of Caen; Raymond of St Gilles for Raymond of Aguilers; Baldwin of Boulogne for Fulcher of Chartres; and Godfrey of Bouillon again in the crusader epics, which dominated the popular perception of the crusades down to the nineteenth century. Odo of Deuil in his history of the second crusade concentrated on the activities of Louis VII of France, and the accounts of the third crusade in the *Estoire de la guerre sainte* of Ambroise and the *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* glorified the role of Richard I of England. The greatest of all crusader historians, William of Tyre, wrote his *Chronicon* from the point of view of a Latin Christian born and living in the east in order, he said, to record 'for the everlasting memory of the faithful of Christ' the way in which God 'wanted to relieve the long-lasting oppression of His people'.¹²

Innocent III in his crusading bull *Quia maior* of 1213 asked how anyone could

know that his brothers, Christian in faith and name, are held in dire imprisonment among the perfidious Saracens and most profoundly subjected by the yoke of servitude, and not take effective action for their liberation ... And indeed the Christian peoples held almost all the provinces of the Saracens until the times of the blessed Gregory.¹³

Even more strikingly the fourteenth-century Castilian magnate don Juan Manuel wrote in his *Libro de los estados* that the Muslims had conquered and held many lands that had belonged to Christians

who had been converted to the faith of Jesus Christ by the apostles. And on this account there is war between the Christians and the Muslims, and will be war

¹² William of Tyre, I, 10, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 124. See Peter Edbury, John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4S 8; Cambridge 1988), 41. Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (n. 3), 148-63, tr. 311-31, classified the sources for the first crusade (149, tr. 312) as sources (*Quellen*), legends (*Sage*), and William of Tyre, whose unique importance as both a primary source and a secondary writer entitle him to a special place.

¹³ Georgine Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.* (Weimar 1929), 90, tr. Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: The Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (Documents of Medieval History 4; London 1981), 120. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 177-92, citing this bull (191). Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 105, referred to Innocent's 'juridical concept of the crusade as military service for Christ'. Reinhold Röhricht, *Kleine Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Humboldts-Gymnasium zu Berlin 58; Berlin 1890), 9-11, analyzed the motives for the crusades given in papal bulls, including their necessity.

until the Christians have recovered the lands that the Muslims seized from them, since there would be no war between them with regard to the law nor the religion (*secta*) that they hold.¹⁴

While the accuracy and realism of these views can be questioned, they reflect the attitude of most Christians in the middle ages and throughout the first period of crusading historiography. The importance of irredentism in motivating the crusades has been emphasized by many scholars, including Islamists like Norman Daniel, who said that ‘every Christian reference to lands that had once been Christian, and particularly to the Holy Land, must be understood to have been made on the assumption that these were lost provinces belonging by right to the Latin Church.’¹⁵

The process of what has been called the affabulation of the first crusade, by which it became a ‘work of collective imagination’ rather than historical reality,¹⁶ can be seen already in the earliest accounts, which reflected the view of the crusade as it developed, and perhaps as it should have been, rather than as it actually was. They were influenced in particular by the capture of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Latin kingdom and crusader states, which were marks respectively of the success and the permanence of the undertaking.¹⁷ This can be seen in the use made of the *Gesta Francorum* by Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgeuil, and Robert of Rheims, and of Fulcher of Chartres by William of

¹⁴ Don Juan Manuel, *Libro de los estados*, ed. Robert B. Tate, Ian R. MacPherson (Oxford 1974), 53; see xl, dating it 1328 with subsequent revision. On the Spanish crusades see n. 92 below.

¹⁵ Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Edinburgh 1960), 109, who went on to say that ‘This was more than a general way of thinking. It had juridical and liturgical expression.’ See also Claude Cahen, ‘L’Islam et la Croisade’, in *Comitato internazionale di scienze storiche. X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma 4-11 settembre 1955. Relazioni*, III: *Storia del Medioevo* (Rome 1955), 629.

¹⁶ See, on affabulation, Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l’idée de croisade*, ed. Alphonse Dupront, 2 vols (Evolution de l’humanité 38, 38 bis; Paris 1954-9; repr. 1995), I, 154. An interesting account of Alphandéry and Dupront’s edition of his work is found in Michel Balard’s postscript to the reprint (Paris 1995), 565-93. Balard praised the work especially for its concern with the interior history of the crusade and with the history of collective mentality and psychology (575) but said that since the 1980s it has been more cited than used, especially by English-speaking scholars. Dupront published his thesis, presented at the Sorbonne in 1956, under the title *Le mythe de croisade*, 4 vols paginated consecutively (Paris 1997).

¹⁷ Ernest O. Blake, ‘The Formation of the “Crusade Idea”’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 11-31, stressed that the actual course of events contributed to ‘a developing sense of pattern’ (21); Jean Flori, ‘Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L’exemple de la première croisade’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), 121-39, argued against the view that the idea of martyrdom evolved in the course of the crusade.

Malmesbury, and also in Albert of Aachen's *Book on the Christian expedition for the capture, cleansing, and restitution of holy church of Jerusalem*, which was written about 1130 and was long considered the most reliable account of the crusade but which depends heavily on legendary material, especially concerning Peter the Hermit. Caffaro di Caschifellone, writing in the mid 1150s, in addition to stressing the Genoese contribution to the first crusade, saw its origins in a visit to Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, who on his return went with Raymond of St Gilles and 11 other knights (to one of whom the archangel Gabriel appeared) in order to plan the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims.¹⁸

The history of the crusades thus became part of the ongoing propaganda, both official and popular, for the crusading movement,¹⁹ and it is often impossible to distinguish clearly between what would today be called primary sources and secondary accounts, because the historical and contemporary concerns of the writers overlapped. 'By the 1140s', according to Riley-Smith, 'the crusading experiences of previous generations, and pride in them, had been locked deeply in the collective memory of some cousinhoods.'²⁰ Pope Eugene III said at the beginning of *Quantum predecessores*, which opened the second crusade, that 'We learn from the account of former men and we find written in their deeds how greatly our predecessors the Roman pontiffs labored for the freedom of the eastern church,' and he went on to say that Urban II, thundering 'like a sacred trumpet', had summoned 'the sons of the Roman church' from various parts of the world to free Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher 'from the filth of the pagans'.²¹

The view of the crusades found in accounts written later in the middle ages depends to a great extent on the sources used, but they were always presented as a response to the external attacks of the Muslims and pagans or to the internal threats of heretics and schismatics. The Turkish victories in the fifteenth century stimulated a new interest in the crusades in writers who were ostensibly dealing with the past but were really concerned with the present.²² Philip the Good of

¹⁸ Caffaro di Caschifellone, *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. Luigi Belgrano a.o., 5 vols (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 11-14 bis; Rome 1890-1929), I, 97-124.

¹⁹ James M. Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140-ca. 1300', in *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris 1997), 127-41. See also David A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Geneva 1988), 28-9; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 102, on the memory of the first crusade in the 1140s.

²⁰ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 19), 102.

²¹ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, I, 35, ed. Georg Waitz, 3 ed. (MGH, SS r.g.; Hanover-Leipzig 1912), 55 (JL 8796).

²² Ludwig Schmugge, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht der humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber* (Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel 21;

Burgundy's devotion to the Holy Land was inspired by political ambition as well as personal piety, and his image of himself as the successor of Godfrey of Bouillon was fostered by his reading of the vernacular epics of the crusades.²³ Eneas Sylvius, the future pope Pius II, abbreviated the sections on the crusades in Flavio Biondo's *Decades* and referred to the crusaders as 'our Christians', and Benedetto Accolti's *History of Godfrey or Four books about the war waged by the Christians against the barbarians for the recovery of the sepulcher of Christ and Judea*, which appeared in 1464, was designed to promote a new crusade against the Turks, who had recently taken Constantinople. It was included, presumably for this reason, among the primary sources published in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*.²⁴ Accolti and other humanist historians hoped to find in the accounts of previous crusades, particularly the first, both guidance and inspiration for the contemporary campaigns against the Turks. Even the Jewish chronicler Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, writing in the first half of the fifteenth century, wanted 'the children of Israel to know what they [the Christians] have done unto us' and saw the Muslims as the instruments of divine vengeance on the Christians.²⁵

In the sixteenth century the crusades tended to move into the past and to be treated as part of national history, but crusading ideology was kept alive not only by the advances of the Turks but also by the wars of religion. Etienne le Blanc wrote an essay in 1522 to show that Louis IX 'had not destroyed the Kingdom [of France] for his holy voyage overseas', and towards the end of the century François de la Noue and René de Lucinge made use of crusading rhetoric in their polemics against the Turks.²⁶ Both Catholics and Protestants saw themselves as soldiers of Christ fighting a holy war in defense of Christianity against the

Basel-Frankfort 1987); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford 1992), 84, 99-100 ('From 1453 ... the crusade became a simple matter of self-interest'), 385, 388, 420 ('The fact that the golden age of crusading was, by about 1450, beginning to be viewed in historical perspective, did not mean that the crusade itself had become history.')

²³ Jacques Paviot, 'La dévotion vis-à-vis de la Terre Sainte au XVe siècle. L'exemple de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1396-1467)', in *Autour de la Première Croisade* (n. 19), 401-11.

²⁴ *RHC, Hist.occ.*, V, 525-620. See Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (n. 3), 329-30; Robert Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge 1985), 224-85, esp. 230, 237; Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge* (n. 22), 12-13.

²⁵ *The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, the Sphardi*, I, tr. Christoph H. F. Bialloblotsky (Oriental Translation Fund; London 1835), 325, no. 436.

²⁶ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'A Sixteenth-Century Defense of Saint Louis' Crusades: Etienne le Blanc and the Legacy of Louis IX', in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, Sylvia Schein (New York etc. 1995), 21-48; Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rhetoric against the Turks* (Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 209; Geneva 1986).

forces of evil.²⁷ Pope Gregory XIII in 1580 offered the same indulgence given to crusaders to the Holy Land to the Irish who joined the expedition against queen Elizabeth.²⁸ Echoes of crusading ideology continued in the seventeenth century, as in the Civil War in England, and down into modern times, when any ideological enterprise – for both good and evil causes – can be called a crusade. The bishop of Segovia called for a national crusade against the United States during the Spanish-American War. Lloyd George's *The Great Crusade*, Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe*, and G. W. Bush's call for a crusade in the Middle East likewise reflect the application of the concept of crusade to current circumstances. Reality changed after the battle of Lepanto in 1571, however, and the huge success of the fictional account of the first crusade in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, which was published in 1581, shows how far history had moved from the realm of fact into that of fantasy, where it remained, in popular mentality, until well into the nineteenth century.²⁹

The second period of crusading historiography was meanwhile ushered in by the appearance in 1611 of the important collection of primary sources on the crusades edited by Jacques Bongars under the title *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia* and in 1639 of Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy War*, which has been called, in spite of its prejudices, the first serious general history of the crusades to treat them as fully in the past and to raise the question of their legitimacy.³⁰ It has a remarkable frontispiece showing various groups of crusaders setting out from Europe and returning from Jerusalem ravaged by the attacks of the angel (owing to their perfidy and falsehood), the Turks, and death (figure 1.1), and an equally remarkable introductory poem, signed only with the initials 'J. C.', explaining the frontispiece and concluding that:

Those that escap'd, came home as full of grief
As the poore Purse is empty of relief.

²⁷ Andreas Wang, *Der 'Miles Christianus' im 16. and 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition* (Mikrocosmos I; Frankfurt/M. 1975); Paul Rousset, 'L'idéologie de croisade dans les guerres de religion au XVI^e siècle', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 31 (1981), 174-84. Many of the same biblical texts cited by the historians of the crusades were used in the sixteenth century. Viktor Joseph Gellhaus, *Französische Kreuzzugsideen und Weltfriedensbewegung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Diss. Munich 1934) deals mostly with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

²⁸ Hippolyte Pissard, *La guerre sainte en pays chrétien* (Paris 1912), 173-4.

²⁹ Schmutge, *Kreuzzüge* (n. 22), 46 n.142; Elizabeth Siberry, 'Tasso and the Crusades: History of a Legacy', *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 163-9.

³⁰ John Eglington Bailey, *The Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D.* (London-Manchester 1874), 173-81; Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (n. 3), 163, tr. 332; Boehm, 'Gesta' (n. 4), 63-4.



Figure 1.1 Thomas Fuller, *History of the Holy Warre* (London 1639), frontispiece showing the trials of the crusaders on their way to and from Jerusalem.

Fuller was a Protestant minister and wrote from a strongly anti-Catholic point of view. The opposite is true of Louis Maimbourg, whose pro-Catholic *Histoire des croisades* came out in 1675, with a dedication to Louis XIV, and was frequently reprinted and translated into several languages. It is marked, according to Von Sybel, by the author's self-confidence, religiosity, and 'a trace of modern good sense', but his hesitation between enthusiasm and skepticism was replaced in the eighteenth century by 'a strong, relentless opposition'.³¹

For the rationalist writers of all denominations in the age of Enlightenment, the crusades were inspired by religious zeal, worldly motives, and ecclesiastical interference in secular affairs. Voltaire in his book on the crusades, which came out in 1751 and was incorporated (with some changes) into his *Essai sur les mœurs*, called the crusaders adventurers and brigands who were moved by 'the thirst for brigandage',³² and for Gibbon their principle was 'a savage fanaticism', though he expressed some grudging admiration for their spirit and achievements.³³ 'The historical writing of the Enlightenment', said Boehm, 'cultivated with regard to the crusades a one-sidedness of treatment from which the nineteenth century only slowly freed itself',³⁴ and which persisted longer in the United States than in Europe.³⁵

In the early nineteenth century the tide of opinion had turned in Europe, ushering in the third period of crusading historiography. A sympathetic attitude towards the middle ages, including the crusades, emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries under the influence of romanticism and nationalism and can be seen in the favorable depictions of the crusaders in literature, art, and music, especially the novels of Sir Walter Scott, several of which dealt with the crusades.³⁶ They were 'a holy war, purifying the Holy Land' for Thomas Rowley and a response to 'the call of piety and honour' for

³¹ Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (n. 3), 163-4, tr. 332-3; Gellhaus, *Kreuzzugsideen* (n. 27), 86-7; Boehm, 'Gesta' (n. 4), 64-6.

³² Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 54, in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, ed. Louis Moland (Paris 1877-85), XI, 442. J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire Historian* (Oxford 1958), 68, said that Voltaire was 'delighted to be able to show that the crusades were not the result of lofty religious motives, but of a desire for plunder'. See Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (n. 3), 164-5, tr. 334; Gellhaus, *Kreuzzugsideen* (n. 27), 90-2; the intro. by Henri Berr to *Alphandéry, Chrétienté* (n. 16), I, viii-ix.

³³ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 61, ed. David Womersley, 3 vols (London 1994), III, 727; see also ch. 58 (ibid. 563 n.19), where he said that some critics called Bongars's collection *Gesta diavoli per Francos*, and the editor's intro. in I, cxix-c. See Gellhaus, *Kreuzzugsideen* (n. 27), 95-7.

³⁴ Boehm, 'Gesta' (n. 4), 70. Cf. Zaborov, *Istoriografija* (n. 3), 76-144, on the Enlightenment treatment of the crusades.

³⁵ On Emerson, see pp. 32-3 below.

³⁶ Janine Dakyns, *The Middle Ages in French Literature, 1851-1900* (Oxford 1973), 1-28; Elizabeth Siberry, 'Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *Oxford History* (n. 4), 365-85; idem, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Aldershot-Brookfield, Vt. 2000).

Kenelm Digby, who converted to Catholicism in 1825 and whose *Broad Stone of Honour*, published in 1822, was widely read in the nineteenth century.³⁷ The enthusiasm for medieval literature in France at this time has been called ‘a mythological revolution’, and the theme of the crusaders’ return frequently appeared in both literature and art.³⁸

In historical writing this shift was marked by the appearance of two important multi-volume histories of the crusades, one in Germany and the other in France. The first, by Friedrich Wilken, was published between 1807 and 1832 and is still of scholarly value; the second, by J. F. Michaud, appeared between 1812 and 1822 and was often reprinted, including an edition published in Paris in 1877 with a series of illustrations by Gustave Doré that mark a high point in the religious and nationalistic enthusiasm for the crusades in France (figure 1.2).³⁹ Some of this work corresponded to the emergence of modern historical consciousness and to national schools of crusading studies which stressed the contribution of different modern nations to the crusading movement. The decision of king Louis Philippe to include the family names of French participants in the crusades in the *Salle des Croisades* at Versailles produced a flood of forged crusading charters, which still occasionally mislead historians.⁴⁰ A more serious scholarly note was struck by the three volumes of *pièces justificatives* that accompanied Michaud’s history and even more by his four volumes of translated sources, including one of Arabic sources. The *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, which includes editions of primary sources in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Armenian, and Old French and is still a standard work of reference, was officially launched by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres in 1824.⁴¹ In the late 1830s Leopold von Ranke gave ‘the first impulse’ to a critical examination of the sources for the crusades in his seminar at the University of Berlin, and his student Von Sybel put the study of the first crusade on a new scholarly basis in his *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, which included, as mentioned above, the first considerable study of the historiography of the crusades.⁴²

³⁷ Kevin Morris, *The Image of the Middle Ages in Romantic and Victorian Literature* (London 1984), 46, 105.

³⁸ Dakyns, *Middle Ages* (n. 36), 4, 17, 254-6.

³⁹ See Boehm, ‘Gesta’ (n. 4), 73-4 on these works; Von Sybel, *Geschichte* (n. 3), 167-72, tr. 339-43 (on Wilken), 173-8, tr. 345-53 (on Michaud); Zaborov, *Istoriografija* (n. 3), 179-211.

⁴⁰ See chapter 4.

⁴¹ According to Henri Dehérain, ‘Les origines du recueil des “Historiens des croisades”’, *Journal des savants* NS 17 (1919), 260-6, the first initiatives went back to the end of the eighteenth century.

⁴² Von Sybel, *History* (n. 3), iii. See Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte, Abt. I; Munich-Berlin 1936), 535-6; George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, new ed. (Boston 1959), 120-1; Zaborov, *Istoriografija* (n. 3), 212-27.



Figure 1.2 Illustration of the battle of Nicaea by Gustave Doré for J. F. Michaud, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris 1877)

The years from 1860 to the First World War have been described as ‘the golden age of crusading scholarship’.⁴³ Crusading studies continued to flourish in Germany and France, but important contributions were also made by scholars in England, Italy, and, somewhat later, the United States. The first task of these scholars was

⁴³ Riley-Smith, ‘History’ (n. 6), 1

to prepare critical editions of the sources, assess their value, and establish the facts of the history of the crusades. This prepared the way for the appearance in the first half of the twentieth century of some new general histories, addressed to the public as well as to scholars. Among the most influential of these were the two works, both in three volumes, of René Grousset, published in 1934-6, and Steven Runciman, whose *History of the Crusades* was completed in 1954. These are basically narrative accounts, but Grousset as an orientalist and Runciman as a Byzantinist both saw the crusades in terms of east-west relations, between either the Christians and Muslims or the Latins and Greeks.⁴⁴ Claude Cahen looked at the Latin East from the point of view of an Islamist in his *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades*.

Meanwhile, a group of American scholars based at the University of Pennsylvania and later at Wisconsin undertook a major collaborative history of the crusades, which was published in six volumes between 1955 and 1989. It is interesting to compare its coverage with that in the shorter, but also collaborative, *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, which was published in 1995. The Wisconsin *History of the Crusades*, as it is called, deals in considerable detail with the factual history of each crusade, down to the fifteenth century, and has a volume each on art and architecture and the impact of the crusades respectively in the east and in the west. The sixth volume was intended to include an atlas and gazetteer, but it turned out to be something of a catch-all and includes, in addition to other material, a chapter on crusader coins and a long bibliography. The extensive treatment given in this work to the late-medieval crusades, to art and architecture, and to the impact of the crusades in the east reflected the development of crusading studies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁴⁵ The Oxford history, though much shorter, devotes yet more space to crusading in the late middle ages. It goes down to the nineteenth century and includes chapters on crusader songs, images of the crusades, the state of mind of the crusaders, the military orders (to which the Wisconsin *History* gave comparatively little attention, aside from a chapter on the Teutonic knights), and above all the ideology and spirituality of the crusades, which has been a subject of major interest to crusader historians in recent years. These two works show both differences between individual scholars and some of the differences and parallels in the development of crusading studies on both sides of the Atlantic during the past half century.

⁴⁴ On Grousset and his 'colonialist' point of view, see especially Boase, 'Recent Developments' (n. 2), 116-22; Henri Berr in his intro. to Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16), I, ix; Cardini, 'Studi' (n. 2), 82-3; Hans E. Mayer, 'America and the Crusades', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125 (1981), 41 (esp. n. 18).

⁴⁵ See Mayer, 'America' (n. 44), 42-3; Donald Queller, 'Review Article: On the Completion of *A History of the Crusades*', *International History Review* 13 (1991), 314-30, who discussed a number of other recent works on the crusades.

Recent Trends in Crusading Historiography

The direction of crusading studies in the second half of the twentieth century was changed in particular by three works published between 1935 and 1959. The first was *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* by Carl Erdmann,⁴⁶ who had been trained as a theologian, studied under Paul Joachimsen at Munich, and worked on the *Papsturkunden* series and at the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. He therefore combined the tradition of German intellectual history or *Geistesgeschichte*, which emphasized the ideas underlying the observable events of history, with a rigorous training in source-criticism. He was not alone in his interest and approach. Etienne Delaruelle and Paul Alphandéry in particular wrote along parallel lines at almost the same time as Erdmann, though their works appeared later. The series of articles by Delaruelle published between 1941 and 1954 under the title 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de croisade', and republished together in 1980, originated in a thesis presented at the Institut Catholique in Paris in 1935, the same year Erdmann's book appeared. For Delaruelle the history of the crusade was 'that of a religious *revival* that gradually organized into a canonical institution'.⁴⁷ Alphandéry's two posthumous volumes on *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, published in 1954 and 1959, were based on the lectures he gave at the Ecole des hautes études before his death in 1932.⁴⁸ As an historian of religion, Alphandéry was interested in the spontaneous and charismatic aspects of the crusades, of which he found the essence in the expedition led by Peter the Hermit and in the so-called 'popular' crusades, to which previous scholars had devoted comparatively little attention.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*. Erdmann concentrated on the origin of the idea of crusade, not its later history, which had already been studied by, among others, Otto Volk, *Die abendländisch-hierarchische Kreuzzugs-idee* (Diss. Halle-Wittenberg 1911), who covered the popes from Leo IX to Gregory IX (omitting, somewhat oddly, Urban II). Erdmann broke, according to Jean Richard in his intro. to Delaruelle, *Idée* (n. 10), vii, with the thesis that 'the crusade was explained above all by its end: the Holy Land.' Barraclough, 'Deus le volt?' (n. 8), 14 n.3, called Erdmann's book 'by far the most important contribution to crusading history in the last generation'. For some reservations see John Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083-1141', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 37-45; Marcus Bull, 'The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade', *History* 78 (1993), 355-9.

⁴⁷ Etienne Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de Croisade', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 42 (1941), 24-45, 86-103; 45 (1944), 13-46, 73-90; 54 (1953), 226-39; 55 (1954), 50-63; reprinted in idem, *Idée* (n. 10), 2-127 (quote on 60).

⁴⁸ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16).

⁴⁹ Laurent Morelle, 'Le prophétisme médiéval latin dans l'oeuvre et l'enseignement de Paul Alphandéry. A propos d'archives récemment mises au jour', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Moyen Age* 102 (1990), 513-32.

These works concentrated the attention of scholars, among other things, on the idea and definition of the crusades. In the middle ages there was no clear ideology of crusading, which lay to a great extent beneath the surface of the events. There was not even a single generally accepted term for a crusade.⁵⁰ At their origins, crusades were usually referred to by terms, both in Latin and the vernacular, indicating movement or travel, such as *peregrinatio*, *iter*, *via*, *expeditio*, and later *passagium*, and the corresponding verbs, often combined with a reference to Jerusalem, the Holy Land, the Holy Sepulcher, or the cross. They frequently expressed a religious engagement or desire (*negotium*, *bellum*, *causa*, *opus*, *voluntas*, or later simply *crux*), and referred to its sacred character or to God, Christ, or Jerusalem. Although the early crusaders were sometimes referred to as signed with or bearers of the cross,⁵¹ the cross did not become the mark of crusading, as distinct from pilgrimage, until the end of the twelfth century. The earliest known use of *crozada* is in Spain and south-western France in the early thirteenth century,⁵² but it remained rare, as did the equivalent in French, English, and German.⁵³ In the early sources the participants in the crusades were normally called pilgrims or Christians or, depending on the writer, penitents, athletes of God, *milites Dei* or *Christi*, *pauperes*, or *Hierosolymitani*, and later friends, followers, and servants of God and Christ, *cruciferi* and *crucesignati*, though some of these terms also applied to pilgrims. In Old French sources the crusaders were *pèlerins*, *croisés*, or Franks. Collectively they were the *populus*, *plebs*, *gens*, *militia*, *agmen*, or *exercitus Dei*, and their enemies were *infideles*, *barbari*, and *pagani*.

Nothing in this terminology clearly distinguished the crusades from pilgrimages, and it offers little or no guidance to scholars seeking to define a crusade. Those who want a strict definition mostly agree on the importance of taking the cross, making a vow, and receiving a papal grant of spiritual and worldly privileges, though whether the promise of forgiveness from sins applied to eternal as well as temporal punishments is uncertain. They disagree, however, on the centrality of the objective of a crusade. The so-called traditionalists hold that a true crusade must be directed towards the east, either to assist the Christians there or to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher.⁵⁴ For the so-called pluralists, revisionists, or expansionists, on the other hand, the defining feature of a crusade, whatever its objective, was papal authorization. The traditionalists ask where a crusade was

⁵⁰ See Appendix A, and relevant sections of other articles in this volume.

⁵¹ Michael Markowski, 'Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), 158; Christopher Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 575.

⁵² See Appendix A, n. 4.

⁵³ Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2 ed., tr. John Gillingham (Oxford 1988), 14.

⁵⁴ For Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, xxi, 'Jerusalem was the immediate goal of the campaign (*Marschziel*), but liberation of Eastern Christianity from the infidel remained the fundamental aim of the war (*Kampf- or Kriegsziel*),' cf. xxviii and 348, saying that pilgrimage was 'a late addition'.

going and therefore hold that the crusades basically ended with the fall of the crusader states in the east. The pluralists, however, ask how a crusade was initiated and organized and thus extend the history of the crusades, not only geographically but also chronologically, down to modern times.⁵⁵

Both approaches present problems. The traditionalists reject, and even regard as a corruption of legitimate crusading, any crusade not directed towards the east, including those in Spain and northern Europe, and those against heretics, schismatics, and other enemies of the church, even when they were called by the papacy and rewarded by spiritual privileges. These present no difficulty for the pluralists, who find it hard to fit into their definition the 'popular' crusades, which were neither authorized nor supported by the papacy but which for some scholars embody the essence of crusading.⁵⁶ Both groups are uncertain what to do with the so-called pre- or proto-crusades, which were neither directed towards the east nor summoned by the pope. I have myself been counted among the pluralists owing to my article showing that contemporaries regarded the expeditions against the Wends and against the Muslims on the Iberian peninsula as part of the second crusade,⁵⁷ but I am reluctant to exclude the 'popular' crusades or to deny that at least a spiritual orientation towards Jerusalem was an essential aspect of crusading.

Von Ranke was the first, so far as I know, to distinguish between what he called the hierarchical or official and the popular impulse (*Moment*) of crusading. Erdmann also stressed 'the fundamental distinction between the hierarchical and popular ideas of crusade', where his use of the term *Ideen* rather than von Ranke's *Moment* reflected his interest in ideology.⁵⁸ The traditionalists and pluralists both tend to look at the external, official aspects of crusading, but another group of scholars,

⁵⁵ On the distinction between the traditionalists and the pluralists see Jonathan Riley-Smith, in *Oxford History* (n. 4), 8-10; Housley, *Later Crusades* (n. 22), 2-3; Jean Flori, 'Pour une redéfinition de la croisade', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 47 (2004), 329-49, esp. 331-41. Among modern scholars the leading traditionalist is Hans Eberhard Mayer and the leading pluralist is Jonathan Riley-Smith, whose *Atlas of the Crusades* (New York-Oxford 1991) reflected this approach in its breadth of coverage. An attempt to bridge the gap was made by Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris 1996), on which see Riley-Smith in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 May 1997, 28, saying that Richard 'does not quarrel with the pluralist definition' but sees 'the earlier enterprises' as 'Crusades *par excellence*'. Flori, 'Pour une redéfinition', 349, concluded that 'Le croisade était une guerre sainte ayant pour l'objectif la récupération des lieux saints de Jérusalem par les chrétiens.'

⁵⁶ Peter Raedts, 'The Children's Crusade of 1212', *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 300: 'Any definition of the crusade is unsatisfactory if it does not include the hordes who streamed toward Jerusalem in the wake of Peter the Hermit, Emicho of Leiningen and so many others.' See Franco Cardini, 'Per una ricerca sulle crociate popolari', *Quaderni medievali* 30 (1990), 156-67; Pierre Toubert, 'La croisade des enfants (1212)', *Mercoledì delle accademie napoletane nell'anno accademico 2002-2003*, 79-103.

⁵⁷ See chapter 10 and on the 'crusades' in Spain n. 92 below.

⁵⁸ Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, VIII: *Kreuzzüge und päpstliche Weltherrschaft (XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert)* (Leipzig 1898), 71, 80. Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 269, 355

who can be called internalists or popularists, adhere to a spiritual or psychological definition that emphasizes the inner spirit and motives of the crusaders and their leaders. Alphandéry said that 'Throughout the west the crusade was a project swept along by eschatological forces, the idea of the proximate coming of AntiChrist, the conquest of the last days, the belief in the dwelling-place of the saints in Jerusalem.'⁵⁹ The crusade has been described as 'a military monastery on the move, constantly at prayer', and as a permanent miracle that 'originally appeared as a moment of collective exaltation, like a "prophetic" deed by which a man of God announces to an entire people that an hour has come, like the meeting with the Savior ... a privileged moment without a tomorrow'.⁶⁰ These and other writers emphasize the apocalyptic, millenarian, and eschatological aspects of the crusades and see them as a religious groundswell of the socio-religious elect, the *pauperes*, *humiles*, and others who made themselves children for the sake of God.⁶¹ According to Andrew Jotischky, 'This approach, which has been marginalized in recent years, may enjoy a revival as new understanding of the lay impulses behind the reform movement ... are absorbed by crusader historians.'⁶²

n.2, intro. xxxv. Cf. Cardini, 'Per una ricerca' (n. 56), who used the terms 'religious-social' and 'religious-popular' as well as popular.

⁵⁹ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16), I, 97, 177, 194. Dupront described the crusade in *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Paris 1987), 290, as 'a march to the meeting with the Second Coming at the end of time' (with references to Alphandéry) and in *Mythe de Croisade* (n. 16) as 'the army of God on march'.

⁶⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London-Philadelphia 1986), 84, cf. 150; Delaruelle, *Idée* (n. 10), 246. See also Bernard McGinn, 'Violence and Spirituality: The Enigma of the First Crusade', *Journal of Religion* 69 (1988), 377.

⁶¹ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16), II, 36-40, 67, 127-47; Delaruelle, *Idée* (n. 10), 122; Paul Rousset, 'L'idée de croisade chez les chroniqueurs d'Occident', in *Congresso* (n. 15), 560-1; Michel Mollat, *Les pauvres au Moyen Age* (Paris 1978), 95, who saw the crusade as 'par essence et essentiellement' an affair of the poor; Ernst Werner, 'Die Kreuzzugs-idee im Mittelalter', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 5 (1957-8), 135-40 (from a Marxist perspective); Claude Carozzi, *Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval* (Paris 1999), 101-9. Giovanni Miccoli, 'Dal pellegrinaggio alla conquista. Povertà e ricchezza nelle prime crociate', in *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII* (Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 8; Todi 1969), 45-80, warned against referring to 'the poor as such' in the first crusade and argued that in the course of the twelfth century symbolic/spiritual poverty changed to literal poverty. On other popular crusades see Raedts, 'Children's Crusade' (n. 56); Malcolm Barber, 'The Pastoureaux of 1320', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 143-66; Gary Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West* (Variorum CS 695; Aldershot 2000).

⁶² Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 2), 9, citing the works of Robert I. Moore and Kathleen Cushing.

For these scholars the only true crusades were the first, which was marked by widespread religious enthusiasm and popular response,⁶³ and, later, the children's crusade of 1212, the *pastores* of 1251, and the Pastoureaux of 1320. Some have posited two first crusades: one official, led by the princes who responded to the appeal of Urban II, and the other popular, led by Peter the Hermit, whose traditional role as the initiator of the first crusade (which is based on the chronicle of Albert of Aachen and depicted on the frontispiece of Fuller's *Historie*) has recently found some defenders against the attacks of the nineteenth-century scholars who asserted the priority of the official crusade.⁶⁴ Alphandéry was particularly interested in the visions, miracles, and apocalyptic signs that accompanied the first crusade. By the time of the fourth crusade, he said, 'The animating center of the deed of crusade tends to become a symbol ... the crusade is enclosed in interior combat.' The whole movement petered out after the children's crusade, which still expressed 'the deep life of the very idea of crusade', and came to an end with Frederick II's negotiated recovery of Jerusalem and the resumption of the 'tolerated' pilgrimages of the early middle ages.⁶⁵

There is, finally, a group of historians who can be called generalists and who broadly identify the crusades with holy war and fighting in defense of the faith – the astonishing effort, as Villey put it, to baptize war.⁶⁶ They emphasize in particular the traditional concept of just war, the ideal of Christian knighthood that emerged in the tenth century, the regional movements known as the Peace and Truce of God and designed to protect particular categories of people and to prevent fighting at certain times, and the efforts of the popes in the eleventh century to mobilize the *milites sancti Petri* to support and defend the papacy. Ernst-Dieter Hehl in

⁶³ Rousset, 'L'idée' (n. 61), 547; idem, *Idéologie* (n. 6), 19, 61; Werner Goetz, 'Wandlungen des Kreuzzugsgedankens in Hoch- und Spätmittelalter', in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter. Begegnungsraum zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer, Jürgen Schneider (Neustadt a.d. Aisch 1989), 34, who described the first crusade as 'sui generis'.

⁶⁴ Jean Flori, 'Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident', *Revue historique* 285 (1991), 3-27; Colin Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as seen through the eyes of Albert of Aachen', in *Saints and Saints' Lives: Essays in Honour of D. H. Farmer* (Reading Medieval Studies 16; Reading 1990), 99-117; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford 1993), 256; Ward, 'First Crusade' (n. 9), 264-5. On Peter the Hermit, see Ernest O. Blake, Colin Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), 79-107; M. D. Coupe, 'Peter the Hermit: A Reassessment', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987), 37-45; Ward, 'First Crusade', 285-7; Lohrmann, 'Albert von Aachen' (n. 1), 150-1; John Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris 1999).

⁶⁵ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16), II, 110, 147, 257. Goetz, 'Wandlungen' (n. 63), 42, said that there was no real *passagium generale* after 1228/9.

⁶⁶ Michel Villey, 'L'idée de croisade chez les juristes du Moyen-Âge', in *Congresso* (n. 15), 593.

an article entitled ‘Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?’ – ‘What essentially is a crusade?’ – rejected both the traditionalist and the pluralist definitions of a crusade as too restrictive and argued that a crusade was a war fought at the order of and with the authority of God – ‘a *Deo auctore* war’ – and that Urban’s innovation was to fit the crusade into ‘an historical-theological schema’ or ‘a theology of war’.⁶⁷ According to this view the essential features of a crusade were to carry out the will of God on earth and thus to win forgiveness for sins, with or without papal approval. Jerusalem was thus spiritualized, and in practice a crusade could be directed against any perceived enemies of God, even though the crusade to the east continued, as Christopher Tyerman put it, to provide ‘the language of crusading’.⁶⁸ In the middle of the thirteenth century the canon lawyer Hostiensis, while reserving ‘the vow of the cross’ to the pope, wrote that:

If the crusade across the sea (*crux transmarina*) is and should be preached in order to acquire or recover the Holy Land, then the crusade against the schismatics on this side of the sea (*crux cismarina*) should be preached all the more strongly in order to preserve the unity of the church ... For the Son of God did not come into the world and suffer the cross to acquire land but to redeem captives and to recall sinners to repentance.⁶⁹

This points towards a broad definition of a crusade, according to Riley-Smith, as ‘a holy war fought against those perceived to be the external or internal foes of Christendom for the recovery of Christian property or in defense of the Church or Christian people’, and carrying with it, one might add, an expectation, implicit or explicit, of forgiveness of sins for those who participated.⁷⁰

The view of modern historians who see the crusades as the beginning of European colonialism and expansion would have surprised people in the middle ages. They would not have denied some selfish aspects, including a search for salvation and a desire to escape unwelcome obligations and to find a new life away from home, but the predominant emphasis was on defense and the recovery of lands that had once been Christian and on the self-sacrifice rather than the

⁶⁷ Ernst-Dieter Hehl, ‘Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994), 297-336 (citations on 301, 307).

⁶⁸ Christopher Tyerman, ‘The Holy Land and the Crusades of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, in *Crusade and Settlement* (n. 46), 108. Cf. Raedts, ‘Children’s Crusade’ (n. 56), 301, who said that ‘I shall consider as crusades all expeditions, armed or unarmed, whose participants took a vow and intended to liberate Jerusalem and other holy places from Moslem rule or to defend them for Christendom’; Housley, *Later Crusades* (n. 22), 45, 47, 49.

⁶⁹ Henry of Susa (Hostiensis), *Summa aurea*, III, 19 (Venice 1574; repr. Turin, 1963), 1141. See Villey, *Idée* (n. 66), 568, 578-81.

⁷⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven-London 1987), xxviii.

self-seeking of the participants. Since there was no clear concept of a crusade, however, its character changed over time. On the one hand the crusades became more institutionalized as their various features were defined by the popes and canon lawyers of the thirteenth century.⁷¹ Prudence and efficiency rather than enthusiasm became the prerequisites for a crusade, and there was an increasing stress on organization, regulations, fiscal arrangements, and administrative routines.⁷² Disagreements continued, however, even over the nature of an official crusade. In the thirteenth century, when the popes used the crusades against any enemies of the church, Hostiensis said that some people held that it was unjust and dishonest to take the cross against Christians, and at the council of Basel, Alonso of Cartagena argued that a holy war must be against infidels.⁷³

At the same time, however, the crusades were spiritualized and internalized, as in the crusading sermons where 'the idea of soldiering for Christ is tied inextricably to the idea of the crusade as an imitation of Christ' and to 'a moral and spiritual renewal' leading the crusader 'to Christ's cross of suffering and physical death in battle'.⁷⁴ This concept of the crusade has been called penitential and imitationist. True crusading never became an institution, according to Alphandéry, who said that by the thirteenth century 'The monk-knight of the preceding age disappears before the *vir spiritualis*, poor, weak, predestined to the glory of the saints.'⁷⁵ Not many scholars today would go as far as this, but there is a tendency to move away from the factual history of the crusades and their growing definition – some would say deformation – at the hands of the popes and canonists and to take a more flexible view of the crusade as an event rather than an institution.⁷⁶ 'Crusading is coming to have the appearance of a spectrum of enterprises,' wrote Riley-Smith, 'each with its own personality, united by common elements'.⁷⁷ And in an article provocatively entitled 'Were there any crusades in the twelfth century?' Tyerman argued that 'what we call "the Crusades" in fact covered a fragmented series of military and religious activities that lacked coherence' and that 'the First Crusade

⁷¹ The canonists, according to Villey, *Idée* (n. 66), 593, created the concept and theory of crusade because they wanted to assure the institution 'a long and solid future'.

⁷² Delaruelle, *Idée* (n. 10), 246, discussed whether the crusade should be seen as an event or an institution.

⁷³ Henry of Susa, *Summa aurea*, III, 19, ed. cit. (n. 69), 1141.

⁷⁴ Cole, *Preaching* (n. 13), 124-5, see 172-3 on 'the penitential idea of the crusade'.

⁷⁵ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16), II, 112, 160, 163. See also idem, *Citations* (n. 11), 149. These views are well on the way to what has been called the myth or metahistory of the crusade: see Rousset, *Idéologie* (n. 6), 211-13; Giorgio Fedalto, *Perché le crociate* (Bologna 1986), 70; Dupront, *Du sacré* (n. 59), 34-5.

⁷⁶ See the definitions of a crusade by Raedts (n. 56). The Byzantinist Donald Nicol, *The Crusades and the Unity of Christendom* (Friends of Dr Williams's Library 40th Lecture; London 1986), 5, called it 'a campaign for the liberation of a faraway place dreamed up in a fog of pious romanticism'.

⁷⁷ Riley-Smith, 'History' (n. 6), 10.

only appeared as the beginning of a coherent movement retrospectively when that movement existed, after 1187.⁷⁸

An important step in the institutionalization of the crusades is marked by their numbering, which differs widely both in the sources and in subsequent histories.⁷⁹ The numbers given to the crusades by writers during the first period of crusading historiography in particular deserve to be studied.⁸⁰ Fuller called the crusades ‘the Holy War’ in the singular, but in his chronological table he distinguished 13 voyages (or pilgrimages, as he called them in the text) between 1095 and 1269.⁸¹ Louis Maimbourg and Edward Gibbon both counted seven crusades; Friedrich Wilken used no system of numbering; and some modern scholars identify the crusades simply by date. Owing to this confusion I prefer to use the terms ‘crusading’ and ‘crusades’ rather than ‘crusade’, at least before the thirteenth century, and not to capitalize the numbered crusades, but the numbering system is too well established to be abandoned.

This approach has led to the reformulation and reexamination of various questions concerning crusading. Among these is motivation, which was traditionally considered to include both secular and religious motives, of which the respective importance was assessed differently by scholars according to their religious beliefs and the standards of their times. To these should be added an emotional or psychological element that was neither specifically religious nor secular.⁸² ‘Sentiment, not strategy, has always been the dominant factor in the affairs of Palestine,’ said the reviewer of a book on the background of Palestinian-Israeli disputes. ‘An understanding of the problem of Arabs and Jews [or of Muslims and Christians] in the Holy Land should begin by clearing the mind of the confusing clutter of strategy and by focusing on the sentiments, or, to put it more precisely, the passionate feelings, of those concerned.’⁸³ Very little is known about the sentiments of the crusaders, let alone their passionate feelings, but they certainly felt a fierce loyalty to Christ and a sense of outrage that His patrimony and tomb were held by infidels and could be visited by Christians only on sufferance. Many years ago Adolf von Harnack said that ‘The enthusiasm of the crusades was the direct fruit of the monastic reform of the eleventh century,’⁸⁴ and Erdmann associated the

⁷⁸ Tyerman, ‘Were There Any Crusades’ (n. 51), 554, 558, 566 n.3. He went on to say that ‘Innocent III transformed one sort of ecclesiastical warfare into juridical crusading.’

⁷⁹ See Appendix B.

⁸⁰ See Schmugge, *Kreuzzüge* (n. 22), 34.

⁸¹ On Fuller, see n. 30.

⁸² On the levels of motivation among participants in the first crusade, see Jean Flori, *La première croisade* (Brussels 1992), 225-9.

⁸³ Malcolm E. Yapp, reviewing Dilip Hiro, *Sharing the Promised Land*, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 Feb. 1997, 28.

⁸⁴ Adolf von Harnack, *Monasticism: Its Ideas and History and The Confessions of St Augustine*, tr. Ernest E. Kellett, F. H. Marseille (London 1901), 87. Barraclough, ‘Deus le volt?’ (n. 8), 12-13, said that ‘the Crusades, far from being a unique or isolated

concept of holy war with the efforts of the popes, and especially Gregory VII, to free the church from the control of laymen. If lay investiture and lay possession of ecclesiastical property and revenues were abhorrent to the reformers, how much more so was the control by the Muslims of the most sacred of Christian shrines.⁸⁵ This is not to say that all crusaders were religious reformers, but the view that they were motivated largely by greed and self-interest has been to some extent replaced by an acceptance of their sincerity and idealism, combined with a recognition that altruistic and selfish motives were unconsciously mixed in the minds of individual crusaders. According to Riley-Smith:

There can be little doubt that those who took the cross, and the families who helped to finance them, were moved on the whole by idealism. The only explanation for their enthusiasm seems to be that Urban's message encountered the laity's growing aspirations and the hand stretched out by the Church to lay people was suddenly grasped.⁸⁶

Not all scholars accept this idealistic and somewhat defensive stance, and several writers have pointed out the failure of historians to take account of psychological, sociological, and economic theory in studying the motivation of the crusaders. In an article on 'The Motives of the First Crusaders: A Social Psychological Analysis', published in the *Journal of Psychohistory* in 1990, the crusades were seen as a way of resolving the tension, or endemic cognitive dissonance, between the religious ideals and worldly violence of medieval society. Urban's crusade offered 'the new reconciliation' between the desire for salvation and the need to fight and became a mass movement because it met a widespread psychological need.⁸⁷ John Ward studied the first crusade in terms of disaster theory and argued that it was a remedial 'disaster-reaction' to the 'inflammatory millenarian force', Muslim advances in the east, and consciousness of sin in the late eleventh century. He called this 'a "postmodern deconstruction and reconstruction"' of the nineteenth-century myth of the official, hierarchal crusade and concluded that '*Crusade* is thus interesting not so much for what it was, ... but for what contemporaries thought it would be.'⁸⁸ A very different view was put forward by four economists in an article entitled 'An Economic Interpretation of the Medieval Crusades' published in the

phenomenon, were only a particular manifestation of a great spiritual crisis without parallel until the sixteenth century'; Miccoli, 'Pellegrinaggio' (n. 61), 46: 'La crociata, nei suoi aspetti ideologici, nasce come tipica espressione della riforma gregoriana.'

⁸⁵ Penny Cole, '“O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance” (Ps. 78.1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188', in *Crusaders and Muslims* (n. 6), 84-111.

⁸⁶ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* (n. 60), 153.

⁸⁷ John R. E. Bliese, 'The Motives of the First Crusaders: A Social Psychological Analysis', *Journal of Psychohistory* 17 (1990), 393-411 (quote on 400).

⁸⁸ Ward, 'First Crusade' (n. 9), 253-92 (quotes on 259, 288-9).

Journal of European Economic History in 1992. They saw the crusades in terms of 'contemporary economic theory' as

- (a) a supply-side response to the attempts of the Moslems and Turks to raise a rival's (the Latin church's) cost in maintaining the credibility of its product and
- (b) a demand-side attempt by the medieval church to maintain and maximize the value of its wealth by expansion of market area and monopoly control.

Although the crusades 'claimed to be primarily motivated by ideological or theological fervor', they were in fact 'an essential part of a wealth-maximizing strategy' both by the church, of which the monopoly over salvation – called 'a pure credence good' – was threatened by the Muslims, and by individual crusaders who hoped to make their fortunes in the east.⁸⁹ The views of Voltaire and Gibbon have thus been revived by modern economic theorists.

Another old question which has been addressed with new interest in recent years is the background and origin of the crusades. Some scholars believe that they sprang almost out of nothing, like Athena out of the head of Zeus, as Alphandéry put it, calling them 'the almost spontaneous outpouring of a prodigious power of collective animation'.⁹⁰ Others stress the extensive prehistory, reaching back to the early Christian tradition of pilgrimage, the development of the theories of martyrdom and the just war, the Byzantine campaigns against the Muslims, the changing role in Christian spirituality of Jerusalem, both heavenly and earthly, the emergence of chivalric values and the effort to harness them to the interests of local law and order by the Peace and Truce of God, and the policy of the papacy, which Erdmann examined especially in the second half of the eleventh century. The recent defense of the authenticity of the crusading encyclical attributed to Sergius IV, which has long been considered a forgery, would carry back the papal prehistory of the crusades another half-century,⁹¹ and raises the question of the extent to which the campaigns in Spain in the mid-eleventh century, and later in southern Italy, should be considered crusades. There has been in particular a long-standing debate among scholars, going back to Boissonade and beyond, over whether the attack on Barbastro in 1064 should or should not be considered a

⁸⁹ Gary M. Anderson, Robert Ekelund, Jr, Robert F. Hebert, Robert D. Tollison, 'An Economic Interpretation of the Medieval Crusades', *Journal of European Economic History* 21 (1992), 339-63 (quotes on 340, 342).

⁹⁰ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 16), I, 9. Cf. Flori, *Première Croisade* (n. 82), 231, on whether the crusade was an end or a beginning.

⁹¹ Hans Martin Schaller, 'Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius' IV.', in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Tübingen 1991), 135-53, with an edition of the text on 150-3. On this and other precedents for papal 'crusading' activities, see John Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia 1997), 10 n.25.

crusade. The current consensus appears to be 'No', but it depends on the definition of a crusade.⁹²

This research has important implications for the study of the first crusade, which has been the subject of intensive investigation owing to the commemoration of its nine-hundredth anniversary. Among the many questions that have been raised are not only those, mentioned above, of the content of Urban's crusading appeal (especially the relative importance he gave to helping Christians in the east and to freeing Jerusalem); the role of Peter the Hermit and his army; the massacres of the Jews (whether they were an intrinsic part of the crusade or a deviation); and the influence on the original sources of the development of the crusade;⁹³ but also how Urban's message was spread and the crusading armies gathered; the participation in the expeditions and how they were financed;⁹⁴ the nature of the oaths taken by the crusading leaders to the Byzantine emperor;⁹⁵ and the relation of the Latin histories and chronicles to the Old French crusading cycle, parts of which are older

⁹² See also Vincente Cantarino, 'The Spanish Reconquest: A Cluniac Holy War against Islam?', in *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of Intercultural Relations*, ed. Khalil I. Semaan (Albany 1980), 98 ('The Spanish Reconquest remained in its essence a territorial struggle.');

Richard A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050-1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5S 37 (1987), 31-47, who also said that reconquest was really conquest (46-7) and who denied that the campaigns in Spain were crusades before the twelfth century. Cf. Alphandéry, 'Citations' (n. 11), 156, who denied that the Spanish expeditions of 1064-5 and 1087 were crusades; Jean Flori, 'Réforme, reconquista, croisade. L'idée de reconquête dans la correspondance pontificale d'Alexandre II à Urbain II', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 40 (1997), 317-35, who stressed the idea of holy war in Spain; Ana Rodríguez Lopez, 'Légitimation royale et discours sur la croisade en Castille aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Journal des savants*, 2004, 129-63, esp. 144-5.

⁹³ According to Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 147, 'The crusading idea became articulate only after it had developed in real life.' See Blake, 'Formation' (n. 17), who referred to 'a developing sense of pattern' (21); Morris, 'Aims and Spirituality' (n. 64), 99-117: 'The ideas of the crusaders were further, and deeply, shaped by the remarkable experiences of the expedition itself' (99). On the impact of the conquest of Jerusalem on the concept of the crusade, see Goetz, 'Wandlungen' (n. 63), 38-9; on the dispute over the extent to which the idea of martyrdom emerged during the crusade, see Daniel, *Islam* (n. 15), 314-15; Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement* (n. 46), 46-56; Jean Flori, 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), 121-39; John France, 'The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 1-17.

⁹⁴ See chapter 4.

⁹⁵ See John Pryor, 'The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: fealty, homage – πίστις, δουλεία', *Parergon* NS 2 (1984), 111-41; Hannes Möhring, 'Kreuzzug und Dschihad in der mediaevistischen und orientalistischen Forschung 1965-1985', *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 10/11 (1988), 367-8; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204*, tr. J. Colin Morris, Jean E. Ridings (Oxford 1993), 8-28

and closer to the historical sources than was once thought.⁹⁶ Some of this research has been fostered by the use of previously unused or unavailable types of sources, including charters, sermons, liturgical texts, and, for the Latin east, archaeology.

Among the most important developments in crusading studies in the twentieth century has been the attention given by scholars such as Dana Munro, John LaMonte, Joshua Prawer, Jean Richard, Hans Eberhard Mayer, and Jonathan Riley-Smith to the history of the Latin Kingdom and other crusader states.⁹⁷ Prawer in the introduction to his *Crusader Institutions* remarked on the shift of interest from 'the Crusades as a movement to the history of Crusader establishments in the East' and to 'the European colonies on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean', especially their constitutional, legal, cultural, ecclesiastical, social, and economic history.⁹⁸ This can be seen in the Wisconsin *History of the Crusades*, which includes chapters on the population as well as on the political, institutional, and cultural history of the crusader states. Mayer has in particular studied the role of the church and ecclesiastical institutions and the chancery of the Latin kings of Jerusalem.⁹⁹ The old view, based mainly on legal sources, of the Latin kingdom as a classic feudal state has been increasingly replaced by a view that puts significantly greater emphasis on the power of the monarchy.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, there has been a vigorous debate over the question of whether or not the crusader states should be regarded as colonies in either the ancient or the modern (and characteristically pejorative) sense of the term. John LaMonte in his seminal article on 'Some Problems in Crusading Historiography' referred to the crusader states as colonies, and the question was taken up by Joshua Prawer and other scholars who have studied the relations between the crusaders and the established peoples in the east, especially the indigenous Christians, who

⁹⁶ See Jean Richard, 'L'arrière-plan historique des deux cycles de la croisade', in *Les épopées de la croisade. Premier colloque international (Trèves, 6-11 août 1984)*, ed. Karl-Heinz Bender (Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur. Beihefte NF 11; Stuttgart 1987), 6-16. Cf. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature* (n. 19), 27.

⁹⁷ For recent work, see Claverie, 'Dernières tendances' (n. 2), 377-94; Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 2). In the United States these interests went back to the early twentieth century; see pp. 32-42 below.

⁹⁸ Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980), xi. Cf. idem, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York-Washington 1972).

⁹⁹ Hans E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (MGH Schriften 26; Stuttgart 1977); idem, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (MGH Schriften 40; Stuttgart 1996). See also Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London 1980); Rudolf Hiestand, 'Pacem in omnibus servare. Konflikte und Konfliktlösungen in der lateinischen Kirche der Kreuzfahrerstaaten', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, Nikolas Jaspert (Frankfurt-New York 2001), 95-118, esp. on the problems of the church in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

¹⁰⁰ Steven Tibble, *Monarch and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford 1989), with references to previous literature; Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford 1996).

outnumbered the Muslims in the eleventh century.¹⁰¹ This debate is related to that over the nature of society in the Latin east, which some scholars regard as integrated, others as segregated, and yet others as both integrated (with regard to the native Christians) and segregated (with regard to the Muslims). Archaeological evidence suggests that the pattern of settlement varied regionally.¹⁰²

A similar array of questions surrounds the history of the later crusades, including the waning enthusiasm and growing criticism, which is usually seen as developing from a relatively few isolated voices in the twelfth century, beginning with the reaction to the failure of the second crusade, into the chorus of doubts reflected in the memoirs solicited by pope Gregory IX in preparation for the council of Lyons in 1274.¹⁰³ Norman Housley in *The Later Crusades*, however, maintained that:

fundamental questioning of the validity of crusading existed from the start of the movement and was at its strongest in the mid-twelfth century. ... Fewer such basic doubts were expressed in the thirteenth century, when the crusade was safely enclosed in the armour plating of a just war framework by such canonists as Hostiensis and pope Innocent IV.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ For LaMonte, see p. 35-9 below. The question of the crusades as a colonial enterprise and the crusader states as colonies was discussed especially by Joshua Prawer, 'The Roots of Medieval Colonialism', in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir Goss, Christine Bornstein (Studies in Medieval Culture 21; Kalamazoo 1986), 23-38, and debated at a symposium held in Jerusalem in 1984 and published under the title 'The Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem – The First European Colonial Society', in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Jerusalem and Haifa 2-6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem-London 1992), 341-66. See Claude Cahen, *Orient et occident au temps des croisades* (Paris 1983), 218 (denying that the crusades were colonial) and generally Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 2), 16-22.

¹⁰² Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology* (London-New York 1997); Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge 1998). On relations with the Muslims, see Nikita Elisséeff, 'The Reaction of the Syrian Muslims after the Foundation of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem' (1993), repr. in *The Crusades*, ed. Madden (n. 7), 223-32; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant' (1990), *ibid.* 235-64; D. E. Peter Jackson, 'Some Considerations Relating to the History of the Muslims in the Crusader States', in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context–Contacts–Confrontations. Acta of the Congress held at Hernden Castle in May 1993*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, Herman Teule (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 75; Louvain 1996), 21-30; Hannes Möhring, 'Die Kreuzfahrer, ihre muslimische Untertanen und die heiligen Stätten des Islam', in *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky, Harald Zimmermann (Sigmaringen 1998), 129-57.

¹⁰³ Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam 1940); Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985), with references to other works.

¹⁰⁴ Housley, *Later Crusades* (n. 22), 377.

For some scholars the framework was empty before the armour plating was put in place, and true crusading ended with the fourth crusade, of which the diversion to Zara and Constantinople has been the subject of scholarly dispute for over a century. 'The question is basically an unfruitful one', said Mayer, 'and will probably never be settled, yet even today there is no sign that the flood of literature on the subject will dry up'.¹⁰⁵ This is owing in part to the number and complexity of the sources, which lend themselves to diverse interpretations, and also because the fourth crusade stands for so many critical issues in the history of the crusades and of the Byzantine empire.

The turning of the crusades against Christians in particular raised major questions for contemporaries as well as for later writers on the crusades,¹⁰⁶ not only the traditionalists who regard the liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as the essential objective of the crusades, but also the pluralists, because although Innocent III disapproved of the fourth crusade, later popes declared and promoted crusades against Christians. The view of the crusades from the east, both Muslim and Christian, was the subject of a symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in 1997. Some scholars still see the crusades in primarily European terms and as of relatively little importance to Islam.¹⁰⁷ An Islamist like Claude Cahen described the crusades as 'a western phenomenon' and 'a western fact', and Francis Robinson called them 'mere pin-pricks' from the point of view of Islam.¹⁰⁸ In parts of the Islamic world, however, they had a profound influence almost from their inception.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁵ Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 53), 201. See the bibliographical articles by Donald Queller, Susan Stratton, 'A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969), 235-77; Charles Brand, 'The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations', *Medievalia et humanistica* NS 12 (1984), 33-45; and more generally chapter 13.

¹⁰⁶ Pissard, *Guerre sainte* (n. 28); Norman Housley, 'Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216', in *Crusade and Settlement* (n. 46), 17-36. Honorius II promised remission from the penalty for confessed sins to those who died on the 'crusade' against Roger of Sicily: Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, tr. Graham Loud, Diane Milburn (Cambridge 2002), 45-6.

¹⁰⁷ In addition to the works of Alphanhéry (n. 16) and Erdmann (n. 46), see Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War', in *The Holy War*, ed. Thomas P. Murphy (Columbus 1976), 13.

¹⁰⁸ Cahen, *Orient et occident* (n. 101), 7, 179-80, cf. 188-9; Francis Robinson, reviewing Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East*, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 Dec. 1995, 3. Cf. Robert Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades', in *Oxford History* (n. 4), 218, 229; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh 1999); and the Dumbarton Oaks symposium on the *Crusades* (note on p. 43); Riley-Smith, 'Islam and the Crusades' (n. 2), 151-67.

¹⁰⁹ Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris 1968); Francesco Gabrieli, 'Le crociate viste dall'Islam', in *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del Medio Evo*, ed. Vittore Branca (Civiltà europea e civiltà Veneziana. Aspetti e problemi 7; n.p. 1973), 185.

negative impact of the crusades in the east inspired the critical views of scholars like Runciman and much of the current hostility to the crusades. In the west, they contributed to the development of the view of Muslims and Jews as 'the other', in contrast to the Christian 'us'. Scholars also disagree over the extent to which missionary work and conversion played a part in the crusades. The desire to exalt (*exaltare*) and expand (*dilatare*) the Christian faith is found in the earliest crusading sources, including the Old French and Middle High German epics,¹¹⁰ but conversion seems to have played a comparatively small role in motivating the crusades before the thirteenth century, when they began to be seen as 'the instrument for opening a country to missionizing'.¹¹¹

Over the years almost every aspect of the crusades has thus been reinterpreted, often from very different points of view, and both the learned world and the general public show a voracious appetite for works on the crusades. Recently there have been signs of a growing split between scholarly and popular views of the crusades and, to some extent, between right-wing and left-wing scholars, who emphasize the violent and colonialist aspects of the crusades. While serious historians have increasingly tended to accept the idealism, though not unmixed with self-serving motives, of the crusaders, they have been presented in works addressed to a wider audience as bigoted and violent brigands. J. J. Norwich wrote that 'In the entire history of Christendom, the darkest chapter is that of the Crusades,'¹¹² and the 'apology' by the pope for 'intolerance and even the use of violence' has been widely interpreted as referring to the crusades.¹¹³ The view of the crusades in many recent textbooks is increasingly hostile. Any tendency to deny their imperialist and colonialist characters is dismissed as racism. 'An aging collection of anticolonial sentiments has merged with mild political correctness ...' wrote William Urban, 'to dominate current historiography of the crusades'.¹¹⁴

More perhaps than any other phenomenon in European history, the crusades hold up a mirror to how the west sees itself and is seen by others, and as the angle of the mirror changes, so does the view of the crusades. In the middle ages, and down to the end of the sixteenth century, they were part of contemporary history, and the Muslims, pagans, heretics, and schismatics were seen as presenting a

¹¹⁰ Ernst Robert Curtius, 'Der Kreuzzugsgedanke und das altfranzösische Epos', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 169 (1936), 53-4.

¹¹¹ Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton 1984), 169. See Allan Cutler, 'The First Crusade and the Idea of "Conversion"', *The Muslim World* 58 (1968), 57-71, 155-64; Goez, 'Wandlungen' (n. 63), 42-3; Elizabeth Siberry, 'Missionaries and Crusaders', in *The Church and War*, ed. William J. Sheils (Studies in Church History 20; Oxford 1983), 103-10.

¹¹² John Julius Norwich, 'Wayward Christian Soldier', *New York Times Magazine*, 18 April 1999, 140. Cf. Runciman, *Crusades* (n. 7), III, 480; Ward, 'First Crusade' (n. 9), 255; and other works cited above.

¹¹³ Apostolic letter *Tertio Millennio adveniente* (1994), c. 35.

¹¹⁴ William Urban, 'Rethinking the Crusades', *Perspectives* 36.7 (Oct. 1998), 26.

threat – real or imagined – to the stability of the west. After the sixteenth century they moved increasingly into the past and were regarded either with aversion or, later, with an admiration and nostalgia that grew into a myth, at the same time heroic and barbaric, that has still not been dissipated by research. Meanwhile, new myths and hostilities have been generated by the effort to relate the crusades to later developments and to see them from a non-western point of view and by the revival of the idea of a ‘just war’ (sometimes called a crusade) against forces of evil in the contemporary world, though it has not been widely applied to crusades in the past. There is no reason to believe that this process of revision is near an end or that any agreement concerning the nature and impact of the crusades will ever be reached, given the changing concerns of contemporary society. Today no less than in the past, writings on the crusades must be interpreted in the light of the differing points of view of their writers. The historiography of the crusades is thus the same as their history, involving as it does a continuing interaction between rhetoric and memory and between the past and the present.

Crusading Studies in America

The historiography of the crusades in America followed a similar pattern of development to that in England and Europe, but with a different rhythm, owing to the different character of American nationalism and romanticism. The hostility towards the crusades which marked most European historians in the eighteenth century lasted longer, and a more sympathetic attitude emerged later. In recent years there has been a bifurcation between this scholarly attitude and the lack of sympathy found in textbooks and many popular works. These changes in the way the crusades were seen in America will be studied here, together with the types of questions asked by American scholars, especially in the six-volume collaborative *History of the Crusades*, which will be referred to simply as the *History*.

During the nineteenth century the crusades were generally regarded in America with distaste, not to say hostility. American historians and men of letters were less influenced than those in Europe by the wave of nationalism and romanticism that swept over Europe in the early nineteenth century and brought with it a more favorable view of the crusades than had prevailed in the previous period.¹¹⁵ Americans tended to look back to the rationalist and anti-Catholic views of the eighteenth century. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in his diary in 1826 that ‘already the Crusades have gone in public opinion to take their place among the monuments of folly and tyranny’, and in a letter to Charles Emerson in 1828 he asked:

What were those extravagant enterprizes but proofs that the opinion of of [*sic*] one had become the opinion of many that a fanatic voice saying ‘It is the voice

¹¹⁵ See pp. 13-14 above.

of God' – was able to bring an echo, a tremendous echo of a million voices to that shrill and evil sound?¹¹⁶

The great (perhaps the greatest) American medievalist Henry Charles Lea described in his *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, published in 1887, 'the enthusiastic fanaticism requisite for the crusades', 'the demoralizing character of the service', and (with particular reference to the Albigensian crusade) the 'savage cruelty' of the crusaders.¹¹⁷ Lea was milder in tone in his other works, and towards the end of the nineteenth century a more balanced view began to appear. Henry Adams, who was the first professor of medieval history at Harvard University, stressed the positive as well as the negative sides of the crusades. He saw not only their brutality but also their idealism, which he attributed to the Virgin Mary. In *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, which was published in 1905, he called the first crusade

altogether the most interesting event in European history ... The outburst of the first crusade was splendid even in a military sense, but it was great beyond comparison in its reflection in architecture, ornament, poetry, colour, religion, and philosophy. Its men were astonishing, and its women were worth all the rest.¹¹⁸

It is uncertain just what Adams meant by this, but it clearly reflects his positive feelings for the crusade, and for the middle ages generally.

By the turn of the century a moderate, and occasionally enthusiastic, view of the crusades is found in textbooks. George Burton Adams (no relation to Henry), who was an influential professor of history at Yale and president of the American Historical Association, said in his *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (of which the first edition appeared in 1894 and the second in 1922) that the crusades combined 'adventurous warfare and rich conquests ... with the advantages of holy pilgrimage' and that they contributed to the 'rapid progress of civilization' in the west.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, III: 1826-1832, ed. William Gilman, Alfred Ferguson (Cambridge, Mass. 1963), 18; *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk, I (New York 1939), 247.

¹¹⁷ Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols (New York 1887), I, 42, 162, and index, referring to the followers of Simon de Montfort.

¹¹⁸ Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (Boston-New York 1935), 32, see 40 and 101 on the Virgin and the crusades. See also Richard P. Blackmur, *Henry Adams* (New York-London 1980), 190, 221-2.

¹¹⁹ George Burton Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 2 ed. (New York 1922), 261, 271. See also his revision of Charles Bémont, Gabriel Monod, *Medieval Europe from 395 to 1270*, tr. Mary Sloan (New York 1902), where the crusades were described as both offensive and defensive (348) and their positive effect on the intellectual revival and

The first American scholar to do serious research on the crusades was Dana Munro, who taught successively at the universities of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Princeton.¹²⁰ His interest in the crusades was aroused by his studies in Germany, principally with Paul Scheffer-Boichorst in the late nineteenth century. Munro was not a prolific author, aside from works designed primarily for teaching, which include two general books on medieval history published in 1902 and 1921; but he wrote several articles on the crusades that are still of value and a series of lectures posthumously published, without notes, on *The Kingdom of the Crusaders*. In an article (published in 1906) on Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095 he reconstructed from the surviving sources the principal themes of the pope's speech and concluded that 'the credit, or the responsibility, for the movement', as he put it, belonged to Urban.¹²¹ Perhaps as a result of this research he changed the opening words of the sections on the crusades in his two general works of 1902 and 1921 from a reference to the appeal for help from the Byzantine emperor Alexius to a description of the role of Urban and the investiture controversy. In both works he stressed the significance of the crusades and their importance for the development of the west.¹²²

Through his publications Munro contributed to the study of the Latin states in the east, which were perhaps naturally of interest to the inhabitants of a relatively recently colonized country, but his greatest contribution to the study of the crusades in America was as a teacher. Through his students he founded what has been called 'the American school of crusading historians',¹²³ who contributed to crusading

on social and political changes in the west was stressed (373-4). On Adams see the article by Wilbur Abbott in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, I (New York 1928), 59-60.

¹²⁰ See the article by Edward P. Cheney in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII (New York 1934), 330-1, and, on his influence as a historian of the crusades, Kenneth Setton in the foreword to volume I of the Wisconsin *History*, xiv-xv; Mayer, 'America' (n. 44), 39-40. There is a bibliography of his writings in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York 1928), 367-73, and of his writings on the history of the crusades in his posthumous book *The Kingdom of the Crusaders*, ed. August C. Krey (New York-London 1935), 205-11.

¹²¹ Dana C. Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II. at Clermont, 1095', *American Historical Review* 11 (1906), 231.

¹²² Dana C. Munro, *The Middle Ages, 395-1272* (New York 1902), 106-21; idem, *The Middle Ages* (New York 1921), 242-55, 300-10 (see n. 146 below). In idem, *A Syllabus of Medieval History, 395-1300*, 8 ed. (Philadelphia 1919), 38, which probably represents Munro's teaching at the University of Pennsylvania at the turn of the century, he called the crusades an 'episode in the struggle between the East and the West' and said that they were 'not fanatical attempts, or Völkerwanderungen, or mere outgrowths of pilgrimage'. See also his article on 'Teaching the Crusades in Secondary Schools', *The History Teacher's Magazine* 4 (1913), 5-7, where he praised the mixture of people promoted by the crusades and warned against 'extreme views'.

¹²³ Brundage, 'Recent Crusade Historiography' (n. 2), 496; Mayer, 'America' (n. 44), 41.

studies both by editions of texts (notably the Genoese notarial registers) and by monographic and biographical studies.¹²⁴ Among Munro's first students, while he was still at the University of Pennsylvania, was Helen Preston, whose *Rural Conditions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, published in 1903, pointed the way not only to Munro's own lectures on the Latin kingdom but also to an important area of interest to later scholars. Twelve of Munro's students, including Louis J. Paetow, Frederic Duncalf, and August Krey, contributed to a *Festschrift* published in his honor in 1928 under the title *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, which also includes a list of Munro's writings.

It is not too much to say that this volume was the seed out of which the project for a cooperative general history of the crusades grew. Munro himself had planned to write a history of the crusades in two or three volumes, and after his death his students took up the idea. According to Kenneth Setton in the foreword to the first volume of the *History*, 'It was Duncalf who first proposed that a cooperative history of the crusades be undertaken by Munro's former students together with others who might be interested in joining them in such a venture.'¹²⁵ Among the 'others' the most important was John LaMonte, who took his doctorate at Harvard under Charles Homer Haskins, and in 1932 published an important though controversial book on *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, which was followed in 1936 by *The Wars of Frederick II in Syria and Cyprus*.¹²⁶ Although LaMonte was not a student of Munro, his interests also concentrated on the Latin kingdom and the later crusades. He taught at the University of Cincinnati in the 1930s and at the University of Pennsylvania, with a break for military service during the Second World War, from 1940 until his premature death in 1949, at the age of 47.

In 1938 LaMonte gave a talk at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago which was published two years later in *Speculum* under the title 'Some Problems in Crusading Historiography'.¹²⁷ He endorsed the idea for a cooperative history of the crusades, which would follow, he said, 'the general scheme of D. C. Munro's *Kingdom of the Crusaders*, with its emphasis on non-political phases', and went on to distinguish what he called 'two distinct points of

¹²⁴ Among these are biographies of Robert Curthose (by Charles W. David, who later edited the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, one of the most important sources on crusading in the Iberian peninsula), Godfrey of Bouillon (John C. Andressohn), Bohemund of Antioch (Ralph Yewdale), his nephew Tancred, Joscelyn I and III of Edessa (Robert Nicholson), and Raymond III of Tripolis (Marshall Baldwin).

¹²⁵ Wisconsin *History*, I, xv. See also Brundage, 'Historiography' (n. 2), 495-6.

¹²⁶ On LaMonte see Wisconsin *History*, I, xv-xvii; Mayer, 'America' (n. 44), 41-2.

¹²⁷ LaMonte, 'Problems' (n. 2), 57-75. LaMonte more than once stressed the amount of bad work that had been done on the crusades: 'With the possible exception of Renaissance Florence, probably no field has been the subject of so much worthless pseudo-historical trash' (58 cf. 60). The bibliographical references in LaMonte's article are supplemented by the work of Brundage (n. 2) to 1964, Mayer (n. 44) to 1981, and Queller, 'Review Article' (n. 45), 314-30.

view on the crusades': one 'as an aspect of European history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' and the other 'as the agents which founded and maintained Christian colonies in the midst of Moslem lands'. His own sympathies clearly lay with the second point of view, and in the following pages he discussed not only the recent publications of American and other scholars but also the work still to be done on the crusades seen, as he put it, 'as elements in the history of colonies in the Levant' and on 'Christian communities in the world of Islam'. He stressed in particular the need to study the crusader counties and cities and 'the non-political aspects of the history of the crusader states', including institutions, the church, economic and commercial history, intellectual history, art and architecture, archaeology, topography, genealogy, and numismatics. LaMonte recognized the value of the work of French scholars on the military architecture of the Holy Land, for instance, while calling T. E. Lawrence's *Crusader Castles* 'a very ingenious undergraduate thesis', but said that 'we are ... ill-informed' in the field of the fine arts.¹²⁸

LaMonte's article (and the talk upon which it was based) was in many respects the foundation charter of the *History*. LaMonte joined Duncalf and Krey as the guiding spirits, and together they laid preliminary plans and drew up a prospective list of contributors. In 1938 a committee was formed with Duncalf as editor and LaMonte as secretary. Progress was delayed by the war, but in 1945/6, according to Setton, 'The proposal for a cooperative history of the crusades was revived, and now expanded to include British and European scholars. Duncalf, Krey, and LaMonte assumed official editorship of the work,'¹²⁹ which was formally sponsored by the Mediaeval Academy of America and to be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. This activity came to a temporary halt with the death of LaMonte but was revived in the early 1950s by Kenneth Setton, who was appointed LaMonte's successor at the University of Pennsylvania and who was general editor of the *History* for almost 40 years. He took the *History* with him when he moved in 1965 to the University of Wisconsin, which henceforth assumed its publication, and he remained editor after he went to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in 1968.¹³⁰

The progress of the *History* can be followed in several documents among Setton's papers (now on deposit at the University of Pennsylvania), in two brief articles written by Setton in 1951 and 1952, and in his forewords to the

¹²⁸ LaMonte. 'Problems' (n. 2), quotations on 58, 60, 67, 70, 72-3. Cf. the desiderata discussed in Brundage, 'Historiography' (n. 2), 496-507.

¹²⁹ Wisconsin *History*, I, xvi.

¹³⁰ See Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Kenneth Meyer Setton (17 June 1914-18 February 1995)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141 (1997), 240-9. Among Setton's papers are various documents and letters (to and from, among others, Marshall Baldwin, Frederic Duncalf, Austin Evans, August C. Krey, Hans Mayer, Louise Robbert, Robert L. Wolff, and officers at the University of Pennsylvania Press and the Mediaeval Academy of America) that shed light on the inception and progress at the project.

successive volumes, which were dated 1955, 1962, 1974, 1976, 1983, and 1989. The foreword to volume I has already been cited, and it is unnecessary to repeat here the story that Setton chronicled eloquently, and sometimes movingly in view of the deaths of many contributors and other difficulties. His letters are filled with caustic (and sometimes ill-tempered) remarks on the delays, length, bad style, incompetence, and other failings of the contributors. Already in the 1951 and 1952 reports he remarked dryly that 'The editors will not find it difficult to moderate their enthusiasm for absolutely complete uniformity and standardization' and commented on 'the scholarly incapacity to meet a deadline'. In 1968 he wrote to Joan Hussey that 'I have finally thrown out the names of "contributors" who will never write chapters and who seem incapable even of answering letters.'

In 1953 Setton described the object of the *History* as:

A synthesis of more than a hundred years of scientific investigation of the Crusades in their every aspect. Needless to add, the more familiar political and economic emphases of crusader historiography of the past several decades will be supplemented by study of the institutional, social, literary, and artistic history of the Crusades.¹³¹

This is not the place to discuss how well the *History* as completed fulfills this objective, but most scholars are agreed that in spite of some weaknesses and lacunae it makes a fundamental contribution to the history of the crusades not only as a synthesis of previous work, as Setton hoped, but also as an original contribution in many previously neglected areas of crusading studies.¹³² It remains to this day a major scholarly achievement and a monument to the industry and learning of the American school of crusading historians.

Two aspects of the *History* that bear further examination are the choice of contributors and its overall approach, especially in the light of the development of crusading studies during the second half of the twentieth century. It was planned at the beginning as an American enterprise, but a number of non-American collaborators were added at an early date. The earliest surviving list of proposed contributors, compiled by LaMonte and dated 1 April 1947, includes 55 names, of whom 34 were American, nine from the British Commonwealth (six from Great Britain, and one each from Australia, Cyprus, and Canada – Setton himself, who was then at the University of Manitoba), seven from France, two each from

¹³¹ Kenneth Setton, 'The Pennsylvania *History of the Crusades*', *Speculum* 26 (1951), 579, and 'Report of Committee of Research', *The American Philosophical Society: Year Book* 1952 (1953), 223.

¹³² Brundage, 'Historiography' (n. 2), 495-6 (on vols I-II); Mayer, 'America' (n. 44), 43 (on vols I-IV); Queller, 'Review Article' (n. 45), 324-30. These authors all discussed some of the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the *History*.

Belgium and Egypt, and one from Syria. It included one woman.¹³³ In his 1951 and 1952 reports Setton published two almost identical lists of 62 authors, three of them women, who were writing (or thought to be writing) chapters for the *History*.¹³⁴ Approximately two-thirds of them were from America and one-third from Europe, mostly England and France, and the rest of the world, including one each from Australia, Canada, Cyprus, and Egypt. Over the years almost half (26) of these original contributors, including eight of the non-Americans, disappeared, owing to death and other reasons. Somewhat surprisingly, however, the total number of authors in the published *History* is also 62, with just over two-thirds from America,¹³⁵ but the composition of the group had changed. Seven were women – not very many, but more than previously – and of the 19 from other countries ten were from England and Scotland, three from France, two from Israel, and one each from Canada, Egypt, Italy, and Lebanon.¹³⁶

By far the most striking omission from both the original and the final lists is Germany. LaMonte in his bibliographical article of 1940 mentioned a number of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century German historians of the crusades but only two from the period between the wars: one in a note and the other, Carl Erdmann, whose *Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (together with Atiya's *Crusade in the Late Middle Ages*), he said, 'considerably widened the period of the crusades', which suggests that LaMonte was either unfamiliar or unsympathetic with Erdmann's approach.¹³⁷ There is no evidence that this outstanding scholar was included in the original plans for the *History*. His untimely death during the war explains his absence from the post-war list, but not that of other German scholars. Even the leading German crusading historian of the post-war generation, Hans Eberhard Mayer, appears in volume VI only as the compiler of the bibliography, which was planned to be by LaMonte. It is impossible to say whether this omission was owing to a considered judgment on the quality of their work or to a prejudice

¹³³ Setton wrote to Frederic Duncalf in 1950: 'I think that every time John [LaMonte] met someone whom he regarded as a scholar and whom he liked, he asked him to write a chapter in the field of his major interest so long as it could be by some rationalization regarded as apposite to crusading history.'

¹³⁴ See the two reports cited n. 131 above. The only difference between the two lists is the omission of Richard Frye and addition of Steven Runciman, in spite of Setton's annoyance with Runciman for his remarks on the *History* (Setton to Austin Evans on 29 May 1951), presumably the reference to 'the massed typewriters of the United States' in Runciman, *Crusades* (n. 7), I, xii.

¹³⁵ No affiliation is given for David Wallace (vol. IV), who died in 1944 and was English.

¹³⁶ Several authors wrote more than one article in a single volume, but only six contributed to more than one volume. With regard to the relative absence of married women among the contributors Setton wrote to Louise Robbert in 1963 regarding his 'fear ... that they should become so entirely preoccupied with domestic affairs that the weeks and then the months slip by without their being able to work consistently on the chapters'.

¹³⁷ LaMonte, 'Problems' (n. 2), 64.

like that which inspired the exclusion of Germans from the *Cambridge Medieval History* after the First World War.¹³⁸ The fact remains that the completed *History* is overwhelmingly the work of English-speaking scholars, most of them residents of the United States.

This fact doubtless influenced the coverage of the *History*, which reflected the interests of historians in America during the first half of the twentieth century and was predominantly secular in its approach. An example of this attitude is found in LaMonte's review in *Speculum* of Paul Rousset's *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade*, which came out in 1945. LaMonte accused Rousset of 'an infatuation with words' and of trying 'to reestablish the old thesis of the crusade as essentially a religious movement, away from which recent research has been steadily moving'. 'To assume ... that because one finds repeated affirmations of the religious motive in contemporary literature religion was the essential cause of the crusade seems to be a rather naïve deduction.'¹³⁹ While it is true that Rousset tended to neglect the political, social, and economic factors in the motivation of the crusade, his work in fact marked a significant shift in European crusading studies towards a greater stress on religious factors, whereas very little attention is given in the *History* to the religious aspects or motivations or to the eschatological, millenarian, psychological, and popular themes brought out in the works of Erdmann, Alphandéry, and Delaruelle.

The original plan of four volumes, which was expanded to six, then reduced to five, and finally again expanded to six, reflected the ideas of Munro and his students, especially in its concentration on the crusader states and their civilization down to their fall in 1291 and on the influence of the crusades. As it turned out, the chronological scope went down to the sixteenth century, and Setton in the foreword to volume III, probably reflecting his own research interest, expressed regret that it could not go to 1669. Volume IV was devoted largely to art and architecture – mostly the work of Thomas S. R. Boase, who died before it appeared – but it also included chapters on 'Life among the Europeans in Palestine and Syria in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' and on 'Pilgrimages and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095'. The two final volumes, of which the announced single-volume title was 'The Impact of the Crusades on Islam and Christendom', were devoted respectively to 'The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East' and 'The Impact of the Crusades on Europe', where even the small change in wording suggests a secular rather than religious emphasis. Both volumes have in fact a somewhat miscellaneous character and bring together various articles, many of

¹³⁸ Setton wrote to Hans Mayer in 1973 that 'I have always felt most uneasy about the fact that ... there is still (alas!) no German name in our entire roster.' On the *Cambridge Medieval History*, see Peter Linehan, 'The Making of the *Cambridge Medieval History*', *Speculum* 57 (1982), 463-94.

¹³⁹ *Speculum* 23 (1948), 328-31. Elsewhere in the review LaMonte spoke of 'propaganda value' and 'official clerical accounts' and compared St Bernard to *Pravda* (329-30).

scholarly value and originality, which do not necessarily fit together.¹⁴⁰ Volume VI also includes the extensive bibliography compiled by Hans Eberhard Mayer and Joyce McLellan.

In the foreword to this volume Setton commented that:

As one after another the volumes have appeared, they seem to bear almost no relation to the original planning. Year after year changes had to be made. We would have second thoughts. Contributors died, withdrew from the project, or failed to write their chapters.¹⁴¹

All of the authors of volume I were on the 1951/2 lists, as were 14 of the 19 authors of volume II. In volume III, however, six out of the 14 were new; two out of six in volume IV; four out of eight in volume V; and no less than eight out of ten – four-fifths of the total – in volume VI. These new and for the most part younger contributors brought new perspectives to the work. Most of the concerns of Munro and LaMonte were covered in one way or another, but often from a different point of view and in the light of new research.

In spite of its great achievement and many contributions to learning the *History* was in some respects out of date even at its inception and was progressively overtaken by new interests and approaches. The lack of attention paid to the religious and popular aspects of the crusades has already been mentioned, as has the idea of crusade, with which Erdmann's *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade* was concerned. The inclusion of Michel Villey in the original list of contributors shows that the editors were aware of this topic, but his contribution on the legal theory of the crusades was rejected (after it had been translated and corrected) because it had been published before, and the gap was never filled.¹⁴² There is no chapter on criticism of crusading, though Palmer Throop, a pioneer on this subject, was on the original list of contributors. My own article on 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', which appeared in 1953, also looked at the crusades from a point of view not covered in the *History*,¹⁴³ and fitted in with the views of scholars (sometimes called pluralists) who have extended the chronological and geographical concept of the crusades, in contrast to the traditionalists who maintain, as in most of the *History*, that a true crusade must be to the east. Marshall Baldwin wrote to Setton in 1953 that 'I had assumed that the details of the northern European "crusades" did not really concern our work.'

Another tendency among recent scholars has been to take into consideration the position and points of view of the Muslims, Jews, Byzantines, Armenians, and other native Christians in the east, and to study not simply the impact of

¹⁴⁰ See especially Queller, 'Review Article' (n. 45), 325-30, on vol. VI.

¹⁴¹ Wisconsin *History*, VI, xvi.

¹⁴² Setton to Jean Richard on 6 April 1962 and 24 September 1962 and to Schafer Williams on 24 September 1962.

¹⁴³ See chapter 10.

the crusades on that region, as in volume V of the *History*, but the reaction to them and the development of what may be called counter-crusading sentiments and activities. It takes two to tango, as the saying goes, or sometimes three or more. The crusaders themselves saw their undertaking, at least at the beginning, as defensive rather than offensive, but from the other side the crusades doubtless appeared as acts of unprovoked aggression. This critical view was embodied in Steven Runciman's *History of the Crusades*, which appeared just before the first volume of the Wisconsin *History* and which concluded with the judgment that 'In the long sequence of interaction and fusion between Orient and Occident out of which our civilization has grown, the Crusades were a tragic and destructive episode.'¹⁴⁴

Some of these changes in the way the crusades were seen, and especially the growing emphasis on religious factors, can be traced in the textbooks written in America during the period the *History* was planned and published, starting with the influential *Introduction to Medieval Europe* (1937) by James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Johnson, one of the original contributors to the *History*, who described the crusades as 'a phase of the political and economic expansion of western Europe, the medieval chapter in the history of imperialism'.¹⁴⁵ A few years later Joseph Strayer, another original contributor to the *History*, wrote in his revision of Munro's *The Middle Ages* (1942) that 'The crusade was more than a political and military project; it was a phase of the great religious revival of the eleventh century',¹⁴⁶ and in 1974 Brian Tierney in his revision of the textbook by Sidney Painter, yet another original contributor, said that the majority of the crusaders 'were moved by a genuine religious enthusiasm and complete confidence that the crusade was the path to salvation'.¹⁴⁷ Two years after this, in 1976, another

¹⁴⁴ Runciman, *Crusades*, (n. 7), III, 480: see pp. 5, 16 above. See Charles R. Young, 'The Crusades: A Tragic Episode in East-West Relations', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 55 (1956), 96, on the contrast between the approaches to the crusades of Runciman and in the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

¹⁴⁵ James Westfall Thompson, Edgar Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500* (New York 1937), 523; cf. 516, where they called the crusades 'a mass movement of warriors and noncombatants ... to recover the Holy Land from the Infidel' and 'primarily a resumption of the offensive against Islam'.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph R. Strayer, Dana C. Munro, *The Middle Ages, 395-1500* (New York 1942; 4 ed. 1959), 229; cf. 343, saying that the crusades were 'part of the pattern of European life in the thirteenth century, but they were not the dominant factor in determining that pattern'. C. Warren Hollister, *Medieval Europe: A Short History* (New York-London-Sydney 1964), 164, called the crusades 'a happy fusion of three characteristic impulses of medieval man – sanctity, pugnacity, and greed'.

¹⁴⁷ Brian Tierney, Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages, 300-1475* (New York 1970; 2 ed. 1974), 231, who went on to say 'The crusades are the chief proof of the tremendous vitality and expansive power of medieval civilization. But the savageries of the crusaders illustrate the terrible difficulty of wedding the ideals of the Christian religion to the ethos of a warrior aristocracy.'

church historian, Stanley Chodorow, added a section to Robert Hoyt's textbook stressing the participation in the crusades of townspeople, peasants, and the poor, the preaching of the crusades, the influence of eschatology, the slaughter of the Jews, and the pillage along the way – all subjects that brought out the popular, enthusiastic, and irrational side of the crusades.¹⁴⁸

A more critical view of the crusades is found in *Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization* (1963) by Norman Cantor, who called the crusades a legacy of 'the fanaticism and zeal of the age of the Gregorian reform' and criticized the tendency of historians to exaggerate their importance.¹⁴⁹ David Nicholas, writing in 1973, said that the crusades were 'a waste of manpower in the interests of the religious enthusiasm of many and the imperial dreams of a few',¹⁵⁰ and Daniel McGarry in 1976 that they were 'a mistaken appeal to force on behalf of things of the spirit'.¹⁵¹ William Urban described the account given of the crusades in recent textbooks as the story of 'ambitious nobles and merchants, intolerant Christians, ... and scheming popes'.¹⁵² Thus the wheel has come almost full circle, and writers of textbooks have returned to a view of the crusades that is not very far from that expressed by H. C. Lea and George Burton Adams a hundred years ago. Other scholars, like those in Europe, have adopted a tone more sympathetic to crusading and the crusaders, who in spite of their many faults are seen as inspired by idealism and religious conviction as well as by secular motives. The Wisconsin *History* itself was a reaction against the judgmental views of earlier crusading scholars and a serious effort to study the crusades impartially and comprehensively.

¹⁴⁸ Robert S. Hoyt, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 ed. Stanley Chodorow (New York, etc. 1976; first ed. 1957; 2 ed. 1966), 319-20; cf. 249-50 of 2 ed.

¹⁴⁹ Norman F. Cantor, *Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization* (New York-London 1963), 349, 363. According to *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. Norman F. Cantor (New York 1999), 141, 'the most important consequence of the crusades' was the contact between European nobility and Muslim Arabs and Turks and their 'greatest impact' was 'with the Iberian peoples'.

¹⁵⁰ David Nicholas, *The Medieval West, 400-1450: A Preindustrial Civilization* (Homewood, Ill. 1973), 114.

¹⁵¹ Daniel McGarry, *Medieval History and Civilization* (New York-London 1976), 381-2, where he reached an 'overall negative evaluation'.

¹⁵² William Urban, 'Rethinking the Crusades', *Perspectives* 36.7 (Oct. 1998), 25-6, citing Robert Lerner, Standish Meacham, Edward Burns, *Western Civilizations: Their History and Their Culture*, 13 ed. (New York 1998), 322-3, where the crusades were seen as a chapter both in 'papal and religious history' and in 'the history of western civilization', and other works stressing the theme of colonization and the role of the papacy. See the reply of Robert Lerner, *Perspectives*, March 1999, 47.

Note

The first two parts of this chapter are revised from my paper on ‘The Historiography of the Crusades’ presented at the Dumbarton Oaks symposium in May 1997 and published in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki Laiou, Roy Mottahedeh (Washington, DC 2001), 1-22. Revised versions (in Russian) of the first part were published in *Drugie srednie veka. K 75-letiiu A. Ia. Gurevicha*, ed. Igor Dubrovsky, Svetlana Obolenskaia, Marina Paramonova (Moscow-St Petersburg 2000), 198-209; and of the second part in *Homo Historicus. Essays in Memory of Yuri Bessmertny on the 80th Anniversary of His Birth*, 2 vols (Moscow 2003), I, 579-96. Part III is published here for the first time and was originally presented at the ‘Third International Congress: Half a Century of Studies on Crusades and Military Orders’ in Teruel, Spain, 19-25 July 2001.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 2

The Cross of the Crusaders

Background

The origins of the sign of the cross are unknown. It appears in ancient Judaism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and other central Asiatic religions as well as in Christianity.¹ The 'mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh' in Ezechiel 9.4 was later interpreted as a cross and contributed to the legend of the cross, tracing it back to the Garden of Eden and the beginnings of revealed religion.² In the Vulgate a 'Thau' was added after 'mark' and was said by Tertullian to be 'a type of cross which predicted the future on our foreheads in the true and catholic Jerusalem'.³ Abbot Berengarius of St Maximin of Trier, who died in 1128, identified the Thau with the cross and said that 'Gideon, unarmed, fought armed men by the mystery of the cross and the form of the Trinity'.⁴

With the advent of Christianity the cross took on a special significance as the sign of Christ's suffering and a ladder to heaven.⁵ In the New Testament Christ's

¹ Erich Dinkler, 'Zur Geschichte des Kreuzesymbols', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 48 (1951), 163-4; Wolfram von den Steinen, *Homo caelestis. Das Wort der Kunst im Mittelalter* (Bern-Munich), 163; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 'Das Kreuzesymbol in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 31 (1974), esp. 104; Silvana Casarelli Novelli, 'Segno salutis e segno "iconico"'. Dalla "invenzione" costantiniana ai codici astratti del primo altomedioevo', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedioevale occidentale, 11-17 aprile 1985*, 2 vols (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33; Spoleto 1987), I, 105-72.

² Sabine Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London-New York-Bombay 1901), 376-8; Gerhart Ladner, 'Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance' (1961), repr. in idem, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Storia e letteratura 155-6; Rome 1983), II, 727-63 (737-42 on legend, with bibliography 737 n.26).

³ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, III, 22.6, in *CC:SL*, I, 539. See Willy Rordorf, 'The Gestures of Prayer According to Tertullian, *De oratore* 11-30, and Origen, *Peri Euchês* 31-2', *Liturgy O.C.S.O.* 29.1 (1995), 92: 'Tertullian discovers a hidden allusion to the cross in any number of things.'

⁴ Berengarius of St Maximin, *De mysterio ligni Dominici*, in *PL*, CLX, 1005BC.

⁵ Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zürich 1957), 73-96 ('Das Mysterium des Kreuzes'); Von den Steinen, *Homo caelestis* (n. 1), 163-5; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus through the Centuries* (New Haven-London 1985), 100; Gerhart Ladner, *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik. Gott-Kosmos-Mensch* (Stuttgart-Zürich 1992), 99, 139; Victor Elbern, 'Crucis edita forma. Gestalt und Bedeutung des sogenannten Jerusalemer Kreuzes', in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*,

followers were told to receive (in Matthew 10.38), take up (in Luke 9.23, Matthew 16.24, and Mark 8.34), and carry (in Luke 14.27) His cross, though it is uncertain whether there was any distinction between these terms. Every feature of the cross had a special meaning and was given a symbolic interpretation. For Gregory of Nyssa it was 'a visual symbol of the four principal extensions of the universe and of its unity in Christ', and for Augustine it represented 'four invisible dimensions of man's soul in its capacity to love'.⁶ Its arms stood for chastity, perseverance, faith, and hope. Christians must extend their arms to the cross in order for Christ to extend His arms to them, said Ephraim Syrus, 'For he who does not extend his hand to His cross cannot move his hand to His table.'⁷

Every stage of human life was marked by the sign of the cross, which 'makes all those regenerated in Christ into kings', according to Leo the Great.⁸ Babies were 'signed with the sign of the holy cross' at baptism and restored to life 'by the imposition of the same cross of the Lord'.⁹ In the Latin A version of the *Didascalia apostolorum* Christians were told to sign their foreheads with the cross 'for this

ed. Franz Felten, Nikolas Jaspert, with Stephanie Haarländer (Berliner historische Studien 31: Ordenstudien 13; Berlin 1999), 261-82, plates 275-82. On the idea of the cross as a ladder to heaven, see Walter Cahn, 'Ascending to and Descending from Heaven: Ladder Themes in Early Medieval Art', in *Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (Secoli V-XI)*, 7-13 aprile 1988, 2 vols (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 36; Spoleto 1989), II, 721-4. There is much material of value in the old work of P. J. Münz, 'Archäologische Bemerkungen über das Kreuz, das Monogramm Christi, die altchristlichen Symbole, das Crucifix', *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschungen* 8 (1866), 347-558.

⁶ Gerhard Ladner, 'St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine on the Symbolism of the Cross' (1955), repr. in idem, *Images and Ideas* (n. 2), I, 200, 202-3.

⁷ Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'évangile concordant. Version arménienne*, XX, 23 (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium 137, 145. Scriptores Armeniani 1-2; Louvain 1953-4), II, 213.

⁸ Leo the Great, *Sermo* IV, 1, in *PL*, LIV, 149A. See Burkhard Neunheuser, *Baptism and Confirmation*, tr. John Jay Hughes (New York 1964), 132.

⁹ *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, 956b, 1614b, ed. Edmond Moeller, in *CC: SL*, CLXIIA, 388-9, 662. See Arnold Angenendt, 'Die Liturgie und die Organisation des kirchlichen Lebens an dem Lande', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo. Espansione e resistenze*, 10-16 aprile 1980, 2 vols (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 28; Spoleto 1982), I, 187-8; idem, 'Der Taufritus im frühen Mittelalter', in *Segni e riti* (n. 1), I, 276, 305, 307; Irénée Henri Dalmais, Pierre Marie Gy, Pierre Jounel, Aimé Georges Martimort, *Principles in the Liturgy* (The Church at Prayer 1; Collegeville 1987), 185. According to Gregory the Great, *Ep.* IV, 9, in *CC:SL*, CXL, 226, priests were anointed on the breast at baptism and bishops on the forehead; cf. *Ep.* IV, 26, in *CC:SL*, CXL, 246, allowing priests to baptize on the forehead if there was no bishop.

sign of His passion is manifested against the devil if it be made from faith'.¹⁰ Bede wrote in his *Ecclesiastical history* that:

The whole church is accustomed to bear on her forehead the sign of His holy cross, in order that, through the constant protection of this banner, it may be defended from the attacks of evil spirits [and] by its constant admonition may be taught that it should crucify its flesh with its vices and desires.¹¹

Boniface said that Christians should 'have Christ in the heart and the sign of the cross on the forehead'.¹² Jonas of Orléans, who died in 843, called the cross 'the arms of the faithful' and said that 'The foreheads of the faithful are protected by this banner. The invisible enemies are defeated by this banner. Everything is sanctified for us by this sign.'¹³

People spoke to the cross, and the cross spoke to them.¹⁴ Abbot Attila of Bobbio, who died in 627, had a cross brought to him on his deathbed and said to it, weeping:

Greetings, nurturing cross, who carry the price of the world, who bearing the eternal banners bring the medicine of our wounds; it is you, smeared with His blood, who has descended into this vale of tears in order to save the human race, you the second Adam, who formerly in the way of the first Adam, cleansing the old wound with a new washing.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Didascalie apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina*, ed. Edmund Hauler (Leipzig 1900), 118. This is the Latin A version. Cf. the B Version in *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, tr. Burton S. Easton (Cambridge 1934), 56-7. See Neunheuser, *Baptism* (n. 8), 59.

¹¹ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, V, 21, ed. Bertram Colgrave, Roger A. B. Mynors (OMT; Oxford 1969), 548.

¹² Cited in William O. Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons* (Yale Studies in English 22; New York 1904), 31-2, who also cited William of Malmesbury's *Life of Dunstan*.

¹³ Jonas of Orléans, *De cultu imaginum*, 1, in *PL*, CVI, 333D.

¹⁴ Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion frühen Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin 1981), 223.

¹⁵ Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Attalae*, III, 10, in *AASS* (3 ed.), 10 Mar. II.2, 44. The cross was here equated with Christ Himself. There are many examples of deathbed crosses in the *Lives* of saints, as in *AASS*, 22 Jan. II, 413, for the bishop of Valencia who died at Bari on his way to Jerusalem in about 1108.

The inscription on a seventh/eighth-century painted Coptic cross reads 'The cross is to me the voice of continence.'¹⁶ There are many examples of speaking and moving crucifixes in the *Lives* of saints, especially in the twelfth century.

The liturgical cult of the cross in the Holy Land began in at least the fourth century. Egeria gave a vivid description of the feast of the cross in Jerusalem, which involved kissing the cross and culminated in the celebration of mass in front of the cross, and Adamnan in *On holy places* described the church where the cross was preserved and the sweet odor of the oil that emanated from it.¹⁷ The feast of the invention of the cross was known in Rome and Gaul since the sixth century and the feast of the exaltation of the cross in Rome in the late seventh and in Gaul before the end of the eighth century.¹⁸ Alcuin was especially devoted to the cross and composed prayers addressed directly to the cross as well as to Christ on the cross.¹⁹ Amalarius of Metz described the ceremony of the adoration of the cross in his *Liber officialis*.²⁰ The development of the feasts of the invention and exaltation of the cross have been associated by some scholars with the works in honor of the cross by Odilo, abbot of Cluny, which was a center for 'the culture of the cross'.²¹ Johannes Fried stressed the significance of the cross in the millennial expectations around the year 1000 and said that the cult of the cross reached a high point in 1060.²² Jean Leclercq distinguished two periods in the history of medieval

¹⁶ Leslie MacCoull, reviewing Pascale Ballet, Nathalie Bosson, Marguerite Rassart-Debergh, *Kellia II. L'ermitage copte QR 195. Céramique, inscriptions, décors* (Fouilles de l' IFAD 49; Cairo 2003) in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124.2 (2004), 33-4.

¹⁷ *Itinerarium Egeriae*, XXXVII, 1-9, in CC:SL, CLXXV, 80-2; Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, III, 1-14, *ibid.* 228-9.

¹⁸ Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus reginensis 316)* (Tournai 1958), 350-64. See Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5 ed. (Paris 1909), 280-2; Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (Chevetogne n.d.), 151-3.

¹⁹ Gerald Ellard, 'Devotion to the Holy Cross and a Dislocated Mass-Text', *Theological Studies* 11 (1950), 346.

²⁰ Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis*, I, 14, in *Amalarii opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens, 3 vols (Studi e testi 138-40; Vatican City 1948-50), II, 99-107. See Gert Haendler, *Epochen karolingischer Theologie* (Theologische Arbeiten 10; Berlin 1958), 120-2 on Carolingian devotion to the cross.

²¹ Georg Schreiber, 'Cluny und die Eigenkirche' (1942), repr. in *idem*, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Münster 1948), 88; Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculati. Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à saint Maieul de Cluny (954-994)* (Paris 1988), 361-2; *idem*, 'La croix, le moine et l'empereur. Dévotion à la croix et théologie politique à Cluny autour de l'an mille', in *Haut Moyen Age. Culture, éducation et société. Etudes offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. Michel Sot (La Garenne-Colombes 1990), 449-75; Glauco Maria Cantarella, *I monaci di Cluny* (Turin 1997), 164-5; Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000-1150* (Paris 1998), 186-91.

²² Johannes Fried, 'Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende', *Deutsches Archiv* 45 (1989), 449-61.

devotion to the cross: the first from the ninth to the eleventh century, when the emphasis was on redemption and remission of sins and on the power of the cross, and the second in the twelfth century, when more attention was paid to suffering and patience, though the older view of the glory of the cross and its redemptive power was still found in the works of many writers.²³ The 'true advance' of the cult of the cross in the west was in the eleventh century, according to André Wilmart, who studied the cross particularly in the Farfa and Nonantola psalters and in the works of Peter Damiani and Anselm of Canterbury,²⁴ and to Etienne Delaruelle, who said that 'This evolution was completed in the second half of the eleventh century.'²⁵

Making the sign of the cross, both as a blessing and an exorcism, was ubiquitous in medieval society.²⁶ Fields were blessed with the sign of the cross in order to assure fertility, and countless men and women were cured from ailments by the sign of the cross. Some of these were visible and others invisible (like those on the foreheads of most people) except under special circumstances and at certain times of year. The crosses on the foreheads of the statues of Augustus and Livia at Ephesus and on the foreheads of some Turks who came to Constantinople in 591 were certainly visible. The council in Trullo of 692 decreed that crosses at the entries to houses should be at eye level, not on the threshold, presumably to avoid stepping on them.²⁷ Peter the Venerable in the twelfth century remarked on the crosses on people's foreheads and on doors, which indicated the dedication of the entire house to Christ. In his sermon on *In praise of the tomb of the Lord* Peter described Christians as 'marked by the sign of Your cross, distinguished by that sign as were the Israelites from the Egyptians, that is, from the whole number of the unfaithful'.²⁸

²³ Jean Leclercq, 'La dévotion médiévale envers le crucifié', *La Maison Dieu* 75 (1963), 119-32. See also Ursmer Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine des origines à la fin du XII^e siècle* (Collection 'Pax': Série in-8° 1; Paris-Maredsous 1927), 238-9; Philibert Schmitz, *Histoire de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît*, 7 vols (2 ed. 1-2) (Maredsous 1948-56), II, 397-8.

²⁴ André Wilmart, 'Prières médiévales pour l'adoration de la croix', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 46 (1932), 22-65; idem, 'L'office du crucifix contre l'angoisse', *ibid.* 421-34; idem, 'Les prières de saint Pierre Damien pour l'adoration de la croix' (1929), repr. in idem, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris 1932), 138-46. Wilmart considered the Carolingian period 'preliminary' in this respect.

²⁵ Etienne Delaruelle, 'La vie commune des clercs et la spiritualité populaire au XI^e siècle' (1962), repr. in idem, *La piété populaire au moyen âge* (Turin 1975), 89-90 dealing especially with the works of Ralph Glaber and John Gualbert. See also idem, 'Le crucifix dans la piété populaire et dans l'art du VI^e au XI^e' (1969), *ibid.* 27-42.

²⁶ Martimort, in *Principles* (n. 9), 181, said that the large cross (from forehead to chest to shoulders) was probably introduced later.

²⁷ Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Cambridge, Mass.-Oxford 1996), 98, 167, 244.

²⁸ Giles Constable, 'Petri Venerabilis sermones tres', *Revue bénédictine* 64 (1954), 254; Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos hereticos*, 132, in *CC:CM*, X, 77.

The number of churches dedicated to the cross multiplied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as did the great crosses above the entry to the choir in churches, which date back at least to the seventh and eighth centuries.²⁹ Crosses as a sign of protection on tombs date from the early middle ages.³⁰ The peace councils in southern France in the eleventh century used the cross as a symbol of peace and protection.³¹ Rural and wayside crosses were also common.³² The council of Clermont in 1095 decreed that 'If anyone flees to a cross on a road when his enemies are in pursuit, let him remain free as if he were in a church.'³³ Ordericus Vitalis said that some country people who took refuge at 'a wooden cross next to the road' were spared by Richard of Laigle who 'moved by the fear of God and out of sweet love of the Savior piously respected His cross'.³⁴ Crosses were used as boundary markers.³⁵ When Godfrey of Bouillon was on his way to Nicaea he put metal and wooden crosses on stakes along the way (*per viam*) 'in order that our pilgrims might recognize them'.³⁶

²⁹ Charles Moulin, 'Les églises et chapelles Sainte-Croix en France', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 62 (1975-6), 349-60 (18 of the 44 known dedications in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were old and 26 new). On the great crosses: Jean Hubert, Marie-Clotilde Hubert, 'Piété chrétienne ou paganisme? Les statues-reliquaires de l'Europe carolingienne', in *Cristianizzazione* (n. 9), 250-1. André Grabar, 'Les croisades de l'Europe orientale dans l'art' (1931), repr. in idem, *L'art de la fin d'antiquité et du moyen âge*, 3 vols (Paris 1968), I, 170, noted the rarity of churches dedicated to the Holy Cross in orthodox countries.

³⁰ Paul-Albert Février, 'La mort chrétienne', in *Segni e riti* (n. 1), II, 915-6.

³¹ Ludwig Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden*, I. *Die Friedensordnungen in Frankreich* (Ansbach 1892), 406-9. See Georges Duby, 'Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu', in *I laici nella 'Societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 21-27 agosto 1965* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Contributi 3S: Varia 5. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 5; Milan 1968), 460, on the cross as 'rempart contre les violences, signe de protection et d'asile'.

³² Raymond Oursel, *Pèlerins du moyen âge* (Paris 1978), 69-70; Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996), 54, 166 (on Anglo-Saxon England).

³³ 1095 Clermont can. 27, ed. Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, I: *Decreta Claromontensia* (Annuaire historiae conciliorum. Supplementum 1; Amsterdam 1972), 81, cf. *ibid.* (can. 28), 96 (can. 23), 114 (can. 16).

³⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, XII, 20, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford 1969-80), VI, 250. See Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Oxford 1984 repr. 1994), 135.

³⁵ *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107-1191*, ed. Diana E. Greenway (Records of Social and Economic History NS 1; London 1972), 111, no. 145.

³⁶ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, I, 7, ed. Rosalind Hill (NMT; London etc. 1962), 14. See Anatole Frolow, *Recherches sur la déviation de la IV^e Croisade vers Constantinople* (Paris 1955), 59.

Crosses appeared on both coins and seals, pages of books were written in the form of the cross, and documents were regularly marked with crosses, both at the beginning and before the signatures and marks of witnesses. Bernward of Hildesheim (who certainly knew how to write) signed a document 'by my own hand with the sign of the Lord's passion', and king Stephen of England confirmed a grant to Lewes 'by his own hand with the sign of the holy cross'.³⁷ Such crosses, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak said, symbolized Christ victorious and 'signalized Christian kingship and invoked God's authority'.³⁸

One of the most important functions of the cross was to ward off evil. Demons were believed to flee at the sign of the cross, and sick people were cured.³⁹ Its power was intrinsic and did not depend on the holiness of the user. It protected not only good but also evil men, and even Jews. The cross was feared by men because they are thieves, said the author of a sermon on the passion attributed to bishop Drogo of Ostia, who died in 1138: 'If they were not thieves, they would not fear the cross.'⁴⁰ The sign of the cross was a sovereign protection against sorcerers and magicians, such as the man who jumped onto a rounded stone in the *Life* of Gerald of Aurillac, and against apostates who fled 'when the sign of the cross appeared', according to Peter the Venerable.⁴¹ Abbot Richalm of Schönthal, who died in 1219,

³⁷ *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim*, I (Publicationen aus den k. preussischen Staatsarchiven 65; Leipzig 1896), 38, no. 49; see Ursmar Engelmann, *Christus am Kreuz. Romanische Kruzifixe zwischen Bodensee und Donau* (Beuron [1966]), 12; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1876-1903), V, 405, no. 4049. William the Conqueror confirmed a grant to Mont-St-Michel 'per hoc signum sanctae crucis': *Cartulaire du Mont-Saint-Michel*, intro. Emmanuel Poulle (Mont-Saint-Michel 2005), 29^r (of the facsimile).

³⁸ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept', *American Historical Review* 105 (2000), 1511. See also Bernhard Bischoff, 'Kreuz und Buch im Frühmittelalter und in der ersten Jahrhunderten der spanischen Reconquista' (1963), repr. in idem, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols (Stuttgart 1966-81), II, 284-303 and pl. VII; Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris 1972), II, 8-9; Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2 ed. (Oxford 1993), 311-13.

³⁹ Angenendt, 'Liturgie' (n. 9), I, 185-92; Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e-XII^e siècle)* (Paris 1985), 20-1, 32-5; Peter Dinzelsbacher, 'Das Kampf der Heiligen mit den Dämonen', in *Santi e demoni* (n. 5), II, 677-9; Barbara Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 1; Cambridge 1990), 57; Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton 1991), 175.

⁴⁰ Drogo of Ostia, *Dominicae passionis sermo*, I, in *Bibl. max.*, XXI, 332G. This sermon has been attributed to both Bernard of Clairvaux (*PL*, CLXXXIV, 750C) and Arnold of Bonneval (*PL*, CLXXXIX, 1742D).

⁴¹ Odo of Cluny, *Vita Geraldii*, II, 31 in *PL*, CXXXIII, 687D; Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, 113.1-6, in *CC:CM*, X, 67.

urged his monks to use the sign of the cross on any part of their bodies if they felt any temptation and even against the bites of fleas. Richalm said of himself that 'I think that I myself would be a wanderer and a fugitive on earth, and scattered to every wind, so that no part of me would stick together, if the cross alone did not join me together.'⁴²

The cross was the *vexillum regis*, the standard of the all-powerful King, which sanctified the rule of Christian monarchs and brought peace, prosperity, and security as well as victory in battle.⁴³ Jerome wrote to Laeta that 'The insignia of the cross are the banners of soldiers,'⁴⁴ and Martin of Tours, after his conversion but while he was still a soldier, offered to fight unarmed 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ protected by the sign of the cross, not by a shield or helmet'.⁴⁵ In the tenth-century Romano-Germanic pontifical the cross was called the trophy of Christ's victory and our redemption and 'the unconquerable sign of the cross, by which the power of the devil is destroyed [and] the freedom of mortals restored'.⁴⁶ For Fulbert of Chartres the cross was 'the standard of the all ruling King' and for Peter Damiani 'the triumphal banner' carried against the world by the soldier of Christ.⁴⁷

A prayer on the cross attributed to Anselm of Canterbury described those who were 'confirmed by its sign' as armed with its banner, defended and protected by its name, and saved by its power: 'Be you our salvation, strength, protection, our impregnable wall, our defense, our consolation, light, way, and our life, our arms, our unbeatable liberation, our redemption, and our resurrection.'⁴⁸ Adam of St Victor in his poem *On the holy cross* wrote that 'The cross gives freedom

⁴² Richalm of Schöntal, *Liber revelationum*, I, 5, 7, 46, in *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, ed. Bernhard Pez, 6 vols (Augsburg-Graz 1721-9), I, 2, 391, 392-3, 423.

⁴³ Paul Alphandéry, 'Notes sur le messianisme médiéval latin (XI^e – XII^e siècle)', *Ecole pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences religieuses* (Paris 1912), 20; Carl Richstaetter, *Christusfrömmigkeit in ihrer historischen Entfaltung* (Cologne 1949), 56-9; Von den Steinen, *Homo caelestis* (n. 1), 161-71 ('Siegeskraft'); Suso Brechter, 'Zur Bekehrungsgeschichte der Angelsachsen', in *La conversione al Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo, 14-19 aprile 1966* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 14; Spoleto 1967), 200 ('Siegeszeichen'); Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 37.

⁴⁴ Jerome, *Ep.* 107.2, in *CSEL*, LV, 292. Cf. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, I, 35, in *CSEL*, LXI, 292.

⁴⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, IV, 5, ed. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vols (SC 133-5; Paris 1967-9), I, 260.

⁴⁶ Cyrille Vogel, Reinhard Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 2 vols (Studi e testi 226-7; Vatican City 1963), I, 160, cf. 157 (blessing of a wooden cross 'per quam eripuisti mundum a potestate demonum et superasti passione tua suggestorem peccati').

⁴⁷ Fulbert of Chartres, *Ep.* 134, in *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and tr. Frederick Behrends (OMT; Oxford 1976), 244; Peter Damiani, *Sermo* 30.1, in *PL*, CXLIV, 666B.

⁴⁸ Jean-François Cottier, *Anima mea. Prières privées et textes de dévotion du moyen âge latin* (Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses 3; Turnhout 2003), 198-200.

to captives, confers newness of life, restores all things to their ancient dignity.⁴⁹ Alan of Lille in his sermon *On the cross of the Lord*, more of which will be cited below, said that:

We bear the glorious figure of the cross on the forehead of the body by impression and on the forehead of the mind by faith ... The sign of the cross is sometimes made for strengthening, sometimes for glorifying, sometimes for signifying, sometimes for sanctifying ... O great mystery of the cross, which drives away the demons, saves men, conquers the world, and weakens sin ... the seal of our religion, the banner of the Christian faith.⁵⁰

These passages have a martial tone, and there is some evidence that the cross was used as a battle emblem long before the crusades.⁵¹ Constantine had visions of the cross in the sky and on his shields. His helmet was said to have been marked by a Christian monogram, and the Chi Rho was a specifically Christian symbol.⁵² Jesus carried the cross almost as a weapon in depictions of His descent

⁴⁹ Adam of St Victor, *De sancta cruce*, 60.11, in Joseph Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz 1873), 67, see 66-78, nos. 59-78 for other sequences on the cross.

⁵⁰ Alan of Lille, *Sermo de cruce domini*, in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits* (Etudes de philosophie médiévale 52; Paris 1965), 279-80.

⁵¹ Giuseppe Ligato, 'The Political Meanings of the Relic of the Holy Cross among the Crusaders and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: an Example of 1185', in *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris 1996), 316-17. On the Byzantine use of the cross in front of an army see Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 36), 62.

⁵² Münz, 'Bemerkungen' (n. 5), 371-40 (on the Chi Rho and its variants); Andreas Alföldi, 'The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram', *Journal of Roman Studies* 22.1 (1932), I, 9-23. On the importance of Constantine in crusading thought see Paul Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la Première Croisade* (Neuchâtel 1945), 75-6; Andreas and Judith Stylianou, 'En touto nika' – 'In hoc vinces' – 'By this conquer' (Publications of the Society of Cypriote Studies 4; Nicosia 1971); Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Medieval Academy Books 98; Cambridge, Mass. 1991), 206; Peter Weiss, 'Die Vision Constantins', in *Colloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Alfred Heuss*, ed. Jochen Bleicken (Kallmuenz 1993), 143-69, esp. 145, 154-5; Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 236; Rome 1997), 70-1 ('the memory of Constantine was strong in the genesis of the First Crusade'); Alphonse Dupront, *Le mythe de croisade*, 4 vols paginated consecutively (Paris 1997 [but presented as a dissertation in 1956]), 1305; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke 1998), 82.

into hell to do battle with the forces of the underworld.⁵³ The crosses on the so-called York helmet, which dates from 750/75, and the Barry Grange helmet were probably signs of protection.⁵⁴ The author of an address to the participants in a military expedition in the mid eighth century began 'Men, brothers, and fathers, who have the Christian name and bear the banner of the cross (*vexillum crucis*) on the forehead.'⁵⁵ Widukind in his *Deeds of the Saxons* recorded under the year 958 that after a barbarian massacre 'notes of the cross (*notae crucis*)' were found on the clothes of many participants. These were interpreted in several ways, Widukind said, but wiser heads (with whom he agreed) said that 'the sign of the cross prefigured safety and victory'. A report, presumably of the same event, is found under the year 959 in the *Annals* of Corbie, which recorded (without a verb) that 'In this year the sign of the holy cross on the clothes of men and on [their] bodies.'⁵⁶ This strongly suggests that the Christian participants in the conflict wore crosses on their clothing.

Examples, especially of banners marked with a cross, were more frequent in the eleventh century, even in conflicts between Christians. In 1030 the count of Cornouaille 'invoked the strength of the glorious cross of the Lord' and the aid of St Ronan in a battle against the duke of Brittany and fought 'armed by the sign of the saving cross'.⁵⁷ Geoffrey Malaterra (who was writing later and may have been influenced by the example of the first crusade) said in his *On the deeds of Roger [I]* that Roger told his soldiers before the battle of Cerami in 1063 that 'We are all marked with the title (*titulo*) of Christ' and urged them not to desert 'this *signaculum*'. He also described a vision of a horseman bearing a white banner with 'a splendid cross' on top.⁵⁸ The Bayeux tapestry shows a banner with a cross

⁵³ Jean Monnier, *La descente aux enfers. Etude de pensée religieuse d'art et de littérature* (Paris 1905), 197-8, calling the cross 'une arme décisive'. The illustrations of the harrowing of hell in Myrtilla Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, II: *Plates* (Princeton-Oxford-The Hague 1936) regularly show Christ carrying a cross. See generally Alphantery, 'Notes' (n. 43), 20-1.

⁵⁴ Dominic Tweddle, *The Anglian Helmet from 16-22 Coppergate* (The Archaeology of York 17.8; York 1992), 983, 1015, 1082 (on the date).

⁵⁵ Albert Michael Koeniger, *Die Militärseelsorge der Karolingerzeit* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München IV, 7; Munich 1918), 72, cf. 52 n.1, 66.

⁵⁶ Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres*, III, 61, 5, ed. Paul Hirsch (MGH, SS r.g., Hanover 1935), 136-7; *Annales Corbeiensis* s.a. 959, in MGH, SS, III, 4.

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, ed. Léon A. Maître, Paul de Berthou, 2 ed. (Bibliothèque Bretonne Américaine 4; Rennes-Paris 1904), 101. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 40.

⁵⁸ Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*, II, 33, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (*RIS*², V, 1; Bologna 1928), 44. See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 135; Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, tr. Graham Loud, Diane Milburn (Cambridge 2002), 20, cf. 115 for an enamel of the 1130s showing Roger leaning on a banner with a cross.

carried by the Normans in 1066 and a cross on the masthead of a ship.⁵⁹ Closer to the time of (but still probably before) the first crusade was the so-called Pisan poem on the expedition against the Muslims in 1087, which said that the Genoese and Pisans were comforted in spirit 'with the cross and the sword'.⁶⁰ Banners with crosses probably decorated the carts bearing masts with banners attached as insignia of power, of which the earliest example in Italy dates from 1039 and in Germany from 1086.⁶¹

The cross was associated in a less martial spirit with the east and the second coming of Christ. It was the symbol of early Christian eschatological thought, according to Eric Peterson, who argued that the custom of praying in the direction of the cross, the presence of the cross behind (and sometimes in place of) the altar in ancient churches, and the mystical visions of the cross in the east all reflected the second coming of Christ and 'the close connection between the east and the cross'.⁶² Bernard Capelle agreed that the cross was evocative and annunciative of Christ, 'It was at first a matter of an "eschatological cross" since the direction towards the east was eschatological.' And Cyrille Vogel said that from at least the second century the eschatological cross was the symbol of the devotion of prayer and the sign of Christ's victory and triumph, not of His suffering.⁶³

Subsequent research has confirmed the importance for the early church of praying towards the east and with extended arms in the figure of the cross.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *The Bayeux Tapestry: A Comprehensive Survey*, ed. Frank M. Stenton, 2 ed. (London 1965), pls 51, 55, 57, 67; David Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (New York 1985), pl. 42, 49-50. According to David Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Chicago 1986), 103, the banner shown is not the papal banner of St Peter. See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 197.

⁶⁰ Giuseppe Scalia, 'Il carme pisano sull'impresa contro i Saraceni del 1087', in *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Silvio Pellegrini*, ed. Marco Boni a.o. (Padua 1971), 612 (ll. 34, 133: 'cum cruce et gladio'). See Marco Tangheroni, 'La reconquista cristiana del Mediterraneo occidentale', in *La prima cruzada novecientos años después. El concilio de Clermont y los orígenes del movimiento cruzado*, ed. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos (n.p. 1997), 102-3.

⁶¹ Ernst Voltmer, 'Nel segno della croce. Il carroccio come simbolo del potere', in *'Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989* (Scienze storiche 48: Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13; Milan 1992), 193-207.

⁶² Erik Peterson, 'La croce e la preghiera verso Oriente', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 59 (1945), 53. On Peterson, see György Geréby, 'Carl Schmitt and Erik Peterson on the Problem of Political Theology: A Footnote to Kantorowicz', in *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants*, ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh, János M. Bak (Budapest 2004), 40-51; Uwe Michael Lang, *Turning towards the Lord: Orientation in Liturgical Prayer* (San Francisco 2004), 41-2.

⁶³ Bernard Capelle, 'Aux origines du culte de la croix', *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 27 (1946), 161; Cyrille Vogel, 'La croix eschatologique', in *Noël, Epiphanie, retour du Christ*, ed. A. -M. Dubarle (Lex orandi 40; Paris 1967), 85-108, esp. 92-3, 104-6.

⁶⁴ Klaus Gamber, 'Conversi ad Dominum. Die Hinwendung von Priester und Volk nach Osten bei Messfeier in 4. und 5. Jahrhundert', *Römische Quartalschrift* 67

Augustine said that 'When we stand at prayer, we turn to the east, whence heaven arises.'⁶⁵ Walahfrid Strabo in his *Little book on the origins and growth of certain points of ecclesiastical observances* said that according to 'a certain wise man' (possibly Tertullian or Isidore of Seville) God was adored 'facing the rising of the light' and that churches and altars could face any direction but that prayer should be directed towards Jerusalem and the east.⁶⁶ Amalarius of Metz likewise wrote that when a priest said *Gloria in excelsis Deo* he should face the east 'where we are accustomed to seek God'.⁶⁷ The association of the cross with Jerusalem and the east was brought out by the ceremony of carrying the cross in imitation of Christ on Good Friday, by the legends of the finding of the cross by St Helena, by the feasts of the adoration, invention, and exaltation of the cross, and by a remarkable passage in the *Histories* of Ralph Glaber, who attributed to the direction of the cross on Calvary the spread of Christianity to the north and west rather than to the south and east of Jerusalem.

For the rough people of the east were behind the head of Him Who was suspended, but the west was in the sight of His eyes, ready to be filled with the light of the faith. So too the north, softened by the faith of the sacred word, received His almighty right arm, extended for the work of mercy, while the south made tumultuous by the peoples of the barbarians, received His left arm.⁶⁸

In the early thirteenth-century sermon *On the preaching of the Holy Cross*, attributed to Philip of Oxford, Christ on the cross was said to have inclined towards the north, which is cold and signifies the sinner.⁶⁹

It is uncertain when the cross began to be used as a badge of pilgrimage either to the east or elsewhere. The usual marks of pilgrimage, which went back to the early middle ages, were the pouch (or wallet) and staff, which conferred a

(1972), 49-64; Paul de Clerck, *La 'prière universelle' dans les liturgies latines anciennes* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 62; Münster 1977), 50; Rordorf, 'Gestures' (n. 3), 93-4; Lang, *Turning towards the Lord* (n. 62), 36-88. On the orientation of churches, see Donald Bullough, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald (Oxford 1983), 190, with further references.

⁶⁵ Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte*, II, 5.18, in *CC:SL*, XXXV, 1967. See Gamber, 'Conversi' (n. 64), 55.

⁶⁶ Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quorundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, 4, tr. Alice Harting-Corrêa (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 19; Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996), 58-61 (quotation on 58), with commentary on 210-14, citing Martimort, *Principles* (n. 9), 184.

⁶⁷ Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, III, 8.2, ed. Hanssens (n. 20), II, 286-7.

⁶⁸ Ralph Glaber, *Historiae*, I, 24, ed. John France (OMT; Oxford 1989), 42.

⁶⁹ *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. Reinhold Röhrich (Geneva 1879), 13. On this work, which was written 1213/14, see Cole, *Preaching* (n. 52), 110-12.

recognized status on a pilgrim and to which a close-fitting hat was sometimes added, as in the Belval sculpture and the depictions of Christ as a pilgrim at Silos and in the St Albans psalter (figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3). The ceremony for blessing the pouch and wallet of pilgrims was one of the normal responsibilities of priests in the twelfth century,⁷⁰ though it was later supplemented or replaced by a variety of special insignia.⁷¹ When Anselm left Canterbury in 1097, according to Eadmer, 'he received the pouch and staff in the manner of pilgrims at the altar' or 'assumed the pouch and staff, the supports and marks of his journey, as is customary'.⁷²

⁷⁰ Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Freiburg-im-Br. 1909), II, 272-4, citing (274) Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, I, 181, in *PL*, CLXXII, 599CD; Pierre de Puniet, *Le pontifical romain*, 2 vols (Paris-Louvain 1930-1), II, 221.

⁷¹ Relatively little is known about the early history of pilgrims' badges. On the wallet and staff, see Cassian, *Collationes*, XI, 3, ed. Eugène Pichery, 3 vols (SC 42, 54, 64; Paris 1955-9), II, 102, who is cited, with other early sources, by Charles Du Cange, 'Dissertations sur l'histoire de Saint Louys, 15. De l'escarcelle et du bourdon des pèlerins de la terre sainte', in idem, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. G. A. Louis Henschel, 7 vols (Paris 1840-50), VII.2, 65-6, who also cited a charter of 1135/48 from the abbey of Absie, now printed in *Cartulaires et chartes de l'abbaye de l'Absie*, ed. Bélisaire Ledain (Archives historiques du Poitou 25; Poitiers 1895), 109. See also Tancred Borenius, *Mediaeval Pilgrims' Badges* (London 1930); Edmond-René Labande, 'Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XI^e et XII^e siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 1 (1958), 168-9 (calling the staff 'l'épée spirituelle du pèlerin'); Francis Garrisson, 'A propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique', in *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiés à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vols (Paris 1965), II, 1168-77; James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison-London 1969), 11-12; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 196 n.52; Edmond-René Labande, 'Pellegrini o crociati? Mentalità e comportamenti a Gerusalemme nel secolo XII', *Aevum* 54 (1980), 220-1; Kurt Köster, 'Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen', in *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen*, ed. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, Gerda Möhler (Munich-Zurich 1984), 202-23; idem, *Santiago di Compostela. 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen* (Ghent 1985), 85-95, esp. 88. On later medieval pilgrim badges see Denis Bruno, 'La diffusion des enseignes de pèlerinage et croisades', in *Pèlerinages et croisades* (Actes du 118^e congrès national annuel des sociétés historiques et scientifiques; Paris 1995), 201-14; Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, 2 vols (London 1998); Ruth Mellinkoff, *Adverting Demons*, 2 vols (Los Angeles 2004), I, 141-3, 182 nn.80-90. For other references to the pouch and staff see below (at n. 128), chapter 3 (at n. 33), and chapter 5 (at n. 52).

⁷² Eadmer, *Vita sancti Anselmi*, 21, ed. Richard W. Southern (NMT; London-Edinburgh 1962), 97; William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, I, 50, ed. Nicholas E. S. A. Hamilton (RS 52; London 1870), 95. In the *Historia translationis Augustini ep. Cant.*, I, 7. 47, in *AASS* (3 ed.), 26 May VI, 422F (*BHL* 781), Goscelin of Canterbury said that 'our men who were previously accustomed to visit the king Christ in His city with a wallet and staff' now went with a spear and sword. According to the *Liber sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, I. *Texto*, I, 17, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela 1944), 153, pilgrims returning from Jerusalem carried palms and those from Compostela scallop



Figure 2.1 Christ as a pilgrim in the cloister of Santo Domingo, Silos

shells, which have been found in late-eleventh and early twelfth-century tombs of pilgrims to Compostela, where, according to *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Anne Shaver-Crandell, Paula Gerson (London 1995), 89, 'the small scallop shells which are the insignia of the blessed James' were sold: see Labande, 'Recherches' (n. 71), 160, 343; idem, 'Pellegrini' (n. 71), 228-9.

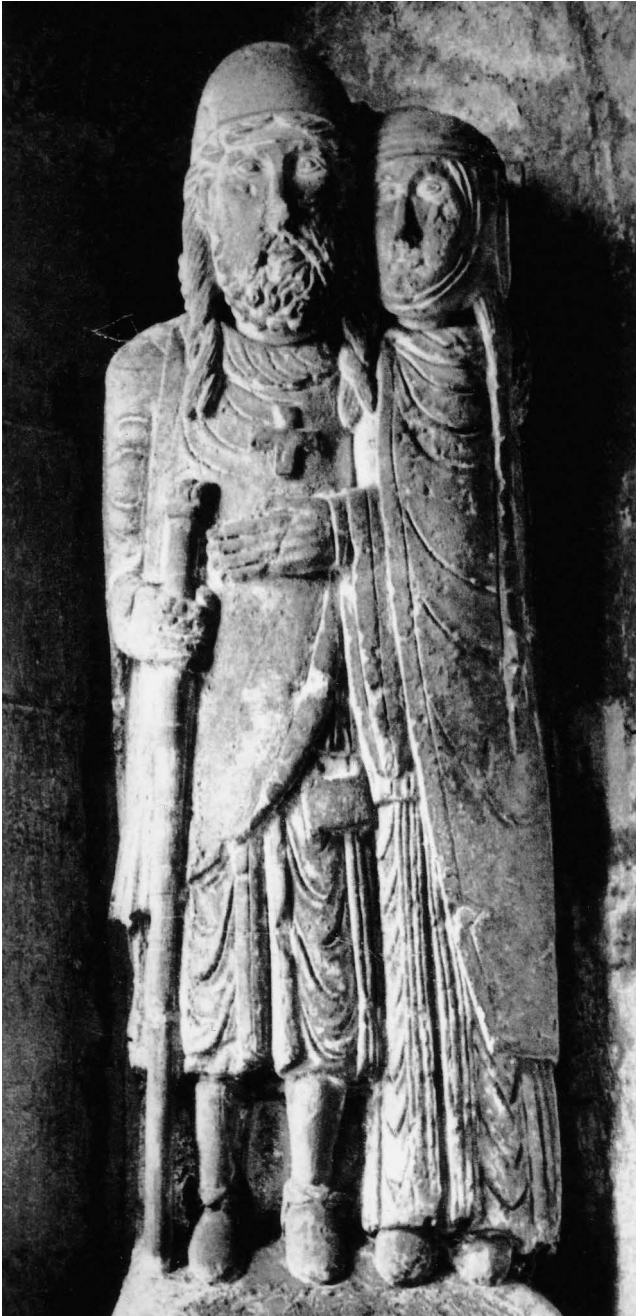


Figure 2.2 Sculpture from Belval (Nancy, Musée municipal), see pp. 57, 61-2, 77-8.

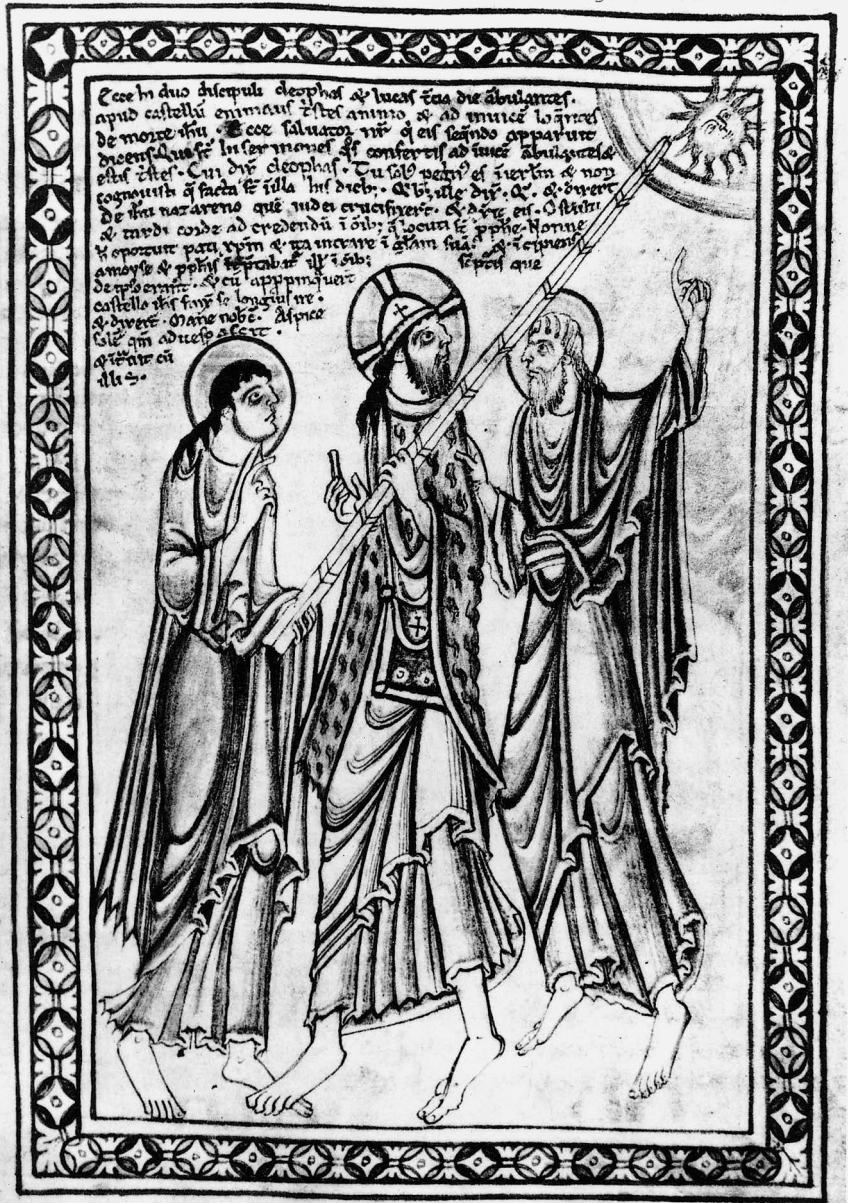


Figure 2.3 Christ on the road to Emmaus from the St Albans Psalter, p. 69: see Otto Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter*, p. 69 (Studies of the Warburg Institute 25; London 1960), 9, 73-9, 96, pl.38

The abbot of Savigny had a vision of the devil tempting a young monk to leave the monastery, resume the secular habit, take the cross, and go to Jerusalem, 'He saw the invisible adversary standing next to him, in the likeness of any traveler to Jerusalem, marked with the palm, pouch, and staff and covered with a lay robe.'⁷³ Hugh of Poitiers said in the *Chronicle of Vézelay* that the count of Nevers in 1155, 'blaspheming the cult of piety', took the pouch and staff and went to the king, pretending to be a pilgrim to St Denis.⁷⁴ For a pilgrim to set out without a pouch and wallet was considered an act of exceptional piety and humility. The sixth-century bishop Talo (Teilo) of Llandaff, into whose *Vita* an account of a journey to Jerusalem was introduced after 1135, was said to have gone with two others 'not like many pilgrims with much collected money but without a staff or pouch, trusting rather in Him Who gave food to their beasts'.⁷⁵

Some scholars believe that the cross was used as a sign of pilgrimage to Jerusalem already before the crusades.⁷⁶ William Firmat, who died in 1103, was said in his *Vita* to have crucified the world to himself and himself to the world. When he was 'about to visit the holy places in Jerusalem he took his cross and began to follow the Lord in his track',⁷⁷ but the *Vita* was written long after his death, and the reference to taking the cross may not be literal. Its use spread in the twelfth century, not only by crusaders. The pilgrim Christ in the St Albans psalter, which was probably written before 1123, has a cross both on His pouch and His hat (figure 2.3), and Godric of Finchale in the twelfth century certainly wore a cross 'with the priest granting' on his pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Santiago. He both bore 'the banner of the cross on his shoulders' and 'always carried in front with his hands a certain small (*modica*) cross'.⁷⁸ The pilgrim whose pouch is marked with a cross on the tympanum of the main portal of the cathedral at Autun, which dates from about 1130, carries no arms, nor does the male pilgrim on the sculpture from Belval,

⁷³ Herbert of Clairvaux, *De miraculis*, I, 25, in *PL*, CLXXXV, 1300A.

⁷⁴ Hugh of Poitiers, *Chronicon Vizeliacensis*, III, in *CC:CM*, XLII, 503, tr. John Scott, John O. Ward (Binghampton 1992), 215.

⁷⁵ *Vita sancti Teliavi* (BHL 7997) in *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J. Gwenoguryn Evans, John Rhys (Oxford 1893), 103, see xxv n.42 on date. Cf. another version (BHL 7998), II, 6, in *AASS*, 9 Feb. II, 309A.

⁷⁶ Etienne Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de croisade [V.4]' (1953), repr. in idem, *L'idée de croisade au moyen âge* (Turin 1980), 116 n.15, citing De Puniët, *Pontifical* (n. 70), II, 221, who said that the cross was 'later' added to the customary wallet and staff as signs of pilgrimage.

⁷⁷ *Vita sancti Guillelmi Firmati*, 1 (BHL 8914) in Emile-Auber Pigeon, *Vies des saints du diocèse de Coutances et Avranches*, 2 vols (Avranches 1892), II, 402. On another pilgrimage to Jerusalem (ibid. 411) William went with bare feet and 'lorica indutus gravi'.

⁷⁸ Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de vita et miraculis s. Godrici*, VI, 19.5; XIV, 39; XV, 41 (BHL 3598), ed. Joseph Stevenson (Surtees Society 20; London-Edinburgh 1847), 33-4, 54, 56; Otto Pächt, Charles R. Dodwell, Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter* (*Albani Psalter*) (Studies of the Warburg Institute 25; London 1960), pl. 38-9, showing Christ on the road to Emmaus and the supper at Emmaus, cf. pl. 122a, 123d (280 on the date).

who simply has a cross on his chest (figures 2.2, 2.4). Ceremonies for the blessing of pilgrims' crosses are found in south Italy since the eleventh century, and the twelfth-century pontifical of Magdalen College includes a ceremony for blessing 'the cross of pilgrimage' and whoever wore it.⁷⁹ Henry of Marcy (Albano), who died in 1189, equated pilgrims and fighters in *On the peregrinating city of God*, saying that 'Since those who are pilgrims and those who fight are especially accustomed to use signs, they are rightly given signs to the peregrinating and fighting city.'⁸⁰



Figure 2.4 Depictions of pilgrims on the tympanum of the west portal of Autun Cathedral

⁷⁹ Henry A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from other English MSS. of the Twelfth Century* (Henry Bradshaw Society 39; London 1910), 207, cf. 239-41. See De Puniet, *Pontifical* (n. 70), II, 221-2; Roger Reynolds, 'Les cérémonies liturgiques de la cathédrale de Bénévente', in *La cathédrale de Bénévente*, ed. Thomas F. Kelly (Royaumont-Ghent 1999), 200-1.

⁸⁰ Henry of Marcy (Albano), *Tractatus de peregrinante civitate Dei*, I, in *PL*, CCIV, 261C.

The Cross of Crusading

The surviving evidence supports the conclusion that as the characteristic mark of crusading the cross originated with Urban II at the council of Clermont.⁸¹ Bohemund of St Gilles wrote to Urban in 1098 that 'You ordered [the participants] to follow Christ by bearing crosses.'⁸² Fulcher of Chartres said 'after their vow of participation' the pilgrims put 'crosses made of silk or woven with gold or adorned with some sort of brocade' on the shoulders of their mantles, cloaks, and tunics 'at the order of the said pope'.⁸³ Baldric of Bourgeuil wrote that Urban cited Christ's instruction to take up His cross, and said:

You should apply a cross to your clothes, from which you will proceed more safely and will present both an example and an encouragement to those who see you ... Everyone immediately sewed the banner of the holy cross onto his outer garments. For so the pope ordered and it pleased those who were about to leave to make this sign.⁸⁴

According to the continuation of the *History of the way to Jerusalem* by Peter Tudebode, the pope

decreed that all those who were going there should bear the sign of the cross in some way on their clothing imposed on their shoulders or on their forehead, so

⁸¹ Frederic Duncalf, 'The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont', in Wisconsin *History*, I, 239-40, 246-7; Etienne Delaruelle, 'Essai [V]. Urbain II' (1953-4), repr. in idem, *L'idée* (n. 76), 98-127; Michael Markowski, 'Crucesignatus: Its Origin and Early Usage', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), 158; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London-Philadelphia 1986), 24-5, 113-14; idem, 'The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095-1300', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford 1995), 68. The only known use of the term *cruce signatus* attributed to Urban himself is in a document now generally considered a forgery: *PL*, CLI, 485B, JL †5675; see Paul Riant, 'Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades', *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), 124-7. See also *PL*, CLI, 349A, JL †5467 (*IP*, VIII, 319-22, no. 11), which is a late-thirteenth or early fourteenth-century forgery (allegedly 14 September 1092) granting La Cava the right to sign with the cross.

⁸² Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck 1901), 164, no. XVI, 13, see 354 n.70.

⁸³ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I, IV, 4, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913), 140-1. Fulcher went to say that 'The warriors of God who prepared themselves to fight for His honor were indeed justly marked and strengthened by this sign of victory.'

⁸⁴ Baldric of Bourgeuil (Dol), *Historia Jerosolimitana*, I, 5, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, IV, 16AB.

that by showing to those who saw [them] the religion and pilgrimage of such a journey they would not be impeded by anyone.⁸⁵

Guibert of Nogent also said that Urban ordered the participants to sew the figure of the cross on their clothing as a mark of their undertaking, 'like the belt of warfare or rather the mark (*stigma*) of the passion of the Lord for those who were going to fight for God'.⁸⁶

These and other references in contemporary and near-contemporary sources leave no doubt of Urban's initiative and instructions.⁸⁷ From the first crusade on nearly all, if not all, crusaders wore the cross.⁸⁸ There are countless references to the cross of crusaders in the narrative sources of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bernold of Constance wrote in his chronicle under the year 1096 that everyone who vowed himself to this journey was marked with the sign of the cross on their clothing and sometimes on their bodies.⁸⁹ Ekkehard of Aura wrote under 1095 about the cross-bearing (*crucifer*) army carrying the sign of the cross on its clothing and 'believing that in this, according to the vision revealed to the great Constantine, it would triumph over the enemies of Christ' and under 1096 that 'Many men also showed the sign of the cross on themselves on their foreheads or clothes or divinely impressed on some part of their body, and they believed themselves enrolled by this stigma in the same army of God'.⁹⁰ The importance of the cross in the second crusade is brought out in the account of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 written probably by a priest named Raol, who described the men

⁸⁵ Ps-Peter Tudebode, *Historia de via Hierusolymis*, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 170. This work attributed to Tudebode should be distinguished from Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 9-117. On Peter, see Jay Rubinstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and Who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* NS 16 (2005), 179-204, who concluded (202) that 'The *Gesta Francorum* is a collection of stories probably from a variety of sources, and Peter Tudebode did not compose the book which bears his name.'

⁸⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, II, 5, in *CC:CM, CXXVIIA*, 117. Earlier (II, 4 [113]) Guibert said that Urban called on the crusaders to rescue the cross.

⁸⁷ See among others Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, I, 2, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 729-30; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, IX, 2, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 14.

⁸⁸ See in general Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 35-8, 345-8; Rousset, *Origines* (n. 52), 75-7; Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, ed. Alphonse Dupront, 2 vols (Evolution de l'humanité 38-8A; Paris 1954-9), I, 62-3; Etienne Delaruelle, 'Essai [V.4]', repr. in *L'idée* (n. 76), 114-22; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 57), 11, 40, 62-3, 81; Dupront, *Mythe* (n. 52), 1304-5, 1309; Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 76-83.

⁸⁹ Bernold of Constance (St Blaise), *Chronicon* s.a. 1096, ed. Ian Robinson, in *MGH, SS, NS, XIV*, 528.

⁹⁰ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon universale* s.a. 1095, 1096, in *MGH, SS, VI*, 213-14, and in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V, 19. See Franz, *Benediktionen* (n. 70), II, 274, on the 'new rite' for blessing the swords mentioned by Ekkehard.

‘marked with the cross of the Lord’ and the banner with the sign of the cross.⁹¹ After he arrived in Lisbon, Raol himself, according to a charter of 1148, ‘set up the sign of the holy cross in a certain solitary place’.⁹²

To these western sources (of which many other examples could be cited) can be added the evidence of non-Latin writers. Anna Comnena said that the followers of Peter the Hermit carried palms and had crosses on their shoulders.⁹³ The colophon of an Armenian book of canon law written in 1098 said that ‘The nation of brave westerners was moved to save the Christians from the tyrants who held in dishonor the holy [places] and priests of God ... They put before [themselves] the sign of the cross of Christ and coming over the sea smote the host of the impious.’⁹⁴ Patriarch Michael the Great of Antioch, who died in 1199, mentioned the use of the cross as a battle standard by the Franks.⁹⁵ The ‘sign’ on the body of count Emicho of Flonheim was remarked on in the chronicle of Solomon bar Simson, and the later Jewish chronicler Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir referred to the cross ‘for a sign’ on the clothing of the crusaders at Clermont and of Louis VII and Conrad III on the second crusade.⁹⁶

There are references in the late-eleventh-century crusading letters published by Hagenmeyer to the *signum crucis* and *signum salutiferae crucis* and to the crusaders as *sancta cruce signati*. Urban’s successor Paschal II wrote in 1099 to

⁹¹ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and tr. Charles W. David, 2 ed. Jonathan Phillips ([Columbia] Records of Civilization 24; New York 2001), 104, 146, 158, 174, 180. During the siege of Lisbon the Muslims mocked the cross (132); after the capture a cross was put ‘on the highest tower as a sign of the city’ (174) and the native Christians grasped and kissed the cross (180).

⁹² Harold Livermore, ‘The “Conquest of Lisbon” and its Author’, *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), 4-5.

⁹³ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, X, 5, 6, ed. Bernard Leib, 3 vols (Collection Byzantine ... Budé; Paris 1937-69), II, 207-8.

⁹⁴ Paul Peeters, ‘Un témoignage autographe sur le siège d’Antioche par les croisés en 1098’ (1946), repr. in idem, *Recherches orientales*, 2 vols (Brussels 1951), II, 164-80; see A. S. Mat’evosyan, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 5th – 12th Centuries* (Erevan 1988), 117-19 (in Armenian), saying of the crusaders that ‘They put before [themselves] the sign of the cross of Christ.’ I owe this reference to Robert Thomson.

⁹⁵ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d’Antioche 1166-1199*, ed. and tr. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, 4 vols (Paris 1899-1910), III, 309-10; IV, 655. See Anneliese Lüders, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde. Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 29; Berlin 1964), 70, who also cites Bar Hebraeus. Cf. Arthur S. Tritton, Hamilton A. R. Gibb, ‘The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syrian Chronicle’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 92 (1933), 77.

⁹⁶ *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, tr. Schlomo Eidelberg (Madison-London 1977), 28, 149 n.55; *The Chronicles of Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir the Sphardi*, 32, 152, tr. Christoph H. F. Bialloblotzky (Oriental Translation Fund; London 1835), 30, 116.

the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of Gaul that everyone 'who had assumed the signs of the cross by the vow of this army' should be required to go unless prevented by poverty.⁹⁷ There are also many references to the cross of crusading in contemporary charters. In 1098 a woman named Emerias of Alteias 'raised the cross on her right shoulder for the journey to Jerusalem' and came for a blessing to bishop Isarnus of Toulouse, who advised her to found a monastery rather than go on a crusade.⁹⁸ Stephen of Neublens decided in 1100 'to go to Jerusalem where the God-Man was seen and lived with men and to worship in the place where His feet stood', and abbot Hugh of Cluny 'placed the sign of salvation, that is, the holy cross' on his shoulder and a ring on his finger.⁹⁹ William the Hunter made a gift to St Julian at Tours in 1120 when 'by the inspiration of God he had the desire to go to Jerusalem and received the cross as the sign of pilgrimage, as the custom of this type of pilgrim required.'¹⁰⁰ Chalo of Vienne, who had been excommunicated by Calixtus II for failing to settle a dispute with the canons of St Hilary at Poitiers, was forbidden 'by apostolic authority' to go to Jerusalem when he took the cross 'with rash audacity'.¹⁰¹ A troublesome monk at Tegernsee declared that he wanted 'to follow the Lord Savior after the cross had been taken'.¹⁰² In 1145 a donor went to St Sulpice-en-Bugie 'when after the banner of the holy cross had been taken he was about to begin a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to visit the sepulcher of our Lord';¹⁰³ Maurice of Glons resigned a fief to St James at Liège 'when he was

⁹⁷ Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (n. 82), 142, 160, 175, 176, nos. VI.5, XV.2, XIX.3, XX.4. On the use of Matt 16.24 in papal crusading bulls see Reinhold Röhricht, *Kleine Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Humboldts-Gymnasiums zu Berlin 58; Berlin 1890). See generally Alphonse Dupront, 'La spiritualité des croisés et des pèlerins d'après les sources de la première croisade', in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla 1^a crociata* (Convegna del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 4; Todi 1963), 446-9; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 178.

⁹⁸ Claude De Vic, Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 2 ed., 16 vols (Toulouse 1872-1905), V, 756-8, no. 401; see Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne de la fin du VIII^e à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail A 20; Toulouse [1974]), 562-3; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 57), 108, 204.

⁹⁹ *Chartes de Cluny* (n. 37), V, 89, no. 3737.

¹⁰⁰ *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours (1002-1300)*, ed. Louis-J. Denis, 2 vols (Archives historiques du Maine 12; Le Mans 1912-13), I, 87-8, no. 67.

¹⁰¹ *Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St-Hilaire de Poitiers*, 2 vols (Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de l'Ouest 1847, 1852; Poitiers-Paris 1848-57), I, 128, no. 115.

¹⁰² *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Helmut Plechl, Werner Bergmann (MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 8; Hanover 2002), 144, Ep. 114 (dated 1121/55).

¹⁰³ Lynn Nelson, 'Quelques documents de Saint-Sulpice-en-Bugey relatifs à la fondation du monastère de Chassagne-en-Bresse', *Cîteaux* 37 (1986), 87, no. 4.

armed with the sign of the cross and about to travel to Jerusalem';¹⁰⁴ William of Obey in 1153/64 'proposed to visit the tomb of the Lord after the sign of the cross had been taken';¹⁰⁵ and so on all over Europe throughout the twelfth century.

The crosses were usually made of cloth and sewn onto the clothing of the crusaders, but some went further and bore a cross on their bodies, either miraculously or by branding or tattooing.¹⁰⁶ Fulcher of Chartres described the crosses 'marked on the shoulders' of the bodies of some drowned crusaders, 'for it was fitting that the same victorious sign they bore on their clothes while they were living should by the will of God persist under the pledge of faith on those who were thus occupied with His service.'¹⁰⁷ Guibert of Nogent also described a shipwreck – perhaps the same one – where those who had worn crosses on their clothing were found to have them on their shoulders.¹⁰⁸ Ekkehard of Aura referred to the sign of the cross 'divinely impressed on the foreheads or clothes or on some other part of the body' of crusaders who believed that they were so marked (*stigmata*) for the army of the Lord.¹⁰⁹ The 'sign' on the flesh of count Emicho, who claimed it was imposed by an apostle of Christ, was probably a cross.¹¹⁰ Examples of crosses found on

¹⁰⁴ Jacques Stiennon, *Etude sur le chartrier et le domaine de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques de Liège (1015-1209)* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 124; Paris 1951), 442, no. 6.

¹⁰⁵ James R. West, *St. Benet of Holme 1020-1210: (I) The Eleventh and Twelfth Century Sections of Cott. MS Galba E.ii. The Register of the Abbey of St. Benet of Holme* (Norfolk Record Society 2; n.p. 1932), 18, no. 27.

¹⁰⁶ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 88), I, 155; Frolov, *Recherches* (n. 36), 61; Dupront, 'Spiritualité' (n. 97), 479; Bernard McGinn, 'Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders', in *The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures*, ed. Bede K. Lackner, Kenneth R. Philip (Austin-London 1978), 49-56; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* (n. 81), 34, 81-2, 113-14, 196 n. 119 (with further references); Jean Flori, 'Une ou plusieurs "première croisade"? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident', *Revue historique* 285 (1991), 23; Peter Dinzelsbacher, 'Diesseits der Metaphor. Selbstkreuzigung und -stigmatisation als konkrete Kreuzesnachfolge', *Revue Mabillon* NS 7 (1996), 157-81, esp. 159; Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris 1999), 239; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 57), 14; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow 2004), 30-8.

¹⁰⁷ Fulcher, *Historia*, I, VIII, 3, ed. Hagenmayer (n. 83), 170 and n. 8. These marks may have been on the clothing of the dead crusaders, but the wording suggests they were on their bodies.

¹⁰⁸ Guibert, *Dei gesta*, VII, 32, in *CC:CM, CXXVIIA*, 329. Guibert expressed doubts about Fulcher's credulity and cited some examples of alleged crosses seen by participants in the crusade.

¹⁰⁹ Ekkehard, *Chronicon* s.a. 1096, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 214.

¹¹⁰ See in addition to the sources cited n. 96 above, Hannes Möhring, 'Graf Emicho und die Judenverfolgungen von 1096', *Rheinische Viertelsjahrsblätter* 56 (1992), 108; Gert Mentgen, 'Die Juden des Mittelrhein-Mosel-Gebietes im Hochmittelalter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kreuzzugsverfolgungen', *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes* 44 (1995), 57-8.

the shoulders of dead crusaders are in the works of Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguilers, and Ordericus Vitalis, who said that after the death of Walter of Poissy in Bulgaria 'the sign of the cross appeared on his flesh'.¹¹¹ The origin of these crosses is uncertain, but Fulcher and Ekkehard explicitly called them miraculous.

The sign of the cross was sometimes physically imposed by crusaders on their own bodies, like the penitential crosses branded on criminals and heretics as a punishment.¹¹² Guibert of Nogent said that abbot Baldwin of Josaphat, who later became archbishop of Caesarea,

himself imposed on his forehead, by I know not what means, the sign of the cross, which was customarily placed on the clothing, made out of some cloth, so that he was inflicted by iron not just with a depiction but with the image of the military stigma.¹¹³

In the account of the translation of St Nicholas in 1100, the westerners who joined the holy army were described as 'some imposing the sign of the cross on their own flesh with a glowing iron, others marking [it] externally on their clothes'.¹¹⁴ Count Emicho probably branded himself (or had himself branded), as did the crusaders described under the year 1096 by Bernold of Constance, who said that 'He made them all mark themselves on their clothes with the sign of the cross, which sign also appeared on some marked on their own flesh'.¹¹⁵

Crusaders bore a cross internally as well as externally. Fulcher of Chartres said that the crusaders 'signed themselves with the appearance in order that they might obtain the essence (*res*) of the appearance',¹¹⁶ and Guibert of Nogent wrote that the count of Flanders joined the expedition 'after the sign of the cross was attached to

¹¹¹ Ps-Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, II, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 174; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John H. and Laurita Hill (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 9; Paris 1969), 102; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, IX, 4, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 30.

¹¹² Adolphe Tardif, 'Document pour l'histoire du *processus per inquisitionem*', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 7 (1883), 675; Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250* (London 1974), 255; Mary Mansfield, *Public Penance in Northern France in the Thirteenth Century* (Diss. University of California, Berkeley 1989), 167-8; Mark Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton-Oxford 2001), 30, 192. Penitential pilgrims and heretics also wore crosses on their clothing: see Etienne van Cauwenbergh, *Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au moyen âge* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie 48; Louvain 1927), 22-3.

¹¹³ Guibert, *Dei gesta*, IV, 17, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIII, 197.

¹¹⁴ *Translatio sancti Nicolai*, 1, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V.1, 255 and n.a.

¹¹⁵ Bernold, *Chronicon*, ed. Robinson (n. 89), in *MGH, SS, NS*, XIV, 528.

¹¹⁶ Fulcher, *Historia*, I, IV, 4, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 83), 142 and n. 14.

his heart and to his body'.¹¹⁷ The ceremony for taking the cross in the Lambrecht pontifical, from the second half of the twelfth century, referred to receiving the sign of the cross of Christ both in the heart and on the body.¹¹⁸ In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries the distinction became almost a commonplace. Hartmann of Aue asked in one of his songs, referring to the cross on the knights' coats, 'How useful is it to wear it on one's clothing, if one does not hold it in one's heart?'¹¹⁹

The terminology found in these sources varied. It is hard to say whether there was any difference between the New Testament terms to receive (*accipere*), take up (*tollere*), and carry (*baulere*) the cross. *Arripere*, *assumere* (*sumere*), *imponere*, and *levare* were also used, in addition to the more general *facere* and *habere*. Clerics preached the cross. The *vexillum crucis* was at the same time the sign with which the crusaders were marked, the standard or banner which they carried, a relic of the cross, or simply a cross-shaped object.¹²⁰ Those who were marked with the cross were described by Fulcher of Chartres as *signo dominicae crucis muniti* and *signo crucis armati* and in the anonymous *Deeds of the Franks and other Jerusalemites* as *armati*, *muniti*, and *protecti* by the sign of the cross.¹²¹ *Cruci signati* as an adjective is found in the letter of patriarch Simon of Jerusalem and bishop Ademar of Le Puy written in 1097 and *signati sancta cruce* as a noun in the letter of Raymond of St Gilles and others written in 1098.¹²² Later, in the twelfth century, Ordericus Vitalis used *cruciferi*; Lambert of Ardes *crucegerulus*; the annalist of Rolduc *insigniti sanctae crucis stigmati*; and the chronicler of the deeds of the counts of Anjou *crucesignatus*.¹²³ Conrad III and his followers on the second crusade were simply *signati* in the *First Life* of Bernard of Clairvaux.¹²⁴ *Cruce*

¹¹⁷ Guibert, *Dei gesta*, IV, 4, in CC:CM, CXXVIII, 174.

¹¹⁸ Kenneth Pennington, 'The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century', *Traditio* 30 (1974), 433.

¹¹⁹ *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, I: *Texte*, ed. Hugo Moser, Helmut Tervooren, 36 ed. (Stuttgart 1977), 412. See also the Bari pontifical, cited by Pennington, 'Rite' (n. 118), 433; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985), 97; Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 81.

¹²⁰ See, among other works, Alphandéry, 'Notes' (n. 43), 20; Delaruelle, 'Essai [V.4]' (1954), repr. in idem, *Idée* (n. 76), 114-22; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 35-8, 187-8; Ligato, 'Political Meanings' (n. 51), 321-5; Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 83.

¹²¹ Fulcher, *Historia*, II, XXI, 14; III, XLII, 9, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 83), 453, 765; *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, XVIII, 5; XXIX, 7; XXXIV, 12, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1890), 282, 377, 426, see intro. 105 n. 22. Hagenmeyer's edition is cited here rather than more recent editions (n. 36) on account of its notes.

¹²² Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (n. 82), 142, no. VI.4.

¹²³ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 8, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 230, see Chibnall, *World of Orderic* (n. 34), 148; Lambert of Ardes, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, 139, in MGH, SS, XXIV, 632; *Annales Rodenses*, ed. Petrus Cornelis Boeren, Gerard W. A. Panhuysen (Assen 1968), 96; *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*, in *Chroniques d'Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay, André Salmon (Société de l'histoire de France; Paris 1856), 152.

¹²⁴ *Vita prima Bernardi*, VI, IV, 15-16, ed. Mabillon, II.2 (=VI), 2290BC.

insignitos was used in *The Conquest of Lisbon*.¹²⁵ *Crucesignatus* later became the standard Latin term for crusaders, but *milites*, *peregrini*, and *Christicoli* continued to be used, and a crusade was described as a *peregrinatio*.¹²⁶

Those who were marked with the cross were not necessarily associated with one of the expeditions later known as crusades or even crusaders in the sense of carrying arms against the Muslims. Some unarmed pilgrims to Santiago as well as Jerusalem bore the sign of the cross, as has been seen, as did penitent heretics. The young man whom Herbert of Losinga told to take 'the spear of providence to which the banner of the cross of the Lord is indissolubly attached' was not a crusader, and not all pictures of crusaders (as in the crypt at Aquileia, which dates from the 1180s) show them with a cross.¹²⁷ A few indubitable crusaders, moreover, apparently took only the pouch and staff, like simple pilgrims. Siebrand Chabot, who 'wishing to go to Jerusalem' accompanied Louis VII on the second crusade, received the pouch and staff 'before God and the relics of the saints ... in the church of St Nicholas', and when John of Joinville went on crusade in the thirteenth century, he received 'm'escharge et mon burdon' from the abbot of Cheminon.¹²⁸ Some representations of crusaders from the thirteenth century do not show a cross and suggest that they were marked simply by the wallet and pouch or the shell of ordinary pilgrims.¹²⁹

Many of the works cited above refer specifically to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher, but it is not certain that the cross was used only by pilgrims to the east. Robert the Monk remarked on the number and variety of men who received the cross at Clermont and who promised 'the way of the Holy Sepulcher', but he later called it simply 'the sign of pilgrimage'.¹³⁰ The author of the treatise *On the noble family of the Crispins*, however, called the cross 'the sign of going to Jerusalem', and the phrase 'as the custom of this type of pilgrim required' in the charter of William the Hunter cited above suggests that the cross was the specific sign of

¹²⁵ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (n. 91), 158.

¹²⁶ Conrad III's crusade was called *vestra peregrinatio* in *Tegernseer Briefsammlung* (n. 102), 11, no. 7. See Markowski, 'Crucesignatus' (n. 81); David Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Geneva 1988), 45-52, and 58-69 on terms for taking the cross (mostly phrases incorporating 'croix' with a verb).

¹²⁷ Herbert of Losinga, *Ep.* 13, ed. Robert Anstruther (Caxton Society; Brussels-London 1846), 23; Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton 1997), 21, 116-17, pl. VI, figs. 97-8.

¹²⁸ *Cartulaire de l'Absie* (n. 71), 109; John of Joinville, *Histoire de saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris 1874), 122.

¹²⁹ Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 71), 120; Michel Pastoureau, 'La coquille et la croix. Les emblèmes des croisés', *L'histoire* 47 (1982), 70. The kneeling pilgrim on the column in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which has been dated 1130/70, who presumably went to Jerusalem, has a shell in his pouch: see Gustav Kühnel, 'Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika in Bethlehem. Byzanz und Abendland im Königreich Jerusalem', *Boreas* 10 (1987), 144, no. 1.

¹³⁰ Robert the Monk, *Historia*, I, 4; II, 3, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 731, 741.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹³¹ According to *Annals* of Vézelay king Louis VII and his followers, after hearing Bernard preach about the way to Jerusalem, 'accepted from the same Bernard the sign of pilgrimage, as is the custom, the cross'.¹³²

Other sources suggest that from an early date the cross was used as a sign of pilgrimage in general and not only to Jerusalem.¹³³ Crusaders in Spain used the cross from at least as early of 1114.¹³⁴ Calixtus II in a bull of 1121/4 granted the same remission of sins as to the defenders of the church in the east to those in Spain, calling them 'those who have imposed the sign of the cross on their clothes for this purpose', and the first Lateran council in 1123 referred to 'those who are known to have placed crosses on their clothes for the journey either to Jerusalem or to Spain'.¹³⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux in his letter of 1147 concerning the crusade against the Wends wrote about those who were 'signed by the sign of the holy cross and armed against the enemies of the cross of Christ who are beyond the Elbe', and Otto of Freising under the year 1146 said that the Saxons refused to join the second crusade because they had as neighbors pagans against whom they took crosses 'differing from our men [the crusaders to the east] in that they were not simply sewed to their clothes but extended above a circle placed beneath', that is, an orb or *globus cruciger* (figure 2.5).¹³⁶ In the annals of Rolduc, cited above, the participants

¹³¹ *De nobili genere Crispinorum*, in Lanfranc, *Opera omnia*, ed. Luc d'Achéry (Paris 1648), App. 56. On this work see David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London-New York 1982), 177. For the charter of William the Hunter see p. 66 and n. 100 above. In the *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum* (n. 123), 152, Fulk of Anjou, when he was going to Jerusalem, received the cross 'pro more tantae peregrinationis'.

¹³² *Annales Vizeliacenses* s.a. 1146, in CC:CM, XLII, 227.

¹³³ Cf. Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 8, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 276; Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitanae*, III, 90, ed. Ludwig Schugge (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 6; Berlin-New York 1977), 196, who added 'the cross of pilgrimage' to the cross worn by clerics and monks *ex professione*, cf. III, 95 (198), IV, 10 (204); the Bari pontifical (second half of the twelfth century) called the cross *signum itineris*, cited by Pennington, 'Rite' (n. 118), 432.

¹³⁴ Nikolas Jaspert, 'Karolingische Legitimation und Karlsverehrung in Katalonien', in *Jakobus und Karl der Grosse. Von Einhards Karls vita zum Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. Klaus Herbers (Tübingen 2003), 145-6.

¹³⁵ *Bullaire du pape Calixte II 1119-1124*, ed. Ulysse Robert, 2 vols (Paris 1891), II, 267, no. 454 (JL 7116); 1 Lateran 10 in *Conc. oec. dec.*, 192.

¹³⁶ Bernard, *Ep.* 457, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 433; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici primi*, I, 42, 3 ed. Georg Waitz, Bernhard von Simson (*MGH, SS r.g.*; Hanover-Leipzig 1912), 61. See Du Cange, *Glossarium* (n. 71), III, 680. As a Christian symbol, the *globus cruciger* dates back to late Antiquity and persisted throughout the middle ages in both Byzantium and the west as a symbol of divine majesty and as an emblem of Christian temporal power: Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Das Herrscherbild in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 2 (1922-3), pt. I, 158 and pl. VII-VIII, figs. 13-17; Alois Schlachter, *Der Globus, seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft 8; Leipzig-Berlin

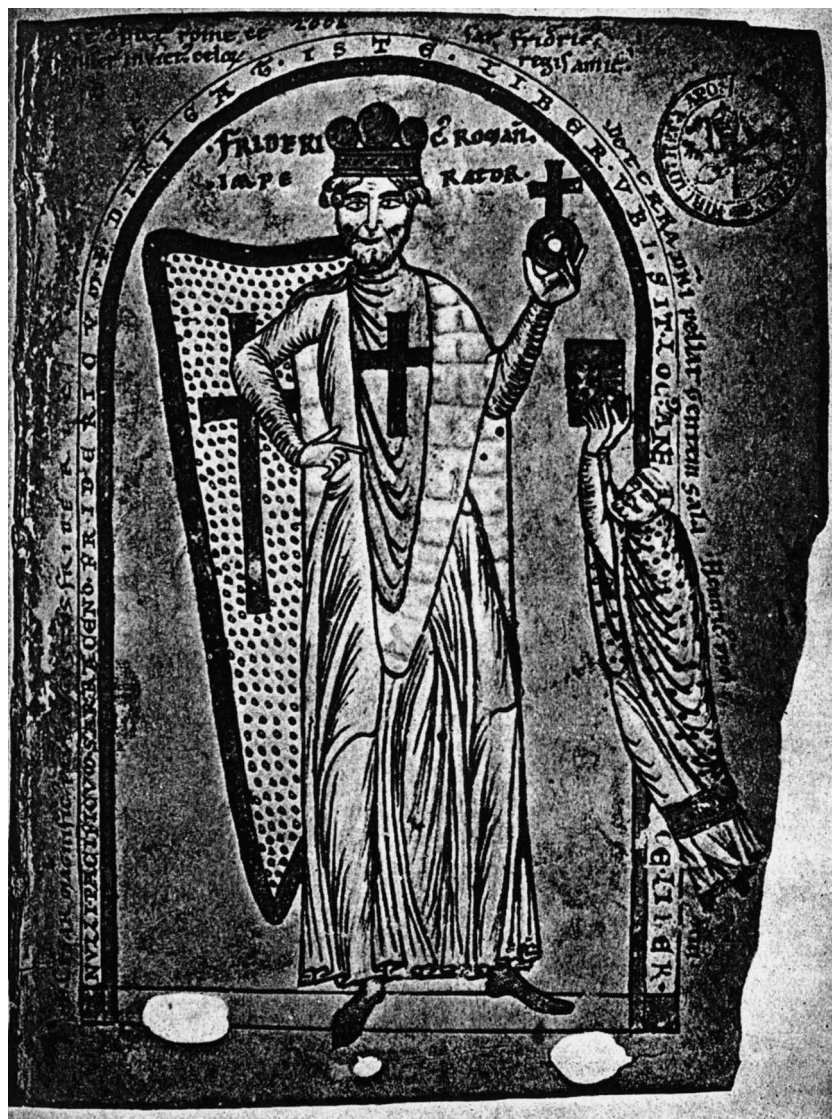


Figure 2.5 Frederick Barbarossa as a crusader from the manuscript of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* in MS Vat. Lat. 2002, f.1

1927), 67, 105; André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 75; Paris 1936), pl. V, XXIV fig. 1, XXX fig. 21; Andreas Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, tr. Harold Mattingly (Oxford 1948), 43, 129 n.14, cf. 131 n.21. Frederick Barbarossa carried a *globus cruciger* in the illustration reproduced in figure 2.5, but Otto is the only source on its use by the crusaders against the Wends, for which the reason is unknown.

in the three campaigns to the Holy Land and Portugal and against the Wends were all marked by 'the stigmata of the holy cross ... of the expedition to Jerusalem'.

There are no clear indications in the early sources of the design or color of the crusaders' crosses.¹³⁷ Otto of Freising is the only source for the distinctive design of the cross of crusading against the Wends. The fighter in the sculpture from Ste Marie de la Règle near Limoges, which has been dated in the second quarter of the twelfth century (figure 2.6), has a cross on his shield, but he may not be a crusader.¹³⁸ The earliest sure iconographical evidence is in the St Denis windows, which date from the middle of the twelfth century but survive only in later engravings. They show the cross on the helmets and banners of the crusaders but not on their clothing (figure 2.7). The window has a close parallel in the roundel showing the battle between Constantine and Maxentius on the Stavelot triptych, where the banner on a pole surmounted by a cross is labeled 'labarum' (figure 2.8).¹³⁹ Fulcher of Chartres in the passage cited above said that the crosses

¹³⁷ Gibbon is mistaken in saying that 'In the first crusade, all [crosses] were red': Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Wormersley, 3 vols (London 1994), III, 562 n.18. See also the late-thirteenth-century relief in the cathedral at Barcelona showing a knight with a shield with a cross on it fighting a griffon: Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture on the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols (Boston 1923, repr. 1969), V (II of reprint), pl. 636. See Trotter, *Literature* (n. 126), 79 ('As the manuscript illustrations confirm, crusade crosses were of mixed colour and design'); Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 27-8. Svetlana I. Luchitskaya, 'The Iconography of the Crusades', in *Images in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz, Svetlana I. Luchitskaya, Judith Rasson, tr. Elena Lemeneva (Krems 2003), 86. In the illustrations in the *Oxford History* (n. 81), 21, 35, 38, 187, 196 (all from the second half of the twelfth century) the crosses appear on clothes, shields, and banners. For coins and seals, see Gustave Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris 1878, repr. 1954), 18-19, 21-2; Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon, Adrien Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Haut Commissariat de l'Etat français en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 37; Paris 1943), pl. I (1-4), V (1), VI (1-3), VII (1-3, 5, 6, 9) etc.

¹³⁸ Colin Morris, 'Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095-1250', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France, William Zajac (Aldershot 1998), 197, reproduces (pl. 7) the image of St Maurice on the Agaune reliquary of c.1160, whose shield resembles that of the Ste Marie de la Règle sculpture (figure 2.6).

¹³⁹ These windows are known only from Montfaucon's engravings: see Fernand de Mély, 'La croix des premiers croisés', *Revue de l'art chrétien* 40 (1890), 297-306; idem, 'La croix des premiers croisés', in Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols (Geneva 1877-1904), III, 1-11; Elizabeth R. Brown, Michael Cothren, 'The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 1-40. On the Stavelot triptych, see [William Voelkle], *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross* (New York 1980), dating it in the mid 1150s (10), remarking on 'the crusader character' given by 'the triple pennant of the crusades' (13-14), and showing parallel scenes (including the St Denis window) in fig. 25-7. There is a relief showing a saint (George or James) attacking an enemy with spear with



Figure 2.6 Sculpture from Ste Marie de la Règle (Limoges, Musée municipal de l'Evêché)

a triple pennant with a cross on it and with two praying knights on the mid-twelfth-century tympanum of the church at Fordington, Dorset: Charles E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels on the Churches of Great Britain* (London 1927), 20 (with bibliography), fig. 153; Arthur Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge 1951), 80, fig. 134.



Figure 2.7 Engraving of a roundel from the ‘crusade window’ at St Denis destroyed during the French Revolution, in Bernard of Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, I (Paris 1729), 390, pl. 1



Figure 2.8 Medallion from the Stavelot Triptych (1156/8?) in the J. P. Morgan Collection, New York, showing the battle between Constantine and Maxentius

were made of silk woven with gold and adorned with brocade, but many were doubtless made of humbler fabrics. Guibert more than once specifically said that they could be made of any material.¹⁴⁰ Odo of Deuil reported that after Bernard had distributed all the crosses he had brought to Vézelay 'he was forced to tear his clothes into crosses and to sew [them]'.¹⁴¹

The shape, size, and color of the crosses, which seems at first to have been of no special concern, later became standardized, often according to the affiliations

¹⁴⁰ Guibert, *Dei gesta*, II, 5; III, 1; IV, 17, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIII, 117, 151, 197.

¹⁴¹ Odo of Deuil, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, I, ed. and tr. Virginia Berry ([Columbia] Records of Civilization 42; New York 1948), 8.

of the individual crusaders. Most depictions of crusader crosses have arms of differing lengths, but the cross on the chest of the man in the Belval sculpture (who was clearly a pilgrim, in view of his staff, but not necessarily a crusader) has arms of approximately equal length (figure 2.2), like the so-called Greek cross, of which the history in the west goes back to at least the seventh century.¹⁴² The Templars began to use 'crosses of red cloth' in the time of Eugene III, according to William of Tyre.¹⁴³ Roger of Hoveden said that on the third crusade Henry II and Philip Augustus decided to adopt distinctive signs in order to recognize their followers and that the kings of France and England and their men took red and white crosses respectively, while Philip of Flanders and his men took green crosses.¹⁴⁴ James of Vitry in the early thirteenth century said that the Templars wore a red cross, the Hospitallers white, the Teutonic knights black, and so on.¹⁴⁵ On banners, a red cross on a white ground was generally accepted in the thirteenth century.

The position of the cross seems likewise to have varied at first and later to have been standardized. The sources, however, are not in agreement. Most of them,

¹⁴² There is an extensive literature, going back to the eighteenth century, on the Belval sculpture, which is now dated about 1160/80, though some scholars date it considerably earlier: see in particular Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, 'L'iconographie des laïcs dans la société religieuse aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', in *I laici* (n. 31), 513; Norbert Müller-Dietrich, *Die romanische Skulptur in Lothringen* (Munich-Berlin 1968), 114-19; Morris, 'Picturing' (n. 138), 200-1; Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Significance of a Twelfth-Century Sculptural Group. Le retour du croisé', in *Dei gesta per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiés à Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot-Burlington 2001), 29-44; Luchitskaya, 'Iconography' (n. 137), 87. There is a tendency among scholars to assume that the man was a crusader, that he belonged to the family of Vaudémont (the patrons of Belval), and that the woman was greeting him on his return. It is in fact probable, as Müller-Dietrich pointed out, that both the man and the woman were pilgrims (a *Pilgerpaar*, as he called them), very likely to Belval, which was an important center of pilgrimage in the twelfth century, and that the sculpture was not from a tomb but formed part of the exterior decoration of the church. None of these points affect the interest of the cross on the man's chest. On the Greek cross, see Elbern, 'Crucis edita forma' (n. 5), 262, and, on later types of crosses, Gerald Brault, 'The Cross in Medieval Heraldry', *Antiquaries Journal* 47 (1967), 214-23.

¹⁴³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XII, 7, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 554. See Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ. Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Age (XI^e-XVI^e siècle)* (Paris [2002]), 198; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, 'Les débuts de l'ordre du Temple en Orient', *Le Moyen Age* 111 (2005), 547.

¹⁴⁴ Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica* s.a. 1188, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols (RS 51; London 1868-71), II, 335; Ps-Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (RS 49; London 1867), II, 30.

¹⁴⁵ James of Vitry, *Serm.* 37, in *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solismensis*, ed. Jean Baptiste Pitra, 2 vols (Paris 1885-8), II, 405. See also James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, I, 65, ed. François Mosch (Moschus) (Douai 1597), 117. Humbert of Romans in *De eruditione praedicatorum*, 35, which was written before 1240, commented on the white crosses of the Hospitallers, in *Bibl. max.*, XXV, 472C.

including some of those already cited, say that the cross was placed on the shoulder, usually the right shoulder.¹⁴⁶ Urban II at Clermont, according to Ordericus Vitalis, specifically told the crusaders to sew the sign on the right shoulder.¹⁴⁷ The author of the *Miracles of St Nicholas*, however, which were written about 1130, said that Christians going to the tomb of Christ 'for the memory of the cross of the Lord and for the attack on the pagans' should bear the sign of the cross on the left shoulder.¹⁴⁸ Robert the Monk and the continuator of Peter Tudebode in the passages cited above specified the shoulder or the forehead, and Tudebode later said that 'They carried the cross of Christ on the right [shoulder] or between the two shoulders,' presumably on the back or chest.¹⁴⁹ The man in the Belval sculpture has a metal or embroidered cross apparently pinned or sewn onto his chest or perhaps suspended on a chain. Guibert said that according to Bohemund the sign of the cross was worn on the shoulder or elsewhere, attached to the tunic, mantle, or cloak.¹⁵⁰ This suggests that the position of the cross was not matter of great concern. The badges of the pilgrims in the sculptures illustration in the St Albans psalter and in the Autun tympanum and the Silos cloister are on their pouches (figures 2.9, 2.10). Dandolo on the fourth crusade wore the cross on his hat so that it would be seen by all.¹⁵¹ Frederick Barbarossa in MS Vat. lat. 2002, was shown with a cross on his chest and shield and a *globus cruciger* in his left hand (figure 2.5). Richard I has a cross on his right shoulder, while the knights (probably crusaders) depicted under a map of Jerusalem in a late twelfth-century manuscript from St Bertin have crosses on their shields and banner, like the Templars in the frescoes in the church

¹⁴⁶ Du Cange, *Glossarium* (n. 71), II, 680; Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 36), 61; Dupront, *Mythe* (n. 52), 1302; Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 77; Fanny Caroff, 'La croix prêchée et la croix du croisé. Le moment de la prise de croix dans les manuscrits enluminés du XIII^e au XV^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon* NS 12 (2001), 92-3. Humbert of Romans in *De praedicatione crucis* said that the cross was worn on the right shoulder because it lead the wearer to the right hand of God, because Constantine wore the cross on his right arm, and because right stood for a state of penitence: cited from MS Vat. lat. 3847 in Cole, *Preaching* (n. 52), 206. In the chronicle of Lanercost, under the year 1289, a crusader was said to have transferred the cross to his other shoulder when his left shoulder was cut off: *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Bannatine Club Publications 65; Edinburgh 1839), 128-9.

¹⁴⁷ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, IX, 2, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 14.

¹⁴⁸ *Miracula s. Nicolai*, 32, in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum ... in biblioteka nationali Parisiensi*, 3 vols (Brussels-Paris 1889-93), II, 427, cf. 428.

¹⁴⁹ Tudebode, *De Hierosolimitano itinere*, I, 7, in RHE, *Hist. occ.*, III, 15. The Hospitallers and Templars wore the cross *ante pectus*: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx, I (1100-1200) (Paris 1894), 68, no. 70.19; Rudolf Hiestand, *PU für Temppler und Johanniter* (Abh. Göttingen 3F 77; Göttingen 1972), 205, no. 3.

¹⁵⁰ Guibert, *Dei gesta*, II, 5; III, 1, in CC:CM, CXXVIIA, 117, 136.

¹⁵¹ Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, XIV, 68, 2 ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris 1874), 38.

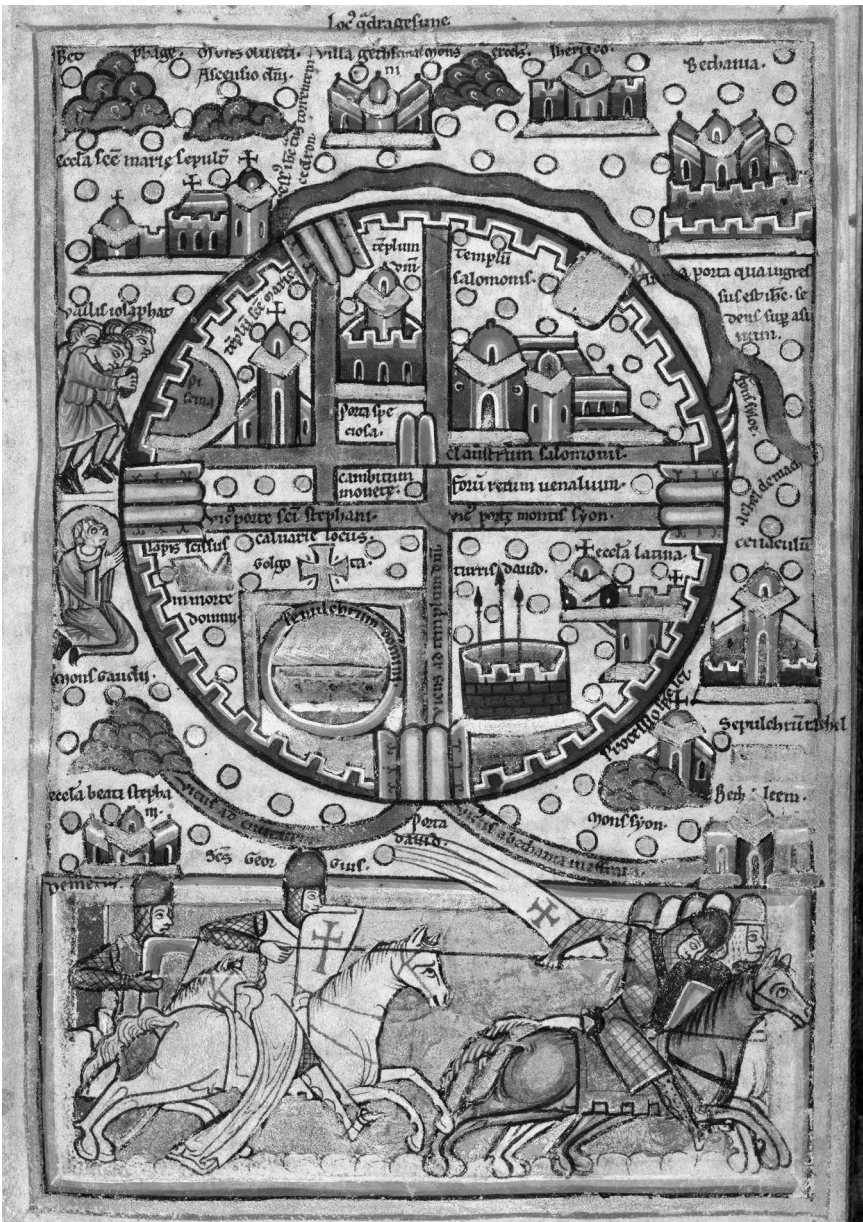


Figure 2.9 Map of Jerusalem and scene of St Demetrius and St George at the battle of Antioch in 1098 from MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl., 76 F5, f.1: see Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century* (London 1996) I, pl. XVI; II, 165-7 (late twelfth century, from St Bertin)

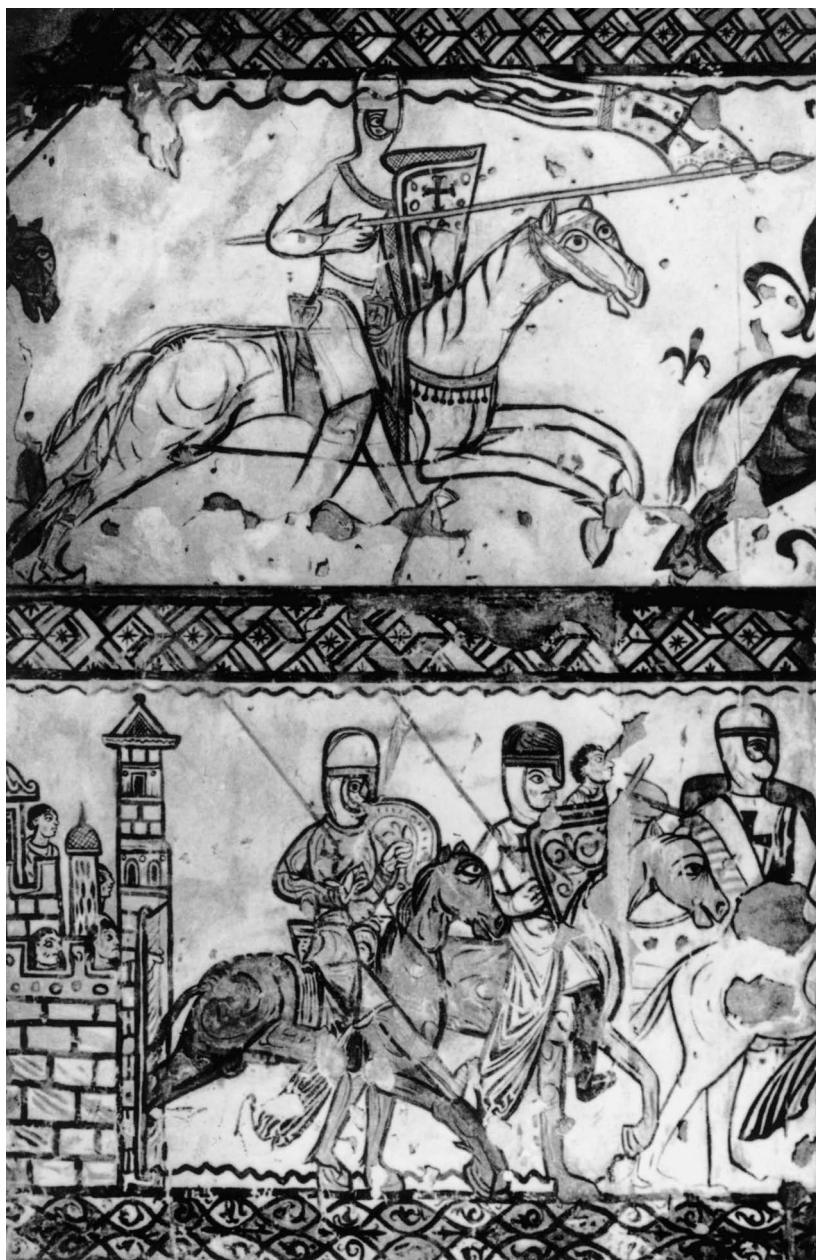


Figure 2.10 Fresco from Cressac (Charente) showing the combat of a crusader against a Muslim, perhaps in victory over Nur al-Din in 1163: see Paul Deschamps and Marc Thibout, *La peinture murale en France* (Paris 1951) 133-4, pl. LXVII

at Cressac (figures 2.9, 2.10).¹⁵² Some crusaders apparently wore as many crosses as they could, like count Elias of Maine who said:

I shall not give up the cross of our Savior with which I have been signed in the manner of a pilgrim, but I shall make the same on my shield and helmet and all my arms and shall fasten the sign of the cross to my saddle and bridle. Armed with such a character I shall go against the enemies of peace and righteousness and defend the lands of the Christians by fighting. My horse and arms will be marked by the sacred sign, and all the enemies who rise against me will fight against a soldier of Christ.¹⁵³

Robert of Rheims in his report of the council of Clermont wrote not only that a crusader placed a sign of the cross 'on his forehead or chest' but also that one who planned to return put the cross 'between his shoulders behind (*retro*)' (presumably on his back) and thus carried out Christ's command to carry His cross.¹⁵⁴ Alan of Lille, writing at the end of the twelfth century, said that crusaders wore the cross on their shoulders when going to Jerusalem and on their chests when returning, thus showing that the burden of carrying the cross became easy with custom.¹⁵⁵ According to the report by abbot Gunther of Pairis of a sermon given at Basel by his predecessor Martin of Pairis in 1201, however, 'He who bears the cross in front indicates that he does not wish to return; he who bears it on the back is seen as one hoping to return.'¹⁵⁶ Humbert of Romans in *On the preaching of the cross* explained that the cross was worn on the right shoulder in order to lead the wearer to the right hand of God and because right is equivalent to a good state of penitence.¹⁵⁷ These writers were all well informed, and it appears that practice varied and was interpreted in different ways.

In addition to these signs and symbols, physical remains of the cross were of central importance to the crusaders both as an *excitatorium* to pilgrimage and

¹⁵² Wisconsin *History*, II, 275; Oxford *History* (n. 81), 38, 109; Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century* (London 1996), pl. XVI (between 269-70). On Cressac, see Paul Deschamps, 'Combats de cavalerie et épisodes des croisades dans les peintures murales du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle', *Orientalia christiana periodica* 13 (1947), 465-74; idem, 'La légende de saint Georges et les combats des croisés dans les peintures murales du moyen âge', *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 44 (1950), 110-11, 117-23.

¹⁵³ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 8, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 230.

¹⁵⁴ Robert the Monk, *Hist. Ihero.*, I, 2, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 730.

¹⁵⁵ D'Alverny, *Alain de Lille* (n. 50), 281.

¹⁵⁶ Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, 3, ed. Peter Orth (Spolia Berolinensia 5; Hildesheim-Zurich 1994), 115; tr. Alfred Andrea (Philadelphia 1997), 71, 150-1 n.41.

¹⁵⁷ Cole, *Preaching* (n. 52), 206, who cited *De praedicatione crucis* from MS Vat. lat. 3847, ff. 4v-5v.

holy war and as a rallying point in battle.¹⁵⁸ Ever since the discovery of the cross by Constantine's mother Helena, portions of it had been distributed all over the Christian world, where a part was considered to stand for the whole.¹⁵⁹ Urban II at Clermont, according to Guibert of Nogent, urged his listeners to rescue the cross,¹⁶⁰ and the rediscovery of the remaining portion after the crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099 was a cause of great celebration. Fulcher of Chartres described how it was found and taken, after it was covered with gold and silver, first to the church of the Holy Sepulcher and then to the Temple.¹⁶¹ This major relic was subsequently referred to as the True or Great Cross and served not only as an object of veneration but also as a source of divine favor and protection in battle.¹⁶² When the army of Jerusalem approached a castle east of Jaffa, 'King Baldwin and the men of Jaffa adored the holy cross of the Lord, and carrying it with them they at once burst forth, armed, and began to strike terribly the unarmed [enemies].'¹⁶³

When the True Cross was not available, a fragment or image of the cross was used against the Muslims. St Adelelmus of La Chaise-Dieu (who died in 1097) rode in front of the army of the king of Castile, holding a cross, when it entered Toledo.¹⁶⁴ The bishop of Le Puy carried a cross on a long pole at the siege of Antioch in 1099,¹⁶⁵ and at the siege of Ascalon in 1153 king Baldwin threw a cross into the town and said 'Whoever does not enter with the cross is not a Christian.'¹⁶⁶ A fire that threatened the crusaders in 1147 was turned back 'by this wood of the life-giving cross' carried by bishop Robert of Nazareth.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, outside Lisbon,

¹⁵⁸ Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 36), 62.

¹⁵⁹ Franco Cardini, 'Reliquie e pellegrinaggi', in *Santi e demoni* (n. 5), II, 1004-5; Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 7; Paris 1961), 109-51.

¹⁶⁰ Guibert, *Dei gesta*, II, 4, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIII, 113.

¹⁶¹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Hist. Hier.*, I, XXX, 4, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 83), 309-10 and n.

¹⁶² Ibid. I, XXXI, 4; III, V, 2, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 83), 312, 620-1; *Li estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche* s.a. 1101, 1103, 1119, 1120, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V.2, 641B, 643C, 646E, 646G-7A. See Rousset, *Origines* (n. 52), 76-7; Deborah Gerish, 'The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem', *Haskins Society Journal* 8 (1996), 138; Ligato, 'Political Meanings' (n. 51), 316 and n. 3, 319; Alan Murray, '“Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ”: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *The Crusades and Their Sources* (n. 138), 217-38.

¹⁶³ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 22, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 348.

¹⁶⁴ *Vita s. Adelelmi abbatis Casae-Dei*, 15, in *España sagrada*, XXVII, 839-40.

¹⁶⁵ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, I, 18, ed. Hill (n. 111), 128. See also *Chronicon sancti Petri Aniciensis*, in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St-Chaffre du Monastier*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (Paris 1884), 164, where the crusaders were said to have come to Antioch 'with the banner of the holy cross which they carried preceding ... [and] other raised signs'.

¹⁶⁶ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, XVIII, 1, ed. Chabot (n. 95), III, 309, who dated the event 1134. See Lüders, *Kreuzzüge* (n. 95), 70; Wisconsin *History*, I, 537-8.

¹⁶⁷ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XVI, 11, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 730-1.

the priest Raol held up a piece of the cross when he was preaching to the crusaders and cried, echoing the motto of Constantine, 'Conquer ... in this banner'.¹⁶⁸

The Muslims were fully aware of the importance of the cross to their Christian enemies.¹⁶⁹ During the siege of Lisbon they displayed and mocked the cross, covering it with excrement and urine, and Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi in his account of the siege of Damascus in 1148 said that:

the Franks had with them a great priest with a long beard, whose teachings they obeyed. On the tenth day of their siege of Damascus he mounted his ass, hung a cross round his neck, took two more in his hand and hung another around the ass's neck.

He then set out to conquer the city but was killed in a Muslim charge.¹⁷⁰ The capture of the True Cross at the battle of Hattin in 1187 was therefore a triumph for the Muslims as well as a disaster for the Christians, who saw the loss as a sign of God's displeasure with the crusaders.¹⁷¹ Ibn al-Athīr said that it was 'one of the heaviest blows that could be inflicted upon them and made their death and destruction certain'; and 'Imād ad-Dīn wrote:

Its capture was for them more important than the loss of the king and was the gravest blow that they sustained in that battle. The cross was a prize without equal, for it was the supreme object of their faith ... So when the great cross was taken great was the calamity that befell them, and the strength drained from their loins.¹⁷²

On the Christian side, the loss of the True Cross was universally mourned. Only in hell (according to the devil who appeared to a woman in a vision) the grief at the loss was turned into joy by the sins of the crusaders, many of whom 'having left the religion of the cross, became persecutors of the cross and the name of Christ'.¹⁷³ Negotiations for its return began at once and continued for many years, though there were doubts concerning its whereabouts, and even its continued existence.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (n. 91), 146, 154, 156-7 n.1.

¹⁶⁹ Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris 1968), 112-14.

¹⁷⁰ Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, tr. E. J. Costello (London 1969, repr. 1993), 62.

¹⁷¹ Frolov, *Recherches* (n. 36), 67-9.

¹⁷² Gabrieli, *Arab Historians* (n. 170), 122, 137.

¹⁷³ Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica* s.a. 1185, ed. Stubbs (n. 144), II, 303. See John B. Gillingham, 'Roger of Hoveden on Crusade', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. David O. Morgan (London 1982), 60-75.

¹⁷⁴ Bahā' ad-Dīn, *Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie du sultan Youssaf* (Salāh ed-Dīn) s.a. 587 (1191/2), in *RHC, Hist. orient.*, III, 276, 277; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians* (n. 170),

Martin of Pairis, in his sermon at Basel in 1201, said that 'The sacred and venerable wood of the cross, which is steeped in the blood of Christ, has been so concealed and hidden by those people to whom the word of the cross is foolishness that no Christian can know what has been done with it or where to look for it.'¹⁷⁵ In 1213, according to the chronicle of Mortemer, groups of people processed through the countryside, crying, in French, 'Lord God, exalt Christianity, Lord God, return to us the True Cross.'¹⁷⁶

The number of visions of the cross multiplied in this atmosphere of religious deprivation. Visions had long played a part in Christian military history. The vision of Constantine and his motto *In hoc signo vinces* were well known in the middle ages and were cited in several crusader sources.¹⁷⁷ A horseman with a white banner and a spear 'with a splendid cross on top' was said to have appeared at the battle of Cerami in 1063.¹⁷⁸ The importance of visions in the origins of the crusades, and of the eschatological expectations they aroused, has been emphasized by several scholars.¹⁷⁹ The chronicler Lupus Protospatarius, writing in Bari towards the end of the eleventh century, said that many people were inspired to take the cross and go to the Holy Sepulcher by a brilliant star that was visible all over Apulia,¹⁸⁰ and Ekkehard of Aura wrote in his chronicle under the year 1096 that some participants in the first crusade were inspired 'by a sudden change of mind ... or a nocturnal vision', of which he did not specify the precise nature.¹⁸¹ Visions also played a part during the crusade. Peter Bartholomew at the siege of Antioch in 1099 had a vision of the cross and of Christ, Who said to them 'Behold the cross, since you seek the cross' and Who explained to him the significance of His five wounds.¹⁸²

221-7. See Frolov, *Recherches* (n. 36), 69; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 224; Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 106), 219.

¹⁷⁵ Gunther of Pairis, *Historia*, 3, ed. Orth (n. 156), 112; tr. Andrea, 70.

¹⁷⁶ *Auctarium Mortui Maris* s.a. 1213, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 467. See Gary Dickson, 'La genèse de la croisade des enfants (1212)', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 153 (1995), 97.

¹⁷⁷ Ekkehard, *Chronicon* s.a. 1095, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 213; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (n. 91), 156 and n. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Malatesta, *De rebus*, II, 33, ed. Pontieri (n. 58), 44.

¹⁷⁹ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 88), I, 62-3, 155; II, 156-8 (cf. Balard in new edition); Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (Documents of Medieval History 4; London 1981), 135-6, 163-4; idem, *First Crusaders* (n. 57), 40 (a vision of the cross in the 1020s); Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite* (n. 106), 227-49, 391-2; John Ward 'The First Crusade as Disaster: Apocalypticism and the Genesis of the Crusading Movement', in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Avrom Saltman*, ed. Bat-Sheva Albert, Yvonne Friedman, Simon Schwarzfuchs (Bar-Ilan Studies in History 4; Ramat-Gan 1995), 253-92.

¹⁸⁰ Lupus Protospatarius, *Chronicon* s.a. 1095, in *MGH, SS*, V, 62. See Ward, 'First Crusade' (n. 179), 278 and n. 133.

¹⁸¹ Ekkehard, *Chronicon* s.a. 1090, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 214.

¹⁸² Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, I, 18, ed. Hill (n. 111), 127.

Stimulated perhaps by the loss of the True Cross, visions played a particularly important part in the preaching of the crusades in the early thirteenth century. In 1212, when the abbot of Bonneval was preaching against the Albigensians and urging his listeners to take the cross, 'suddenly, with everyone seeing, a cross appeared in the sky'.¹⁸³ Even more striking were the visions of crosses in the sky during the preaching of the crusade by Oliver of Paderborn in Flanders and Frisia in 1214. Some were white, another blue, and yet another, 'colored', bore a figure of a man with extended arms, nails in His hands and feet, and a bowed head. These crosses were seen by many people, of whom some took the cross and joined the crusade.¹⁸⁴ They emphasize the continued centrality of the cross in the spirituality and inspiration of the crusades.

Significance

No clear picture emerges from these sources of either the history or the significance of the crusading cross, which has been very differently interpreted by scholars. For Paul Alphandéry it had an almost mystic significance, stretching 'outside all hierarchy, without direction, without rule'. It conferred a privilege on laymen not unlike that of stigmatization. It was a mark of predestination as well as of victory.¹⁸⁵ Alphonse Dupront went even further in his concluding pages to Alphandéry's work, which he edited, calling the cross a sign of promise, the way of parousia, and the certainty of common salvation: 'The crusaders, bearers of the cross, know themselves naturally as other Christs.'¹⁸⁶ Elsewhere he described the cross as establishing a claim of the crusaders on God, or their pact with Him, which assured their 'co-participation'

¹⁸³ Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*, 298, ed. Pascal Guébin, Ernest Lyon, 2 vols (Société de l'histoire de France 412, 422; Paris 1926-30), I, 292-3.

¹⁸⁴ Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen 1894), 285-6; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, X, 37, 38, 40 (a nun near Cologne saw two crosses 'a short time before the preaching of the cross'), ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols (Cologne-Bonn-Brussels 1851), II, 245-6; cf. *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Alfons Hilka, 3 vols (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde 43; Bonn 1933), I, 97, no. 83. For a story about Oliver see Ursmer Berlière, 'A propos de Jacques de Vitry. Une lettre d'Olivier de Cologne', *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910), 523; Jaap J. Van Moolenbroek, 'Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214: Oliver of Cologne and Crusading Propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987), 251-72; Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton 1984), 131-3; Christoph Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4S 28; Cambridge 1994), 120, 172.

¹⁸⁵ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 88), I, 62.

¹⁸⁶ Alphonse Dupront, in Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 88), II, 288; idem, *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Paris 1987), 290.

with Christ.¹⁸⁷ Jean Flori said that the crusading cross indicated protection, devotion, belonging to God, repentance, and victory,¹⁸⁸ and Bernard McGinn that it was 'a potent symbol of the transformation of death into life'.¹⁸⁹

Not all historians agree with this transcendental interpretation, which would have been hard for many crusaders to understand. For Hans Mayer the crusading cross had a double significance on the one hand as 'a sign of God's protection, a sign that the wearer belonged to a special community, the sign of a pilgrim privileged to bear arms' and on the other as 'a legal symbol, vouching for worldly privileges'.¹⁹⁰ For Jonathan Riley-Smith 'It was the goal of Jerusalem that almost certainly led Urban to introduce for crusaders the wearing of the cross, reflecting contemporary preoccupations with the cross as a devotional symbol, with the crucifixion and with the duty of men to follow the way of the cross.' Elsewhere he described the cross as 'a public sign' and 'a visible symbol' of the vow of commitment of the crusaders.¹⁹¹

Support for all these, and other, interpretations can be found in the sources, which illustrate the fluidity of a multivalent symbol like the cross.¹⁹² In the passages concerning the first crusade cited above the cross was described as a sign of victory, protection, and salvation and an example and encouragement. Dandolo took the sign of the cross 'por vos garder et vos enseigner'. The chronicler of Lanercost said that a crusader deserved to carry the cross of Christ from his profession, thirst for the cross in pilgrimage, preach the cross in danger (*obsidio*), and triumph through the cross in suffering (*passio*).¹⁹³ The crusaders were *protecti* as well as *armati* and *muniti* by the cross. They fulfilled Christ's command to follow Him and carry His cross. They were enrolled in His army and engaged to fight His enemies.

¹⁸⁷ Dupront, *Mythe* (n. 52), 1304-5, cf. 1306-10 for other definitions.

¹⁸⁸ Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite* (n. 106), 239.

¹⁸⁹ McGinn, 'Iter' (n. 106), 41.

¹⁹⁰ Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 174), 38, cf. the 10 (German) ed. (Stuttgart 2005), 53.

¹⁹¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews', *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984), 67-8, cf. idem, *First Crusade* (n. 81), 24, where he said that the cross 'must also have been associated with the pilgrimage to Jerusalem'; idem, *What Were the Crusades?* (London-Basingstoke 1977), 14; idem, 'The State of Mind' (n. 81), 68. See also Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 71), 32, 118-19; Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244-1291* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 11; Leiden 1975), 13; Dupront, *Du sacré* (n. 186), 290; Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 80.

¹⁹² See the letter of Paschal II (n. 97); Rousset, *Origines* (n. 52), 75; Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 36), 61-2 ('le signe extérieur de leurs voeux', 'le signe juridique de la mission des croisés'). Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 52), 22-3, 76-83 (the cross as a vow of pilgrimage and sign of protection)

¹⁹³ See n. 146 and Villehardouin, *Conquête*, XIV, 65, ed. De Wailly (n. 151), 38.

A thread of quasi-legal reasoning runs through these sources. The cross was the sign or seal of the crusader's vow and of his commitment to carry out his obligation.¹⁹⁴ Baldwin III in the *History of Nicaea or Antioch and also Jerusalem* said that 'The acceptance of the cross creates an engagement of travel (*sponsio viae*).'¹⁹⁵ In the *Vision of a monk of Eynsham*, which dates from the end of the twelfth century, the monk met in hell a knight who said that 'I rejected the cross which I had taken in a vow to go to Jerusalem, although I received it not owing to a feeling of devotion but in order to obtain empty glory.'¹⁹⁶ Caesarius of Heisterbach, writing in the early thirteenth century, compared the permanent long cross of monasticism with the temporary short cross of the overseas expedition. The two crosses were parallel but created different degrees of obligation, of which the long cross superseded the short one. A person could thus join the Cistercian order even if he was already signed with the cross or 'obligated by a vow of some other pilgrimage'.¹⁹⁷ In the treatise *On preaching the word of God* attributed to Philip of Oxford it was called 'the seal of God, which the devil most greatly fears'.¹⁹⁸

Other sources strike a more devotional and spiritual note. Urban II called the crusade 'the firm way of salvation', according to the *Vita* of Geoffrey of Chalard,¹⁹⁹ and told the participants 'to take the sign of the saving cross', according to Ordericus Vitalis.²⁰⁰ Hugh of Cluny imposed 'the sign of salvation' on Stephen of Neublens in 1100. For Guibert of Nogent the cross was 'the mark (*stigma*) of the passion of the Lord'.²⁰¹ For Bernard of Clairvaux it was the *signum vitae*.²⁰² Later in the twelfth century Odo of Cheriton said that the cross of the Templars and Hospitallers, like that of monks, was worn on the heart as well as the body, 'so

¹⁹⁴ Michel Villey 'L'idée de croisade chez les juristes du Moyen-Âge', in *Comitato internazionale di scienze storiche. X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma 4-11 settembre 1955. Relazioni*, III: *Storia di medioevo* (Florence 1955), 581-4; Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 71), 32.

¹⁹⁵ Baldwin III of Jerusalem, *Historia Nicaena uel Antiochena necnon Jerosolymitana*, 7, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V, 144.

¹⁹⁶ *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. Herbert E. Salter, 2 vols (Oxford Historical Society 49, 51; Oxford 1907-8), II, 338-9, c. 32. According to Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, IV, 21, ed. Schmugge (n. 133), 209, there was no greater shipwreck than the danger of a broken vow.

¹⁹⁷ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, I, 12, ed. Strange (n. 184), I, 12: cf. II, 7 (I, 70-1).

¹⁹⁸ Philip of Oxford (attr.), *De praedicatione*, ed. Röhrich (n. 69), 22, cf. 23. It was also a seal for James of Vitry: Cole, *Preaching* (n. 52), 135.

¹⁹⁹ *Vita beati Gaufredi Castaliensis*, I, 6 (BHL 3283), ed. Auguste J. B. Bosvieux, in *Mémoires de la Société des sciences naturelles et archéologiques de la Creuse* 3 (1862), 93-4.

²⁰⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, IX, 2; X, 8, ed. Chibnall (n. 34), V, 14, 230. See also the speech of Elias of Maine, p. 81 n.153.

²⁰¹ *Chartes de Cluny* (n. 37), V, 89, no. 3737 (see p. 66 n.99.); Guibert, *Dei gesta*, II, 5, in *CC:CM, CXXVIIA*, 117 (see p. 64 n.86).

²⁰² Bernard, *Ep.* 363.4, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 314.

that they crucify the flesh from the vices of luxury and greed and the mind from the desires of avarice and pride'.²⁰³

In the treatise *On the preaching of the holy cross* Christ on the cross was said to have described 'our whole life in order that we may imitate Him, since every action of Christ is our instruction'. 'Rise in the true faith and take up the cross', it continued later, 'so that you can say on the day of Judgment: Lord, You were on the cross for me and I on the cross for You'.²⁰⁴ The thirteenth-century preacher Guibert of Tournai called the cross directive 'because it shows the ways at the crossroads', including the shortest route to paradise. It was 'the sign which the Lord raises to gather His soldiers for battle' and 'which distinguishes them as men who grieve over the loss of Jerusalem'. It restored sinners in spiritual battle, worn by the faithful on their hearts to show their love and 'on the sleeve to signify their commitment to do His work'. Crusaders must avenge Christ as friends of God and marked with His sign, which allowed them 'to enter unobstructed through the gates of paradise'.²⁰⁵

The close connection of the cross with Jerusalem is shown in many of these sources, particularly the charters, where the desire to visit Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher was often given as the reason for taking the cross. The extent to which the recovery of Jerusalem, as opposed to general assistance to the eastern Christians and the unification of the church, was the major goal of the first crusade is uncertain, but there is no question that Jerusalem played a larger role than the eastern church in the minds of most of the crusaders. The importance of praying towards the east and the connection of Jerusalem and the cross in the medieval church have been discussed above, as has the use of the cross as a sign of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Throughout the middle ages Jerusalem in both a spiritual and a worldly sense was the true homeland of all Christians. Sometimes the distinction between the heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem is unclear, as in the *Itinerary and exhortation of a certain Dermot of Ireland who was traveling to Jerusalem*, of which the author (perhaps Reimbald of Liège, writing about 1117) called himself 'an exile for the sake of God', who carried both the cross of Christ and a cross on his clothing and who sought God 'not only in Jerusalem but everywhere'.²⁰⁶

The nature of the crusading cross was also discussed in the thirteenth century. Innocent III in his letter to duke Leopold of Austria in 1208 distinguished between the cross of Christ, to which He was attached by iron nails and which was rough and harsh and born on His flesh, and the cross of the duke, which was soft and smooth and born on his clothing, to which it was attached by linen and silk threads.²⁰⁷ Hostiensis seems to have been the first to draw the distinction, which later

²⁰³ Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, IV. *Eudes de Cheriton et ses dérivés* (Paris 1896), 223, no. 52.

²⁰⁴ Philip of Oxford (attr.), *De praedicatione*, ed. Röhrich (n. 69), 13, 21.

²⁰⁵ Cole, *Preaching* (n. 52), 196-7.

²⁰⁶ CC:CM, IV, 4.

²⁰⁷ PL, CCXV, 1340CD.

became widespread, between the *crux transmarina*, 'which is for the acquisition or recovery of the Holy Land', from the *crux cismarina* against schismatics and heretics in Europe.²⁰⁸ The theologians and canon lawyers thus subjected the cross to scholastic analysis.

Some light on the significance of the crusading cross, though less than might be expected, is thrown by the surviving ceremonies for taking the cross. Ekkehard of Aura said in his chronicle under the year 1096 that the participants in the first crusade went to churches to have their arms blessed 'by a new rite', but he did not describe it.²⁰⁹ In the early years, indeed, there was considerable variety and confusion,²¹⁰ but the rites probably resembled the relatively well-established ceremony for blessing the crosses of pilgrims, which was based (at least in some churches) on the prayers for the consecrations of crosses within a church.²¹¹ The earliest known texts of rites specifically for taking the cross date from the second half of the twelfth century. The Bari pontifical called the cross 'the sign of travel' and 'the most victorious banner of the holy cross', which is a mark of protection and victory, and the Lambrecht pontifical referred to it as a sign of protection 'both on the heart and on the body'.²¹² The *benedictio crucis peregrinorum* in the Magdalen College pontifical later became a standard ceremony, but it has no specific reference to crusading as distinct from pilgrimage.²¹³ Another rite for taking the cross in England, which dates from about 1200, called on God to bless

this sign of your cross, so that it may be to this your servant N. a special means of assistance, a support of faith, the consummation of his works, the redemption of his soul, and a protection and safeguard against the fierce darts of all enemies.²¹⁴

There are some striking similarities between these ceremonies and those not only of baptism but also for making new monks and nuns, who were also marked with a cross, sometimes on the shoulder or forehead, and who were considered to bear the cross throughout their lives.²¹⁵ These suggest that Urban (who was

²⁰⁸ Hostiensis, *Summa aurea* (De voto 19) (Venice 1574, repr. Turin 1962), 1141. See Villey, 'L'idée' (n. 195), 568-77; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford 1992), 234-5.

²⁰⁹ Ekkehard, *Chronicon* s.a. 1096, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 214.

²¹⁰ Dupront, *Mythe* (n. 52), 1311, referred to the anarchic rite of a *nova religio*, see also 2071 n.32.

²¹¹ Reynolds, 'Cérémonies' (n. 79), 200-1.

²¹² Pennington, 'Rite' (n. 118), 432-3.

²¹³ Wilson, *Pontifical* (n. 79), 207.

²¹⁴ James Brundage, 'Cruce signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England', *Traditio* 22 (1966), 306-7, repr. in Riley-Smith, *Crusades* (n. 179), 139, dating it c. 1210.

²¹⁵ See Giles Constable, 'The Ceremonies and Symbolism of Entering Religious Life and Taking the Monastic Habit, from the Fourth to the Twelfth Century', in *Segni e riti*

himself a monk and former prior at Cluny) may have had in mind some sort of consecration as well as a commitment to a common enterprise. It is impossible at this distance in time, however, to say which of the many meanings attached to the cross was uppermost in his mind when he required the participants in the crusade to wear the sign of the cross.

The range of these meanings is illustrated by two sermons written respectively towards the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth by two eminent and well-informed churchmen. The first was by Alan of Lille, whose sermon *On the cross of the Lord* was addressed to participants in the third crusade. After giving a brief history of the cross, 'the seal of our religion, the banner of the Christian faith', which was at first lost, then found by Helena, taken by Chosroes, and recovered by Heraclius, Alan said that owing to sin it was now lost without hope of recovery. The loss of the cross showed beyond doubt God's reproach and Christ's retreat from men:

Therefore indeed the soldiers of Christ sign themselves with the sign of the cross on the body, sign on the heart, sign externally by the image, sign internally by penance; they bear the cross of Christ not with Simon as an obligation but with Christ in patience; with the right-hand robber in penance, not with the left-hand [robber] in violence. Christians sign themselves with the cross; crucified they go on pilgrimage in the world; they reach the place; they seek the tomb with the Magdalen; they run with Peter; they discover with John. They weep for the capture of the cross; they labor for its recovery; they avenge Christ's wrongs; they mourn His insults; they free the land of our inheritance, the inheritance of Christ, the dowry of the Virgin.

Alan ended this section of his sermon with the statement, cited above, that pilgrims going to Jerusalem wore the cross on the shoulder and those returning on the chest.²¹⁶

A few years later James of Vitry, who was bishop of Acre before he became a cardinal, said in his second sermon *To those signed or about to be signed by the cross* that:

The Lord told us to raise the sign of the cross like the standard of the highest king in Sion, that is, the church of God, by preaching the power of the cross and by exalting the praises of the cross by the voice of the speaker and by inviting the people to the cross. Just as the house of God is known by the cross raised above it, so a man is known as a house of God by the cross affixed to his shoulders; and since we have been signed with the cross by baptism itself, we should not deny the sign of the cross.

(n. 1), 771-834.

²¹⁶ D'Alverny, *Alain de Lille* (n. 50), 281.

God could have freed His land by a single word, James continued later,

but He wished to honor His servants and to have companions in its liberation, giving you the occasion to save your souls ... This holy pilgrimage has indeed saved many who would have remained in their sins if the Lord had from the beginning freed that land by Himself.

Just as nobles and great men invest their vassals with fiefs by gloves and other tokens of small value, James said, 'So the Lord invests His vassals with the heavenly kingdom by a cross made out of modest thread and cloth.'²¹⁷

These sermons bring together many of the themes touched upon here, including the concentration on the cross as a symbol of Christian power and of individual salvation, the parallel of the crosses of baptism and of pilgrimage, and the aim of freeing the Holy Land and winning the heavenly kingdom, of which the cross was the symbol. Far more than just an identifying badge or sign, the cross was granted by God to crusaders in order to guide their journey both in this world and to the next. The crusade was described by Delaruelle as above all 'an extraordinary movement of feelings and imaginings evoked by the cross of Christ'.²¹⁸ The cross brought together the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalems, towards which (as Bernard of Clairvaux said) monks progress with their spirits rather than their feet.²¹⁹ As the symbol both of salvation and of pilgrimage, the cross thus lay at the heart of the spiritual and bodily journeys not only of crusaders but of all Christians.

Note

This article is published here for the first time but draws on some of the material used (without notes) in 'Jerusalem and the Sign of the Cross (with particular reference to the cross of pilgrimage and crusading in the twelfth century)', in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York 1999), 371-81.

²¹⁷ James of Vitry, *Serm.* 48, ed. Pitra (n. 145), 423-4.

²¹⁸ Etienne Delaruelle, 'Crucifix' (n. 25), 39.

²¹⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 399, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 379-80.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 3

Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades

This chapter is based on evidence gathered over many years, beginning with some research on the second crusade in the autumn of 1951.¹ At that time the number of references to the crusades especially in French charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries came to my attention. I started to gather them and have continued to do so over the years, mostly in the course of other research and with no particular object in mind. In time I had enough material both for an article on the financing of the crusades² and for the present paper, in which I shall consider the light that charters can throw on the history of the crusades in general.

It would be difficult, except on a regional basis, to set out looking for material of this type, since it is scattered through an enormous number of charters, of which I have looked at only a tiny fraction. Almost every medieval cartulary includes material relating in some way or another to the crusades. I have concentrated on the eleventh and twelfth centuries and on references to Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulcher, and the Holy Land, so that the focus here is on the crusades to the east. There is also material on crusading in Spain and eastern Europe and against the Albigensians and dissident groups in the west, and on the background to the crusading movement, which I shall consider briefly, and its influence. The conclusions presented here are both tentative and miscellaneous. Some of them are also rather obvious, since the value of crusading charters lies primarily in their contribution not to factual knowledge but to our understanding of how the crusades were seen by those who participated in them. They do not tell the whole story, but the story they tell is not found in other types of sources.

Not all references to the holy sites in the east indicate that the journey in question should be called a crusade. Some of the charters studied here probably related to simple pilgrimages. Only if there is an unambiguous relation to a papal summons, to a known expedition, or to military action to rescue or defend Jerusalem or the Holy Sepulcher can the expedition confidently be called a crusade.

Scholars should also be on their guard against forged and interpolated charters relating to the crusades. As long ago as the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier, noble (and would-be noble) families wanted crusaders as ancestors. Forgers were found to satisfy this demand, which was vastly stimulated in the nineteenth century by the decision of king Louis Philippe to include in the Salle

¹ See chapter 10.

² See chapter 4.

des Croisades at Versailles the names of all French families whose members went on crusades. Literally thousands of crusading charters were forged at that time, often by the simple means of inserting a new name into an authentic text and then copying it as an alleged original, which was sometimes skillful enough to take in impartial experts.³ Isolated charters referring to crusaders must therefore be regarded with suspicion, especially if the crusaders bear the names of still-existing families.⁴ I have tried to avoid them here and have used principally charters found in cartularies, which are less easily tampered with. But even if a few of the documents cited here are forgeries, the validity of the general conclusions, which do not rest on individual charters, would not be seriously affected.

Crusading charters have in the past been used principally by genealogists and by local historians, whose inspiration is regional patriotism. The Academy of Besançon in 1767 offered a prize for the best essay on the role played by nobles from the Franche-Comté in the crusades,⁵ and the nineteenth century saw a flood of works concerned with the crusaders from almost every part of Europe.⁶ Most of these works are on a scholarly level with Verdi's *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata*, but they include some serious works, above all the list of German pilgrims and crusaders compiled by the great crusading historian Reinhold Röhricht.⁷ There are

³ Léopold Delisle, 'Procédé employé par un faussaire contemporain', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 49 (1888), 304-6; Albert Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris 1894), 886. On the notorious Courtois collection, which contains some 2,000 charters, of which few if any are certainly authentic, see Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich*, 4 vols (Leipzig 1900-22), II, 302-24, who lists all previous works discussing these charters; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La Collection de chartes de croisade de la "collection Courtois"', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-rendus des séances* (1956), 382-6; Hans Van Werveke, 'La contribution de la Flandre et du Hainaut à la Troisième Croisade', *Le Moyen Age* 78 (1972), 89 n.72; David Abulafia, 'Invented Italians in the Courtois Charters', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 135-43.

⁴ Louis de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols (Paris 1852-61), II, 64 n.1; Bautier, 'La Collection' (n. 3), 384-5.

⁵ The winning essay, which was published a century later owing to the efforts of Auguste Castan, was by Claude-Joseph Perreciot, 'Quels sont les princes et seigneurs de Franche-Comté qui se sont distingués pendant les croisades?', *Mémoires et documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la Franche-Comté* 4 (1867), 317-89.

⁶ See Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960), nos. 2359-432.

⁷ Reinhold Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, II. *Deutsche Pilger- und Kreuzfahrten nach dem Heiligen Lande 700-1300* (Berlin 1878). The two works by Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck 1901) and *Chronologie de la Première Croisade (1094-1100)* (Paris 1902), although the term 'chartae' appears in the Latin title of the former, make comparatively small use of charters.

useful sections on crusading charters in the introductions to the editions of several cartularies, notably the cartulary of St Peter at Chartres, citing 24 crusading sales, donations, and foundations, and the cartulary of Molesme, with 22 crusading charters from 1096 to 1218.⁸ There are scholarly sections on crusaders in several regional studies,⁹ but these are usually more concerned with the history of the region than of the crusades.

Some works on individual crusades have also made use of charter evidence. What little is known about the efforts to launch a crusade in 1150 comes in part from charters,¹⁰ and the case for the alleged crusade from Mayenne in 1158 rests entirely on a single charter, which was probably forged in the seventeenth century by a supposed descendant of one of the participants.¹¹ More recently charters have begun to be used as a source of crusading history by several scholars, including Paul Rousset and John Cowdrey in their works on the first crusade, Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, who included two charters, one from St Peter at Chartres and the other from Aureil, in their book on *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*,¹² and most notably Jonathan Riley-Smith in his *The First Crusaders*, which lists

⁸ *Cartulaire des l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. Benjamin E. C. Guérard, 2 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1840), I, cciv-v; *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ed. Jacques Laurent, 2 vols (Collection de documents publiés avec le concours de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or I; Paris 1907-11), I, 138-41. See also René Norbert Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn* (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 34 (=4S 4); Caen-Rouen-Paris 1911), 71.

⁹ See, for instance, Geoffroi Tenant de la Tour, *L'homme et la terre de Charlemagne à St-Louis* (Paris [1943]), 363, who lists 26 crusaders from the Limousin in 1095; Georges Duby, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris 1953), 360-1; Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris - Sorbonne: Recherches 49; Paris-Louvain 1968), 610-12; William M. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie*, 2 vols (Bibliothèque d'histoire du droit des pays flamands, picards et wallons 27; Paris 1971), I, 26.

¹⁰ See chapter 12 below.

¹¹ Alain de Goué, *La croisade mayennaise de 1158. Les premiers seigneurs de Mayenne et de Laval* (Mayenne 1911), with references to earlier writers on both sides of this question.

¹² Paul Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la Première Croisade* (Neuchâtel 1945), 73-5; Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970), 181-3; idem, 'Cluny and the First Crusade', *Revue bénédictine* 83 (1973), 302-3; Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London 1981), 99-100, 177, nos. 21, 49; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997). See also idem, 'The Idea of Crusading in the Charters of the Early Crusaders, 1095-1102', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)* (Rome 1997), 155-66. Among other scholars who have made use of charter evidence in their work on the crusades are Marcus Bull and Christopher Tyerman, whose works are discussed elsewhere in this volume.

all known crusaders from 1095 to 1131. The picture of the crusades presented in most history books, however, and also in specialized works, still owes very little to evidence from charters.

The most important sections of a crusading charter seen from this point of view are not the witness list, which interests local historians and genealogists, but the *arenga*, or general statement of principle, and the specific circumstances in which the charter was issued, usually the proximate departure of a crusader for Jerusalem or the Holy Sepulcher. The dating clause may also refer to a crusade or pilgrimage. Fulk Nera of Anjou in the early eleventh century dated several of his charters with references to his pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and a century later the charters of William of Aquitaine are dated 'eodem ... anno ab Hierosolimis regresso' and 'eius recessionis ab Ierosolymis anno primo'.¹³ An exceptionally elaborate dating clause is found in a charter of the abbot of Werden in 1148:

at the time and in the year that the *universitas Christianorum* made the expedition to Jerusalem marvellous more by its start than its end, when the lord king Conrad of the Romans and the lord king Louis of the Franks led and followed so great a multitude.¹⁴

Even a brief passage like this tells us something about the attitude towards the second crusade, which indeed began better than it ended. There may also be an implied slur in the description of the two kings as both 'ducentibus aut sequentibus'. The reference to 'the university of Christians', which I have found in no other crusading charter, is interesting, as is the phrase 'Hierosolimam expeditionem', which implies both a pilgrimage and a military undertaking.

I shall discuss in particular four questions: What? Who? How? and Why? First, what was a crusade or, rather, a crusader, and what did contemporaries think the crusaders were doing? Second, who were they? Third, what practical arrangements did they make for their journeys? And fourth, why did they go? This last question makes almost a full circle, since why they went is closely related to what they thought they were doing. The variety and levels of motives lie at the heart of the historical puzzle posed by the crusades.

With regard to the first question, the evidence of the charters shows that most crusaders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whatever the popes and other

¹³ Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris 1972), II, 33, 65, nos. C21, C77, see also 250-1, no. C403; *Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St-Hilaire de Poitiers*, 2 vols (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1847, 1852; Poitiers-Paris 1848-57), I, 115-18, nos. 104-6.

¹⁴ Theodor J. Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, I (Düsseldorf 1840), 249, no. 364. See also *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, ed. Pierre de Monsabert (Archives historiques du Poitou 39; Poitiers 1910), 124-5, no. 22 (1100); *Chartes du prieuré de Longueville*, ed. Paul Le Cacheux (Rouen-Paris 1934), 55, no. 45 (c. 1190).

planners of the crusades said, thought that they were going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or the Holy Sepulcher and that as a result they would please God and win remission from punishment and salvation in the next world. Only very gradually did there emerge a sense of specific purpose and obligation which set apart the three great expeditions which figure in the chronicles and to which later scholars gave the names of the first, second, and third crusades, but which are almost indistinguishable in the charters from the countless individual undertakings and smaller expeditions stretching back in an unbroken continuum to the early days of Christianity and continuing during the first century of crusading.

This tradition of pilgrimage to the Holy Land is the essential background, as many scholars have stressed, to the crusades and figures prominently in charters. Great and small alike went to Jerusalem. People like the abbot of St Albinus at Angers, who went in 988, the count of Angers, Guy I of Laval, the bishop of Le Mans, and the countess Hildegard – to mention pilgrims from only one area of France in the first half of the eleventh century¹⁵ – set an example, recorded in their charters, that lesser folk followed. When William of Sadroe wanted to go to Jerusalem in 1031/60, he borrowed five shillings from the monks of Vigoeis, secured by some land which he could recover if he returned;¹⁶ and the abbey of the Trinity at Vendôme in 1074 gave a good pack animal to Gilorius ‘when he was about to set out as a pilgrim’.¹⁷ Later in the eleventh century, but still probably before the council of Clermont, the aged bishop of Leictoure declared in a speech to the canons of St Sernin at Toulouse that ‘I wish to go to Jerusalem on account of my sins.’¹⁸

The majority of crusading charters, including those clearly associated with the great expeditions of 1096, 1147, and 1188, continued to use this language of pilgrimage. The standard terms were *adire*, *aggredere*, *ire*, *pergere*, *petere*, and

¹⁵ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon, 3 vols (Paris 1903), I, 41-3, 158, nos. 23, 130 (= Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou* [n. 13], I, 25, 33, nos. C7, C33); II, 159-60, 181, nos. C242, C275 (on the countess Hildegard, who died in Jerusalem); *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir*, ed. Eugène Vallée (Archives historiques du Maine 6; Le Mans 1905), 5, 7, nos. 10, 17.

¹⁶ *Chartularium monasterii sancti Petri Vosiensis*, ed. Henri de Montégut (Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin 39; Limoges 1890), 4, no. 5. See Marie Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911-1066)* (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 36; Caen 1961), 241, no. 91, for a good example of a cleric named Herbert in 1032 or 1043, ‘pertractans vigili mente superiora dicta timensque repentina morte praeoccupari, adii primo Hierosolymam desiderans mea ibi apud sanctissima loca plangendo deflere peccata, deinde rediens Domini nostri Jesu Christi veneratione inspiratus’; cf. Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou* (n. 13), II, 49, no. C49, defending the authenticity of this charter.

¹⁷ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. Charles Métails, 5 vols (Paris 1893-1904), I, 385, no. 243: Gilorius asked for a pack animal or 40 shillings.

¹⁸ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse (844-1200)*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris-Toulouse 1887), 98-9, no. 133.

proficere either to Jerusalem or, more rarely, to the Holy Sepulcher. Sometimes the journey was called an *iter* or *via* to Jerusalem, which was used both as a noun and as an adjective, as in the charter of the abbot of Werden, or simply a desire for Jerusalem (*volens Hierusalem* or *voluntas de Hierusalem*). A pious phrase is sometimes added, like *orationis gratia*, *pia devotione*, or *pro peccatis meis*. 'Roused by the example of those wishing to save their souls' appears in a charter for Cluny in 1096; 'for the sake of penance and satisfaction' in a charter for Josaphat before 1130; and 'stung by fear and love of God' in one for St Maxentius in 1142/9.¹⁹ *Peregre*, as in the charter of Gilorius cited above, or *peregrinandi desiderium* might be added to make clear that the journey was a pilgrimage. The references are normally very brief, and the type of more elaborate descriptions which will be cited below are found in only a small minority of crusading charters.

The military character of the journey is mentioned in a few of the early crusading charters, but usually as a secondary factor. The scribes of Marmoutiers were exceptional in including a reference to the army in several charters, like that of 1096 describing a crusader 'who wished shortly to go to Jerusalem with the army of Christians going against the pagans'.²⁰ A reference to the fighting is also occasionally found in a later charter, like that of 1100 for St Benignus at Dijon:

When, after the holy city of Jerusalem was captured by the Christians, an innumerable multitude of all men went there with burning love and desire, a certain excellent knight (*optimus miles*) named Milo ... roused by the divine fire to perform good works, wished by that journey to complete what he had long desired.²¹

There is no evidence that this 'innumerable multitude' of pilgrims who went to Jerusalem after the first crusade regarded their journeys as different in character from those of their predecessors in 1096. Milo's emphasis was on the religious elements of love and desire, good works, and pilgrimage, which the capture of Jerusalem had made possible.

¹⁹ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. August Bernard, Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1876-1903), V, 108, no. 3755; *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, ed. Charles Métais, 2 vols (Chartes 1911-12), I, 44, no. 29; *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent*, ed. Alfred Richard, 2 vols (Archives historiques du Poitou 16,18; Poitiers 1886), I, 349, no. 331.

²⁰ *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois*, ed. Charles-Auguste de Trémault (Paris-Vendôme 1893), 258, no. 180. The scribes of Marmoutier seem to have mentioned the army more frequently than those in other monasteries: see *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois*, ed. Emile Mabille (Paris-Châteaudun 1874), 137, 141, nos. 149, 152-3.

²¹ *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. Georges Chevrier, Maurice Chaume, II (Analecta Burgundica; Dijon 1943), 171, no. 394. See *Chronique et chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Mihiel*, ed. André Lesort (Mettensia 6; Paris 1909-12), 191, no. 54.

Charters occasionally mention a vow.²² Hugh of Toucy, who will appear later, prepared to go to Jerusalem again, after the failure of his first attempt, in the late eleventh century, 'in order to fulfill his vow, since he seemed to be greatly disturbed (*dubitare*) about his return'.²³ According to a Cluniac charter of 1106/7, a mill which had previously been mortgaged to the abbey was sold when, 'After a little time, [the owner] Joceran decided and made a vow to go to Jerusalem.'²⁴ A few years before, in 1100, Stephen of Neublens issued an interesting charter for Cluny:

In view of the multitude of my sins and of the piety, gentleness, and mercy of our lord Jesus Christ, Who though rich became poor for our sake, I decided to give back to Him something for all those things that He gave to unworthy me. I therefore decided to go to Jerusalem, where God the man was seen and kept company with men, and to 'adore in the place where His feet stood' (Ps 131.7).

Stephen made his decision known to abbot Hugh of Cluny, who imposed 'the sign of salvation' of the cross on his shoulder and a ring on his finger. He entered into association with the monks and received the right to liturgical commemoration if he died en route (*in hac via*). At the end of the charter he added, 'Although I did this especially for the sake of my soul, I received from the lord Artaldus [dean of Lourdon] fifty shillings and two excellent mules.'²⁵

The cross is sometimes considered the sign of the organized crusading armies. Erdmann said that 'Medieval history offers no earlier example of a company of laymen adopting a distinctive emblem for their clothing.'²⁶ The charter of 1100 and others cited below show that the cross was a mark of individual pilgrimage to Jerusalem as well as of collective undertakings called by the pope. When William the Hunter had the desire to go to Jerusalem in 1120, 'He received the cross as a sign of pilgrimage as the custom of pilgrims of this sort requires.'²⁷ By the

²² Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 347-8 and n. 131 on the dispute over whether the vow emerged at Clermont. On the later development of the vow, see James A. Brundage, 'A Note on the Attestation of Crusaders' Vows', *Catholic Historical Review* 52 (1966), 234-9; idem, 'The Votive Obligations of Crusaders: The Development of a Canonistic Doctrine', *Traditio* 24 (1968), 77-118. The argument, admittedly *ex silentio*, of the charters suggests the vow was more important in the later than the earlier crusades.

²³ *Molesme* (n. 8), II, 84, no. 78.

²⁴ *Cluny* (n. 19), V, 202-3, no. 3850.

²⁵ *Cluny* (n. 19), V, 89-90, no. 3737.

²⁶ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 346; see also Etienne Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de Croisade. Urbain II (suite)', repr. in idem, *L'idée de croisade au moyen âge* (Turin 1980), 119.

²⁷ *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours*, ed. Louis-J. Denis, 2 vols (Archives historiques du Maine 12; Le Mans 1912-13), I, 87-8, no. 67: 'Et, ut mos hujusmodi peregrinorum

middle of the century the cross was beginning to be specifically associated with crusading, and it is found in several charters concerned with the second crusade.²⁸ In 1146, Maurice of Glons, 'armed with the sign of the cross and ready to travel to Jerusalem', gave up a fief he held from St James at Liège.²⁹ The following year Arnold Seschaves made a grant to St Peter at Angoulême 'when he was about to set out for Jerusalem [and] the cross had been taken'.³⁰ In the long *arenga* to his charter, however, he still stressed the primarily personal and familial nature of his journey:

I Arnold Seschaves, being solicitous for the salvation of the souls of myself and my parents and mindful that on the Last Day, when at the advent of our lord Jesus Christ all men must rise again with their bodies and be ready to account for their deeds, those who did good deeds will go to eternal life but those [who did] evil deeds [will go] to eternal fire, in order that my lord the blessed Peter, to whom God gave the power of binding and loosing and the keys to the celestial kingdom, may deign to open the doors of the celestial kingdom to myself and my father and my mother and other ancestors of my family, gave him my land at La Groux.

As the century progressed the marks of crusading took on a more formal character and the obligations became more solemn. Failure to fulfill a crusading vow was a serious matter. When William the Fat of Albemarle was unable to go to Jerusalem, as he had vowed, 'owing to his age and the weight of his body', he was allowed as a substitute to found the abbey of Meaux, after he had consulted with Adam of Fountains, later the first abbot of Meaux, and with Bernard of Clairvaux and received the permission of pope Eugene III.³¹ When Walter of Valmondois

exigit, in signum peregrinationis crucem accepit.'

²⁸ See *St-Hilaire de Poitiers* (n. 13), II, 128, no. 115 (1128); *St-Aubin d'Angers* (n. 15), I, 145, no. 117 (1127/49); *Cartulaire des abbayes de Saint-Pierre de la Couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes* (Le Mans 1881), 56, no. 52 (1140). On liturgical rites for taking the cross, which were relatively rare in the twelfth century, see Kenneth Pennington, 'The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century', *Traditio* 30 (1974), 429-35; Riley-Smith, *Crusades* (n. 12), 136-9.

²⁹ Jacques Stiennon, *Etude sur le chartrier et le domaine de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques de Liège (1015-1209)* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 129; Paris 1951), 442-3, no. 6.

³⁰ *Cartulaire de l'église d'Angoulême*, ed. J. Nanglard (Angoulême 1900), 151, no. 159. The *arenga* cited below refers to an earlier grant which Arnold confirmed in this one, at the time he went on a crusade.

³¹ William Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum*, ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, Bulkeley Bandinel, 7 vols in 8 (London 1817-30), V, 390. On Meaux and its first abbot, see David Knowles, R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2 ed. (London 1971), 122; David Knowles, Christopher N. L. Brooke, Vera London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216* (Cambridge 1972), 138.

could not go to Jerusalem in 1164/9, 'owing to various impediments that happened to him', he consulted successively with a monk of Pontoise, the dean of Meulan, and the archbishop of Rouen, who said that 'the petition was indeed great but who mercifully considered the greatness of the lord Walter's impediments' and allowed him to make a grant to Pontoise in lieu of his vow.³²

When Sebrand Chabot wanted to go to Jerusalem in 1146/87, he received the staff and wallet of a pilgrim 'before God and the relics of the saints' in the church of St Nicholas at Absie, while in England William of Oby in 1153/64 'proposed to visit the sepulcher of the Lord when the sign of the cross of the Lord had been taken'.³³ Though there was still no single symbol for going on a crusade, and the cross was still taken by individual pilgrims, the term *cruce signatus*, first as two words and later as one, was increasingly used in charters towards the end of the century. In a charter for Longueville in about 1189 a cleric gave his house and lands to the monks for three years 'at the time master Andrew of Auffray and other crusaders (*crusiati*) undertook the journey to Jerusalem'.³⁴ In another charter from Longueville of the same date, a crusader informed the aged king Henry II that he had taken the cross 'with your permission' and that he had mortgaged his lands for three years in order to raise the money to pay for his journey.³⁵

By the end of the century, a crusader was someone who had taken the cross to go to Jerusalem, accepted the obligations of a special type of pilgrimage, and who was beginning to be called a crusader. He usually expected to be away for three years, financed his journey by mortgaging his property, and for this needed, at least in some regions, the permission of his lord. He would have to give satisfaction if for any reason he was unable to go. The charters gave no evidence, however, that he differed in any essential respect from other pilgrims, or that he was required

³² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, ed. Joseph Depoin (Publications de la Société historique du Vexin; Pontoise 1895-1904), 120-1, no. 155. William of Staunton in 1190-1200 freed a man 'qui pro me ibit in sanctam terram Ierusalem': Frank M. Stenton, 'Early Manumissions at Staunton, Nottinghamshire', *English Historical Review* 26 (1911), 95.

³³ *Cartulaires et chartes de l'abbaye de l'Absie*, ed. Belisaire Ledain (Archives historiques du Poitou 25; Poitiers 1895), 109. The charter can be dated to the abbacy of Rainier in 1146-87 (xiv). Charles Du Cange dated it 1135 and cited it as an example of the use of the wallet and staff as symbols of pilgrimage in *Dissertations sur l'histoire de Saint Louys*, 15: *De l'escarcelle et du bourdon des pelerins de la terre sainte* in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. G. A. Louis Henschel, 7 vols (Paris 1840-50), VII.2, 65; *St Benet of Holme 1020-1210*, ed. James R. West (Norfolk Record Society 2; n.p. 1932), 18-19, no. 27; see Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (University of London Historical Studies 2; London 1956), 354, no. 132, dating this document probably 1153/61.

³⁴ Longueville (n. 14), 55, no. 45.

³⁵ Ibid. 53, no. 43. See Achille Luchaire, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris 1885), 118, no. 215, for a good statement of the king's obligation to confirm mortgages made by vassals going to Jerusalem in 1147.

to go with an army or to fight the pagans, though many of them did. A crusader named Garin was described in a charter of Montiéramey in 1203 as *crucesignatus* 'until he returns from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem'.³⁶ Garin may have fought the Saracens or participated, as many men from Champagne did, in the attack on Constantinople in 1204, or he may have gone peacefully to Jerusalem. In the charter, the cross still appears as a mark of pilgrimage, and crusaders still regarded themselves primarily as pilgrims.

This brings me to the question: Who were the crusaders? The answer found in the charters is almost anyone who could afford, and a number who could not afford, to go to Jerusalem. Charters are by their nature concerned with property, especially church property, and do not support the view that the crusades were primarily a movement of the poor, except perhaps in a spiritual sense, or even of the laity.³⁷ The appeal of the crusades seems to have been universal, crossing the boundaries of rank, wealth, position, sex, and, in the childrens' crusade, age, though I have found no references to child crusaders in twelfth-century charters. Pope Urban II in his preaching of the crusade at Clermont stressed the participation of fighting men, according to Robert of Rheims, but he did not formally exclude the aged and infirm or even women, priests, and clerics, provided they went with the proper escorts and permissions.³⁸ According to Fulcher of Chartres, Urban said that:

On this matter, not I but the Lord exhorts you, the proclaimers of Christ [that is, the preachers], to persuade by frequent edicts addressed to the people of whatever order, both horsemen and foot-soldiers, both rich and poor, to bring timely help to the Christians in order to exterminate that evil race from the regions of our peoples.³⁹

The appeal of pilgrimage to women in the middle ages is well known. I have already mentioned Hildegard of Anjou in 1045, but she, like Eleanor of Aquitaine

³⁶ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Montiéramey*, ed. Charles Lalore (Collection de principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes 7; Paris-Troyes 1890), 209, no. 203. See *Marmoutier (Dunois)* (n. 20), 191, no. 205: 'eo tempore quo signum dominicae crucis acceperam peregrinaturus in Jherusalem.'

³⁷ See Michel Mollat, *Les pauvres au Moyen Age* (Paris 1978), 95, who stressed the role of the poor in the crusade; Delaruelle, in *Idée de croisade* (n. 26), 121-2; André Vauchez, *La spiritualité du moyen âge occidental* (Paris 1975), 72, on the lay character of the crusades.

³⁸ Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 729; see Riley-Smith, *Crusades* (n. 12), 44-5. 'Legitimis testimoniis' means, I think, 'proper witnesses' or 'escorts', that is, chaperones, rather than 'official permission': see Walter Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade', *Speculum* 21 (1946), 2.

³⁹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913), 134-5.

a century later, was a great lady and probably a law unto herself. A number of women went on the first crusade, including one nun, five wives, and many camp-followers,⁴⁰ but there is no evidence that any of them were crusaders in their own right. The only woman known to have taken the cross herself was Emerias of Alteias, who according to a charter of 1098 'raised the cross on her right shoulder' and asked bishop Isarnus of Toulouse to bless her plan to go to Jerusalem. The bishop was clearly taken aback by her request and said 'that it would be better for her to build a house in honor of God so that the poor of Christ might be received'. Eventually he persuaded her to restore and endow the monastery of St Orens rather than go to Jerusalem, but her example shows that at least one woman formally took the cross.⁴¹

Any number of individual crusaders are mentioned in charters, as genealogists and local historians know. They include some influential men whose participation in the crusades would otherwise be unknown, like Philip Basset, who gave some property to St Benet at Holme 'for fifteen years from the next feast of St Michael following the journey to Jerusalem of the king of France and other barons and of Philip himself'.⁴² The attribution of the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* to Roger of Hoveden rests on his appearance among the witnesses to a charter of John of Hesse issued in 1190/1 *in obsidione Acre*.⁴³ Most of these individuals were little men, such as 'Harding of Oxford, who went to Jerusalem and died there' and whose grant of two houses in Oxford to the abbey of Eynsham was confirmed by Henry I in 1109.⁴⁴ Men like this, obscure to us but not unknown in their own time, doubtless formed the backbone of the crusading movement.

Clerics also participated, both with and without the permission of their superiors.⁴⁵ A monk of St Amand-de-Boixe wrote to the bishop of Angoulême that a local priest had gone to Jerusalem with the count of Poitou, leaving his church

⁴⁰ Porges, 'The Clergy' (n. 38), 13-14.

⁴¹ Claude De Vic, Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 5 vols (Paris 1730-45), II, 349, no. 323 ; 2 ed., 16 vols (Toulouse 1872-1905), V, 756-8, no. 401. See Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail A 20; Toulouse [1974]), 562-3.

⁴² *St Benet of Holme* (n. 33), 87, no. 155.

⁴³ Charles T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, XII: *The Tison Fee* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, Extra Series 10; [Wakefield] 1965), 57-8, no. 28. On this, with references to previous literature, see David Corner, 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983), 126-44.

⁴⁴ *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. Herbert E. Salter, 2 vols (Oxford Historical Society 49, 51; Oxford 1907-8), I, 37, no. 8.

⁴⁵ Porges, 'The Clergy' (n. 38), esp. 21-3, listed 41 clerics (a few from charters) who went on the first crusade. The list of crusaders in Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 196-246, includes several clerics and a few monks.

without a pastor, and the bishop replied that the monk should take care of the church until a replacement could be found.⁴⁶ The earliest reference to the arrangement by which clerics could keep their benefices, and if necessary mortgage them, for three years while they were on crusade, which the fourth Lateran council incorporated into canon law, is found in a charter from St Martin-des-Champs in 1127/31.⁴⁷ The sacristan Agnes Marcella of the convent of Our Lady at Saintes gave her son, a cleric named Robert, 20 shillings in return for some tithes 'when he wanted to go to Jerusalem' in 1166.⁴⁸

Peter the Hermit was not the only hermit to hear the siren call of Jerusalem. The abbey of St Sulpicius at Bourges had a dependency at Chaumes which abbot Odo, according to a charter of about 1100, had given to a hermit named Ebrardus 'in order that he might honestly perform the service of God there for the love of God as long as he lived'.

After a long time, Ebrardus, wishing to go to Jerusalem, wanted to inform the abbot Tevinus ... and the other monks of the change in his life in order that the place and church and the things that were there would not be deserted.

He therefore arranged for a monk named Arnulf to come to Chaumes. 'And afterwards Ebrardus went to Jerusalem and the monk of St Sulpicius remained peacefully there [at Chaumes].'⁴⁹

Crusaders usually travelled in groups, or with at least a few companions, and some information about the nature of these groups is found in charters. Many men went with their lords,⁵⁰ and others with relations. Three charters from Uzerche in 1095-97 refer respectively to a father, son, and a relative 'who went to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer', to a father and two sons 'who went at the same time to Jerusalem', and to two brothers – a knight and a priest – who 'went to Jerusalem

⁴⁶ Printed by Etienne Baluze in the notes to his edition of Pierre de Marca, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii* (Frankfort 1708), 961-2.

⁴⁷ *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Joseph Depoin, 5 vols (Archives de la France monastique, 13, 16, 18, 20-1; Ligugé- Paris 1912-21), II, 3-4, no. 193. See also *PU in Frankreich*, NF VII: *Nördliche Ile-de-France und Vermandois*, ed. Dietrich Lohrmann (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3S 95; Göttingen 1976), 362, no. 94; *Longueville* (n. 14), 55, no. 45 (c. 1190).

⁴⁸ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes*, ed. Th. Grasilier (Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge 2; Niort 1871), 49, no. 45.

⁴⁹ Louis de Kersers, 'Essai de reconstitution du Cartulaire A de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 35 (1912), 198-9, no. 106; see also the following charter, which deals with the replacement of Arnold by Constantine in c. 1120.

⁵⁰ Robert the Burgundian referred to 'one of my *proceres* who went with me to Jerusalem' in a charter of 1098: *Cartulaire manceau de Marmoutier*, ed. Ernest Laurain, 2 vols (Laval 1911-45), II, 89, no. 13; see Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou* (n. 13), II, 251.

for this first time'.⁵¹ The first members of the famous crusading family of Toucy to set out for Jerusalem were the brothers Iterius, Hugh, and Norgaud. Iterius took the cross in 1095 and died en route, Hugh and Norgaud set out together after the death of Iterius but failed to reach Jerusalem; Hugh set out again but died about 1100; Norgaud then also set out again and died in Jerusalem shortly before 1110.⁵² Other crusaders, like these brothers, went to Jerusalem more than once.⁵³

Most frequently, however, crusaders went with their neighbors, and the charters contain many references to local groups. A good example is a charter of archbishop Humbert of Besançon in about 1150, saying that when Bartholomew of Cicon fell ill in Jerusalem he promised to restore a mill, seven serfs, and some other property 'which he had wickedly taken from the church of Mouthier-St-Pierre'. After he recovered and came home, he apparently thought better of his promise, and four companions who had witnessed the division of his property in Jerusalem were summoned before the archbishop to give evidence. They were Carbo of Breigny, brother Raimbald of the Temple in Jerusalem, Peter of Cléron, and Garbilius of Scey. They gave evidence concerning Bartholomew's grant, and the archbishop confirmed it with this charter.⁵⁴ Here is evidence that five men from the same region were together in Jerusalem and could be brought together after they returned home.⁵⁵

Crusading was a risky business, and there was a constant possibility of dying not only in battle but also from disease, accident, and, no doubt, sheer hardship and exhaustion. A careful examination of crusading charters would give a more accurate idea than other sources of the proportion of crusaders who died.⁵⁶ My

⁵¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Uzerche (Corrèze)*, ed. J.-B. Champeval (Paris-Tulle 1901), 314-5, 338, nos. 675, 683, 817. See also *Cluny* (n. 19), V, 59, no. 3712 (two brothers in c. 1096); *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, ed. Henri Doniol, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand* 34 [NS 3]; 1861), 966-7, no. 697 (a father and son c. 1096).

⁵² *Molesme* (n. 8), II, 64, 84, 105, nos. 54, 78, 101; see intro., 63 n., 138-9. On the financial aspects of these expeditions, see pp. 138-9 below, and, on other crusading grants by the Toucy family, *GC*, XII, instr., 107D-8C; *PU in Frankreich*, NF VI: *Orléanais*, ed. Johannes Ramackers (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. K1., 3S 41; Göttingen 1958), 115, no. 56, cf. the forged no. 61 (128-9).

⁵³ Second visits were made by Hugh of Troyes in 1122 and Thierry of Flanders in 1147: *PL*, CLXXXV.2, 1477BC, 1824D.

⁵⁴ Auguste Castan, *Un épisode de la deuxième croisade. Supplément aux mémoires soumis à l'Académie de Besançon en 1767* (Besançon 1862), 10-11 (also printed in *Mémoires de documents* 4 [n. 5], 377-9). In view of its isolated survival and unusual character, this charter cannot be regarded as above suspicion, though Castan said it survived in the original.

⁵⁵ It would be interesting to know whether Raimbald was already a Templar at the time he went to Jerusalem or became one there.

⁵⁶ Van Werveke, 'La contribution de la Flandre' (n. 3), 75-6, concluded on the basis largely of chronicle evidence that out of a total of 68 participants in the third crusade from

impression is that more died in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries than later, but this may be because fewer deaths were recorded in charters, not because crusading became safer. Charter evidence suggests that as many died from disease and accident as in battle. In particular, there are frequent references to shipwrecks, which claimed a number of lives and which may explain the preference of crusaders to travel by land.⁵⁷

People at the time were fully aware of these risks, and crusaders often specified in their charters what would happen to their property if they died or failed to return. St Jean-d'Angély received some property from a crusader in about 1100 on condition that it would keep all of it if he remained on the journey to Jerusalem and would keep one half permanently if he returned and the other half until he repaid the money and the value of a mule given him when he left.⁵⁸ Some crusaders made provision for their burial, like William of Auvergne, who specified in a charter for St Andrew at Clermont that:

If we happen to die in the war against the Saracens, or in some other way outside the kingdom of France and his duchy, we wish and direct that the abbot and community will seek our body and have it brought to our church.⁵⁹

It is hard to tell in these charters whether the crusader had in mind that he would die or that he would stay away, but sometimes the distinction is explicit. Achard of Montmerle in a charter for Cluny in 1096 made provision for if he died on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, if he decided to stay there, or if he returned.⁶⁰ He clearly foresaw the possibility of making a career for himself in the Holy Land, and it may be that some crusaders disposed of all their property at home with this object in view. To the recipient it probably did not make much difference why the grantor did not return, and many charters have built into them what may be called Enoch Arden clauses, guaranteeing the recipient's full possession after a certain

Flanders and Hainault, 46 died, 12 returned, and the fate of ten is unknown. A close study of the charters would show, I think, that a higher percentage returned or remained in the Holy Land.

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean d'Angély*, ed. Georges Musset, 2 vols (Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis 30, 33; Paris-Saintes 1901-3), I, 384, no. 319.

⁵⁸ Edith Brayer, 'Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cellefrouin', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1940-41 (1942), 115, no. 26.

⁵⁹ Charles-Louis Hugo, *Sacri et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis annales* I.1 (Nancy 1734), cxliv. The text reads 'extra regnum Franciae et ducatus ipsius', which may mean either 'his duchy' or 'its duchy', that is, the duchy of France.

⁶⁰ *Cluny* (n. 19), V, 51-3, no. 3703. See *St-Jean d'Angély* (n. 57), I, 384, no. 319: 'si in itinere Hierosolymitano remaneam ... si vero redierim'; and the Fleury charter cited n. 69 below.

number of years. Two brothers who mortgaged their lands to Chézery in 1147 agreed to lose all claim to it after seven years.⁶¹

Churches and monasteries benefited not only from the deaths of crusaders but also from vows made at moments of danger. The future monk and saint Adjutor of Tiron swore to give some property to the Mary Magdalene when he was caught in a Muslim ambush near Antioch on the first crusade.⁶² Waleran of Meulan founded the abbey of Le Valasse on account of a vow made when he was shipwrecked on his way back from the second crusade, and Vézelay benefited from a vow made by William of Nevers during a shipwreck, also while returning from the second crusade.⁶³ These three examples come from chronicles and saints' lives, but parallel instances, like the promise of Bartholomew of Cicon when he was ill in Jerusalem, are found in charters.⁶⁴

Many charters show the desire of the crusaders for protection and help from God and the saints during their journeys, and for liturgical support. Viscount Gisbert of Dijon made 'the glorious protomartyr Stephen a participant in my earthly inheritance' in return for his protection while he went to Jerusalem in 1145.⁶⁵ In 1147, when bishop Reginbert of Passau went 'to Jerusalem in the obedience of that catholic and Christian army', he made a grant to the chapter of his cathedral 'so that God and Our Lord may guide our journey in the way of peace and salvation and bring us some time to that celestial Jerusalem'.⁶⁶ Duke Ottokar of Styria in 1150 made provision for the monks of Garsten to celebrate mass daily for a year commending his journey to Jerusalem to God, and after his death to celebrate again for the salvation of his soul.⁶⁷ Provisions for liturgical protection of this sort were less common than those for liturgical commemoration

⁶¹ Jules Vuy, 'Chézery. Chartes du XII^e siècle', *Mémoires de l'Institut national genevois* 12 (1867-8), 16.

⁶² Hugh of Amiens, *Vita s. Adjutoris monachi Tironensis*, in *PL*, CXCII, 1347A.

⁶³ Geoffrey H. White, 'The Career of Waleran, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester (1104-66)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4S 17 (1934), 40-1; Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis*, in *PL*, CXCIV, 1598BC, and, better, in *CC:CM*, XLII, 423-4.

⁶⁴ Claude Fyot, *Histoire de l'église abbatiale et collegiale de Saint Estienne de Dijon* (Dijon 1696), preuves, 154-5, no. 246, is a bull of Innocent III incorporating a charter of Hugh of Burgundy in 1172 founding a church as a result of a vow during a storm on his way back from Jerusalem.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, preuves 99, no. 157. This is an elaborate way of saying that he was granting some property to the church of St Stephen.

⁶⁶ 'Codex traditionum ecclesiae Pataviensis ... tertius', *Monumenta Boica*, XXVIII (Munich 1829), 2. 227, no. 15.

⁶⁷ Johann Peter von Ludewig, *Reliquiae manuscriptorum*, 12 vols (Frankfort-Leipzig-Halle 1720-41), IV, 197. See Joseph Barbier, 'Obituaire de l'abbaye de Brogne ou de Saint-Gérard, de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 28 (1882), 367-8, no. 7 (1189), where it is uncertain whether the candles to be burned before the cross were specifically for the protection of the donor.

of dead crusaders,⁶⁸ but departing crusaders often entered into confraternities and associations with religious houses, like Stephen of Neublens with Cluny, for the good of their souls.

Crusades were expensive as well as risky, and my third question is concerned with the practical arrangements mentioned in charters, which throw more light on the financing of the crusades than any other type of source. The best single account is in a composite charter from Fleury, which was apparently drawn up soon after the events in 1147 which it describes.⁶⁹ It is divided into three parts. The first dealt with the people who came to the abbey seeking help

at the time a great famine afflicted all of Gaul so greatly that many nobles and others who were once rich went to foreign parts and distant lands owing to the unbearable necessity of hunger, since they were ashamed to beg after all their possessions were sold or divided.

In order to support between five and seven hundred people a day 'for some time', the monks decided to take about 40 marks worth of silver from the crucifix. Second:

Louis king of France and duke of Aquitaine [was] about to go to Jerusalem as a pilgrim in order with God's help to protect and set free the Christians who lived there and were oppressed by many attacks from the Saracens. In order to carry out this work of God, he extracted many things from the treasures of the churches in his realm, [and] he asked from the venerable abbot Macharius of this church of Fleury that, since he was in charge of so great a church and was counted among the greatest nobles of all France, he should prepare for him a thousand marks of silver.

Macharius replied that this was more than his abbey could afford in view of its recent difficulties, the failure of the vineyards for seven years, and the exactions of the king and his men. Louis therefore reduced his demand first to 500 and then to the equivalent of about 400 marks, which Macharius, recognizing 'that it was not right to resist the king longer', agreed to find. To raise the money the monks decided to use 'two silver candelabra of marvellous workmanship' and a censer of gold, on condition that it would be replaced by one of equal value within three years.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ See the references pp. 133-4, 137, 138-9 below.

⁶⁹ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. Maurice Prou, Alexandre Vidier, I (Documents publiés par la Société historique et archéologique du Gatinais 5; Paris 1900-7), 340-3, no. 150; see also 339-40, no. 149, and p. 117 nn. 1-2 below on the date.

⁷⁰ The monks later allowed the value of the censer to be used to build a new dormitory.

At the same time, the document continues in the third part, the monks were approached in chapter by 'Joscerand the mayor of this town, who wished to journey as a pilgrim with the king, and Geoffrey, the lord abbot's butler, and Guido Belini and Adelar de Porta, who were ready to go to Jerusalem' and wanted to mortgage 'the things they held of us' for five years. The abbot and monks agreed to grant this request on condition

that the revenues deriving from the gages, both for their support and for the service owing to us, will for five years be considered ours for whatever we wish to do in this house and that, if they have not returned after five years, or if they die, all the revenues ... will be ours so long as they or their successors are unable to redeem them, as is contained in the charters written about this.⁷¹

Joscerand received 27 pounds for his positions as mayor and measurer. Godfrey, Guido, and Adelar received 30, ten, and ten pounds respectively for their fiefs.

I have cited this charter at length, both here and in the chapter on financing crusades, because of its exceptional interest for the history of the crusades and as a specific example of the kind of information charters can provide. No other source known to me gives as clear a picture of the social and economic situation in central France immediately before the second crusade, of the king's demands and the negotiations between him and the abbot, of the desire of a group of local officials to go to Jerusalem and how they raised money for their journey, and of how the monks coped with their various financial problems. While the charter does not say that the impoverished nobles who left their homes joined the crusade, it is tempting to think that some of them found their way to the Holy Land.

By the end of the twelfth century the financing of the crusades was to some extent institutionalized into specific royal levies and recognized feudal aids. Three charters of the counts of Nevers in 1165, 1171, and 1185 refer to the duty of the abbey of St Stephen to contribute money when the count married his daughter, went to Jerusalem, or needed ransoming.⁷² Lesser folk still had to raise their own funds, however, mostly by mortgaging their property. The cost of an individual crusade doubtless varied. Two of the officials at Fleury, unless they had other resources, hoped to get by for ten pounds each, and it could probably be done for

⁷¹ These charters do not survive, but they presumably resembled many of the charters cited here.

⁷² *Les chartes de Saint-Etienne de Nevers*, ed. René de Lespinasse (Nevers 1907), 39, 42, 45, nos. 9, 12, 16. *La Trinité de Vendôme* (n. 17), II, 445, no. 578 (1185) required the monks to give 3,000 shillings to the count on the marriage of his eldest daughter, 'the first time he journeyed to Jerusalem', and for a ransom.

less.⁷³ By this time three years was considered the standard period to be away, though there is provision in some charters for five, seven, or ten years.⁷⁴

Crusaders needed supplies and equipment as well as money, and protection for their families, dependents, and lands while they were away. A charter from Aureil before 1100 provided that the prior and canons would give the donor equipment if he decided to go to Jerusalem,⁷⁵ and there are many references to horses and mules in crusading charters.⁷⁶ The nuns of Our Lady at Saintes agreed to protect the wife of a departing crusader in 1146.⁷⁷ Some crusaders arranged for members of their families to enter religious houses, and also themselves if they returned, perhaps because they had disposed of all their property to pay for the crusade. These provisions also expressed the parallel that existed in the minds of contemporaries between going to Jerusalem and entering a monastery, since both represented a type of religious commitment.⁷⁸ In the late eleventh century a man who had taken some property from Marmoutier and who had decided to enter the abbey when he was ill, decided after he recovered 'to go to Jerusalem rather than to receive the monastic habit (*monachatum*)'.⁷⁹

This brings up the fourth and most difficult question of why people went on the crusades. The difficulty is to estimate the importance of the religious motives that appear so prominently in the sources, and especially in charters, in relation to more secular, and less high-minded, motives. I have already stressed the expressions of religious love, hope, and fear which are found in crusading charters and have shown the sense of sin and the desire to give to Christ what He gave to mankind in the charter of Stephen of Neublens; the burning love and desire of the knight Milo, whom divine fire roused to good works; the desire of Arnold Seschaves for salvation for himself and his family; and the interlocking of the earthly and

⁷³ Two charters from St Frideswide, Oxford, in 1150/60 and 1220/30 referred to 12 marks and ten marks and ten shillings, respectively, 'for making my pilgrimage to the land of Jerusalem' and 'from which I made my pilgrimage to Jerusalem': *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. Spencer Wigram, 2 vols (Oxford Historical Society 28, 31; Oxford 1895-6), I, 418; II, 303, nos. 594, 1080.

⁷⁴ Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII* (n. 35), 168, no. 215 (1147); *Cartulaire d'Aniane*, ed. Léon Casson, Edouard Meynial (Montpellier 1900), 200, no. 60 (n.d.); John H. Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, I (London 1899), 93, no. 277 (?1188); *Longueville* (n. 14), 53, no. 43 (1189).

⁷⁵ *Cartulaires des prieurés d'Aureil et de l'Artige en Limousin*, ed. Gérard de Senneville (Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin 48; Limoges 1900), 29, no. 47.

⁷⁶ See pp. 132-3, 136-8 below.

⁷⁷ *Notre-Dame de Saintes* (n. 48), 99-100, no. 124. For another example, see *Urkundenbuch des Herzogthums Steiermark*, ed. Josef von Zahn, I (Graz 1875), 280, no. 268.

⁷⁸ Delaruelle, *Idée de crusade* (n. 26), 120, citing Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie* (n. 7), 12-13, no. 16.

⁷⁹ *Marmoutier (Dunois)* (n. 20), 123, no. 133.

heavenly Jerusalems in the charter of Reginbert of Passau. Even a great lord like Odo of Burgundy stressed in a charter for St Benignus at Dijon in 1101 that he had undertaken

the journey to Jerusalem as a penance for my sins ... Since divine mercy inspired me that owing to the enormity of my sins I should go to the Sepulcher of Our Savior, in order that this offering of my devotion might be more acceptable in the sight of God, I decided not unreasonably that I should make the journey with the peace of all men and most greatly of the servants of God.⁸⁰

In another charter issued at about the same time for Molesme, Odo said that ‘Roused by divine zeal and love of Christianity, he wished to go to Jerusalem with other Christians.’⁸¹ Also about this time, according to a charter from Göttweig, a German noble named Wolfker, who ‘decided to go to Jerusalem, wishing to fulfill the evangelical precept, “If any man will come after Me”’, gave clear expression to the theme of the imitation of Christ than runs through early crusading spirituality.⁸²

Good deeds were worthless, however, unless the crusader was at peace with men at home, as duke Odo put it, and especially with the servants of God, that is, monks. Alexander III in *Cor nostrum* insisted that in order to have absolution from their sins crusaders must make restitution of anything they had stolen.⁸³ Many of the grants to religious houses by departing crusaders were to rectify old wrongs as well as to raise money. A crusader ‘desiring to go to Jerusalem’ in a charter of the Trinity at Vendôme about 1098, ‘knew that this journey of God could be of no advantage to him while he possessed this spoil’, which he gave back to the abbey.⁸⁴ ‘When Geoffrey of Bérou decided to go to Jerusalem’, according to a charter of St Peter at Chartres in about 1115, he confirmed his father’s gift to the abbey, ‘fearing lest the holiness of this undertaking be fouled by the stain of any fraud’, and Stephen of Villars in 1139 gave some property to La Platière ‘lest my effort [in

⁸⁰ *St-Bénigne de Dijon* (n. 21), 272, no. 398.

⁸¹ Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 9 vols (Dijon 1885-1905), I, 416-17, no. 99. See also *Cluny* (n. 19), V, 156-9, no. 3809 (= Petit, *Histoire*, I, 422), where Odo made his peace with Cluny before leaving, and the parallel sentiments of Baldwin of Flanders in a charter of bishop Otbert of Liège in 1096, in *Cartulaire de l’église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ed. Stanislas Bormans, Emile Schoolmeesters, I (Brussels 1893), 46-8.

⁸² *Die Traditionsbücher des Benediktinerstiftes Göttweig*, ed. Adalbert Fuchs (Fontes rerum Austriacarum II, 69; Vienna 1931), 194-5, no. 55. See Delaruelle, *Idée de croisade* (n. 26), 120.

⁸³ *PL*, CC, 1296; *JL* 14360.

⁸⁴ *Trinité de Vendôme* (n. 17), II, 104-5, no. 360; see also 105-7, no. 361 (1081 and 1098).

going to Jerusalem] should be empty and useless if traveling with hands stained with blood and rapine I should die on this journey'.⁸⁵

It is easy to discount these pious statements on the grounds that they were composed by clerics and did not express the true sentiments of the crusaders themselves. On the level of conscious motivation, however, there can be little doubt that most crusaders would have agreed with these statements, just as people today tend to accept, and often really believe in, the good motives that are attributed to them. Crusaders, furthermore, often made demonstrable sacrifices, of themselves and of their property, for the sake of their eternal welfare. The fact that one may disagree with this motive, as with the unquestioning patriotism that has sent millions of men into battle in the twentieth century, is no reason to doubt their sincerity. 'Are you so grossly ignorant of human nature', asked Dr Johnson, with his usual common sense, 'as not to know that a man may be very sincere in good principles, without having good practice?'⁸⁶ He was referring to the difference between behavior and principle, which also applies to the crusades, but experience shows not only that good people can do bad deeds but also that various motives, both good and bad, can inspire the same action.

It is therefore reasonable to look for other reasons for the crusades without denying the validity and sincerity of the religious motives of individual crusaders, and in particular to distinguish between the plans of the organizers of the crusades, especially pope Urban II,⁸⁷ and the ideas of the crusaders themselves as reflected in their charters. There are several references to Urban's preaching in contemporary charters. The best of these is in the cartulary of Sauxillanges, not far from Clermont, where the pope preached. A father and son who planned to go to Jerusalem made a gift to the monastery in return for a mule.

Not long after the time when the barbarian persecution rose up to destroy the liberty of the eastern church, an exhorting decree (*exhortans decretum*) was issued by the pope so that the entire strength and faith of the western peoples hastened to assist the destroyed religion.⁸⁸

Briefer allusions are found in three charters from Le Mans in February 1096, Marcigny in 1096, and Angers in 1098, of which the first said 'while pope Urban

⁸⁵ *Saint-Père de Chartres* (n. 8), II, 603-4, no. IV, 114; *Cartulaire lyonnais*, ed. Marie-Claude Guigue, I (Lyons 1885), 35-6, no. 24.

⁸⁶ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, 6 vols (New York 1891-1904), IV, 457.

⁸⁷ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 306-54; Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de croisade. Urbain II', repr. in *Idée de croisade* (n. 26), 98-127, who stressed (101) that, 'Les documents les plus anciens et les plus objectifs n'ont prêté à Urbain II aucune de ces grandes pensées.'

⁸⁸ *Sauxillanges* (n. 51), 966-7, no. 697. The only clue to dating this charter is the reference to 'not long after' Urban's exhortation.

preached the journey to Jerusalem and came to these parts for the sake of this preaching'; the second was dated 'in the year when pope Urban II, coming into Aquitaine, moved the army of Christians to repress the ferocity of the oriental pagans'; and the third referred to 'when pope Urban first moved the world to go to Jerusalem'.⁸⁹

The value of these references, slight as they are, is enhanced by the fact that all the descriptions of Urban's preaching in other sources were written after the first crusade and, to some extent, in the light of its success.⁹⁰ The charters show that the essence of his appeal, as it was heard in France in the 1090s, was for a general armed pilgrimage to the east in order to help the Christians.⁹¹ There is no reference to the papal indulgence, which has been stressed by some historians,⁹² and salvation was to be won by the good deed of the pilgrimage in itself. After this, the prime emphasis was on fighting against the pagans, avenging a disgrace to God, freeing the Holy Land, and assisting the eastern church. Jonathan Riley-Smith has discussed the importance in the crusades of love and honor, which were seen as expressing 'love of one's neighbor as well as love of God' and as 'a blood feud against those who had harmed members of Christ's family'.⁹³ This view is supported by the charters, such as one of 1096 where the count of Flanders was said to be 'about to go to Jerusalem in order to free the church of God which has long been crushed by savage nations',⁹⁴ and the charter for Cluny, also in 1096, where Achard of Montmerle, who wanted to join 'in the multitudinous and mighty arousal and expedition of the Christian people striving to go to Jerusalem in order to fight for God against the pagans and Saracens' and who described himself as 'roused by this intention and wanting to go there armed'.⁹⁵

The equation here of *excitatio* and *expeditio* and Achard's desire to go to Jerusalem *armatus* reflect the military emphasis of crusader preaching at the time of the first crusade. This charter stands in contrast to that, issued four years later, also for Cluny, of Stephen of Neublens, who referred to himself almost apologetically

⁸⁹ *Cartulaire du chapitre royal de Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour, du Mans*, ed. Menjot d'Elbenne, Louis-J. Denis (Archives historiques du Maine 4; Le Mans 1903-7), 15, no. 11; *Le cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire (1045-1144)*, ed. Jean Richard (Analecta burgundica; Dijon 1957), 87, no. 119; *St-Aubin d'Angers* (n. 15), I, 407, no. 354. On Urban's preaching of the crusade, see especially Cowdrey, 'Urban II's Preaching' (n. 12), 177-88, who emphasized that Jerusalem was always central in Urban's thinking about the crusade.

⁹⁰ See Riley-Smith, *Crusades* (n. 12), 40.

⁹¹ See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 330-1; Delaruelle, *Idée de croisade* (n. 26), 102-6.

⁹² Delaruelle, *Idée de croisade* (n. 26), 109-10, and, in relation to the second crusade, pp. 265, 267, 281 below.

⁹³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 55 (1980), 182, 191.

⁹⁴ *Actes des Comtes de Flandre, 1071-1128*, ed. Fernand Vercauteren (Brussels 1938), 62-3, no. 20, preceded by a good *arenga*.

⁹⁵ *Cluny* (n. 19), V, 51, no. 3703. See also the Marmoutier charters cited n. 20 above.

as *quamuis miles* and as ‘involved in the temporal army in the secular habit’. His concern was with the state of his soul, and his journey to Jerusalem was to relieve the burden of his sins.⁹⁶

The references to military action in twelfth-century crusading charters helped to give shape to the emerging idea of crusade. A charter for Charroux in 1100 was dated

in the second year after the most powerful mounted and foot soldiers of Christ, that is, duke Godfrey, later king of the city of Jerusalem, and with him the most strenuous count Raymond and many others captured the aforesaid holy city by divine power and virtue after a great multitude of Turks and pagans had been killed and that most holy place cleansed of their filth.⁹⁷

Many charters associated with the second crusade mentioned the army and war against the pagans. Two charters for Chézery and St Vincent of Mâcon were dated respectively in the year ‘when king Louis of Gaul with a multitude of Franks set forth to attack the gentiles and to see the blessed places of the Jerusalemites’ and ‘when king Louis of France went with a very great army, to crush the ferocity of the gentiles and to exalt the eastern church’.⁹⁸ These charters show the distinctive combination of pilgrimage with warfare, both against the pagans and to help other Christians, that characterized crusading ideology and became increasingly defined as time went on. It appears again in charters associated with the third crusade. ‘A very vigorous knight named Aimanerius’, according to a charter from La Réole of 1187

was roused by the love of the Holy Spirit ... [and] left his hereditary property and went to Jerusalem to fight and kill the enemies of the Christian religion and to cleanse the place in which the lord Jesus Christ deigned to suffer death for the salvation of the human race.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See p. 99 and n. 25 above.

⁹⁷ *Charroux* (n. 14), 124-5, no. 22.

⁹⁸ *Chézery* (n. 61), 16; *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon*, ed. M.-Camille Ragut (Mâcon 1864), 350-1, no. 584. See also *Cartulare monasterii beatorum Petri et Pauli de Domina* (Lyons 1859), 218-19, no. 233.24: ‘in expugnationem inimicorum Crucis Christi trans marinas partes volente proficisci’; *Vigeois* (n. 16), 213-14, no. 316: ‘ipsa die versus Ierosolimam cum Ludovico rege Francorum causa pugnandi contra paganos’; *Notre-Dame de Saintes* (n. 48), 126, no. 202: ‘Lodovico rege Francorum Sarracenos in Iherosolimitana terra oppugnante’; and n. 15 above.

⁹⁹ Louis Charles Grellet-Balguerie, ‘Cartulaire du prieuré conventuel de Saint-Pierre de La Réole en Bazadais du IX^e au XII^e siècle’, *Archives historiques du département de la Gironde* 5 (1863), 140, no. 100.

A bellicose note was also struck in the charters of Godescalc of Morialmé, 'who was filled with the celestial desire to go to Jerusalem with the assembly of the faithful in order to free the promised land from the hands of the impious', and of a knight who went to Jerusalem in 1190 'ready according to my strength to avenge the injury to God and His holy church'.¹⁰⁰

Charters by their nature tell us less about the type of secular motives – the political, social, and economic troubles at home, and the opportunities for a new life in the east – that has led many scholars to condemn the crusades as inspired by selfishness and Barraclough to label them 'the first age of European colonialism'.¹⁰¹ I have mentioned the reference in the Fleury charter to impoverished nobles who left their homes for distant lands and other charters showing that the crusaders knew that they might decide to stay in the Holy Land. A very few charters included prohibitions to go to Jerusalem, for reasons that are not always clear. In an interesting charter for Sauxillanges in 1123, Bernard of Rippa was granted *societas* and *familiaritas* by the monks, a prebend in each of their houses, and the right to become a monk 'when God will inspire'. He agreed neither to go to another monastery nor to journey to Jerusalem without their permission, perhaps in order to prevent his making another disposition of his property.¹⁰² When Chalo of Vivonne 'rashly dared to take the cross for the sake of a journey to Jerusalem' in 1128 and was forbidden to make the trip by the bishop of Poitiers, it was because he was under sentence of excommunication from the pope and was probably trying to avoid obligations at home by claiming the privileges of a crusader.¹⁰³

Contemporaries were fully aware that crusaders took the cross for worldly as well as spiritual reasons. A good account of this 'diverse intention of diverse men' is found in the description of the second crusade in the annals of Würzburg. It is cited elsewhere in this volume but is worth citing again.

For some men, eager for novelty, went for the sake of learning about strange lands; others, driven by want and suffering from hardship at home, were ready to fight not only against the enemies of the cross of Christ but also against Christian friends, if there seemed a chance of relieving their poverty. Others, who were weighed down by debt or who thought to evade the service that they owed to their lords or who even were dreading the well merited penalties of their crimes, while simulating a holy zeal, hastened [to the crusade] chiefly to escape such

¹⁰⁰ 'Documents concernant Sautour et Aublain, extraits du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Floreffe', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 8 (1871), 365-6, no. 1 (and the charter from Brogne cited n. 67 above); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye ... de Bécheron*, ed. Etienne Clouzot (Archives historiques du Poitou 34; Poitiers 1905), 233-4, no. 238.

¹⁰¹ Geoffrey Barraclough, 'Deus le volt?', *New York Review of Books*, 21 May 1970, 12.

¹⁰² *Sauxillanges* (n. 51), 1072-3, no. 905.

¹⁰³ *St Hilaire de Poitiers* (n. 13), I, 128, no. 115.

inconveniences and anxieties. With difficulty, however, there were found a few who had not bowed the knee to Baal, who were indeed guided by a sacred and salutary purpose and were kindled by the love of the divine majesty to fight manfully, even to shed their blood, for the sake of the holy of holies.¹⁰⁴

This passage, like many of the charters cited in this chapter, gives no new factual information about the crusades and, indeed, tells us very little that could not be surmised by common sense, but it provides an insight into how the crusades were seen by a perceptive though critical contemporary. The writers of charters were on the whole not critical, but they knew what they were writing about and show a side of the crusades that is not in other sources. It is not a clear picture, and to some extent the function of the evidence presented here is to muddy the scholarly waters and to blur the distinctions drawn from sources less close to the events they describe. Charters show that the crusades must be seen, at least during the first century of their history, as part of a broad movement of religious and social unrest, out of which they only gradually emerged as a distinct historical phenomenon. They show how the ideals of the organizers of the crusades were carried out in practice and modified in popular perception by traditional models of behavior. Above all they show how a spirit of sacrifice and devotion, even when it covered secular motives, remained uppermost in the minds of the men and women who made the crusades into what is still one of the most fascinating and enigmatic episodes in European history.

Note

Revised from *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 73-89.

¹⁰⁴ *MGH, SS*, XVI, 3, tr. pp. 258-9 below and in James A. Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee 1962), 121-2.

Chapter 4

The Financing of the Crusades

The two principal methods of financing the crusades in the twelfth century are illustrated in a document from Fleury recording three decisions made by the monks early in 1147.¹ They agreed, first, to take 40 marks' worth of silver from the crucifix in order to feed the poor who were flocking to the abbey on account of the famine prevailing in France at that time, which had forced many nobles to sell their property and go to distant lands. Second, they ceded to abbot Macharius two silver candelabras 'of wonderful workmanship', weighing 30 marks, and a censer of eight marks of gold and three ounces² in order to meet the demand of king Louis 'who was about to go as a pilgrim to Jerusalem in order with the help of God to protect and set free the Christians who lived there and were oppressed by many attacks from the Saracens'. The king extorted money 'from the treasures of the churches of his realm in order to carry out this work' and asked at first for 1,000 from abbot Macharius, who replied that this was too much in view of his abbey's recent difficulties, the failure of the vineyards for seven years, and the exactions of the king and his servants. Louis then reduced his demand to 500 marks, which Macharius said was still too much, and finally to the equivalent of

¹ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. Maurice Prou, Alexandre Vidier, I (Documents publiés par la Société historique et archéologique du Gatinais 5; Paris 1900-07), 340-3, no. 150. The document is dated by the editors 1146-7, but since the passage describing the mortgage of the censer (n. 2 below) refers to the third Easter 'ab illo qui iam imminabat', the decisions were probably made before Easter (20 April) 1147. The document itself, however, was clearly drawn up later, since it refers to subsequent events.

² The mortgage of this censer is the subject of *St-Benoît-sur-Loire* (n. 1), I, 339-40, no. 149, which is dated 1146 in the tenth year of Louis's reign (that is, between 1 August 1146 and 29 March 1147). The censer was to be mortgaged on condition that it would be restored or replaced by one of equal value within three years, and eight *majores*, *servientes*, and *milites* guaranteed this agreement. The abbot later authorized, according to the document cited in n. 1, to use the value of the censer to build a new dormitory.

about 400 marks,³ which the abbot, 'recognizing that it was not right to oppose the king longer', agreed to try to raise.⁴

'At the same time', the document continued, going on to the third piece of business, 'Joscerand the mayor of this town, wishing to journey as a pilgrim with the king, and Godfrey the butler of the lord abbot and a Guido Belini and Adelard *de Porta*, being ready to go to Jerusalem, came into our chapter wishing to mortgage to us those things they held of us for a period of five years.'⁵ This the abbot and monks agreed to do on condition

that the revenue deriving from these gages, both for their support and for the service owing to us, will for five years be considered ours for whatever we wish to do in this house and that if they have not returned after five years, or if they die, all the revenues ... will be ours so long as they or their successors are unable to redeem them, as is contained in the charters written about this.

These particular charters have not survived, but the cartularies of the twelfth century, and to a lesser extent the chronicles and *Lives* of saints, contain many references to transactions of this type, including sales and loans as well as mortgages, made by crusaders and pilgrims to the Holy Land who needed ready money to finance their trips.⁶ These records of the private financing of crusades, however, have on the whole attracted less attention from scholars than the type of levy demanded from Fleury by Louis VII and later institutionalized methods of financing the crusades.

The precise nature of Louis's exaction to support his crusade in 1146-7 has long puzzled scholars, of whom some have said that it was basically a feudal aid,

³ The sum was defined as 300 marks of silver and 500 gold bezants, which were the equivalent of about 92 silver marks. F. Le Blanc, *Traité historique des monnoyes de France* (Paris 1690), 170-1, cited this passage, giving the value of the bezant as 9 s., and later (403) gave the value of the silver mark at this time as 40 s. At Molesme, according to the charter of 1101/7 (n. 109 below), 7 marks were equated with 300 s.

⁴ The account in these documents of the negotiations between the king and the abbot and between the abbot and the monks is of great interest, as are the descriptions of monastic finance and administration. It is tempting to think that some of the many noblemen who were ashamed to beg in their own country and 'exteras ac procul remotas peterent regiones' may have joined the crusade.

⁵ Joscerand mortgaged the dues owed him as mayor and measurer for *septem viginti* (probably 27 but possibly 140) pounds; Godfrey, his fief for 30 pounds; Guido and Adelard, their fiefs for 10 pounds each. Joscerand and Godfrey were among the guarantors of the agreement concerning the censer (n. 2), where they were called *milites* as well, apparently, as *maiores*.

⁶ Although charter evidence has not been widely used for the history of pilgrimage and the crusades, special mention should be made of the pioneering work of Reinhold Röhricht on German pilgrims and crusaders from 700 to 1300 in the second volume of his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 1878) and *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck 1894). For other works see chapter 3 n.9.

others that it was an exceptional general levy, and yet others that it was a series of arbitrary demands for money from particular churches. Many nineteenth-century French historians, who wanted to show the early origins of centralized royal power in France, argued that these levies were the first known general royal aids and even that the apparent lack of general opposition showed that they were based on earlier precedents.⁷ Luchaire denied that they were feudal in character but was in doubt whether they were special levies on royal bishoprics and abbeys or, as he tended to think, a general imposition, the only known example between the reigns of Hugh Capet and Philip Augustus.⁸ Flach agreed that it was a general aid in defense of the kingdom, as did Joranson, who called the 926 Danegeld the last collection of 'anything resembling a general tax'⁹ before 'the first royal aid' levied by Louis VII in 1146.¹⁰

The evidence for this view comes from the chronicles of Robert of Torigny and Ralph of Diceto, both of whom were writing some time after the event. According to Robert, the second crusade 'was for the most part undertaken out of plunder from the poor and despoiling of churches',¹¹ and Ralph wrote under the year 1146 that 'A general census was made through all France; neither sex nor order nor dignity excused anyone from giving aid to the king, whose expedition was accompanied by many curses.'¹² The close resemblance of this description to that of the levy to support Louis VII's siege of Verneuil in 1173 in Ralph's *Ymagines historiarum*,¹³ however, was noticed by Lunt, who commented that 'There seems

⁷ Alphonse Callery, *Histoire du pouvoir royal d'imposer depuis la féodalité jusqu'au règne de Charles V* (Brussels [1879]), 25-32.

⁸ Achille Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1180)*, 2 ed., 2 vols (Paris 1891), I, 126-8; idem, *Manuel des institutions françaises* (Paris 1892), 578-9.

⁹ Jacques Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France*, 4 vols (Paris 1886-1917), III, 349-50; Einar Joranson, *The Danegeld in France* (Augustana Library Publications 10; Rock Island 1924), 204.

¹⁰ Richard Hirsch, *Studien zur Geschichte König Ludwigs VII. von Frankreich (1119-1160)* (Leipzig 1892), 45; Otto Cartellieri, *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis 1081-1151* (Historische Studien, ed. Ebering 11; Berlin 1898), 54; Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich, II. Der Kreuzzug (1187-1191)* (Leipzig 1906), 5; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *La monarchie féodale en France et en Angleterre* (L'évolution de l'humanité 41; Paris 1933), 209; Marcel Aubert, *Suger* (Figures monastiques; Paris 1950), 101; Sydney Knox Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England* (New Haven 1951), 114; Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (London 1952), 36.

¹¹ *The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. Richard Howlett (RS 82; London 1889), 154. See Charles Gross, *A Bibliography of English History to 1485*, ed. Edgar B. Graves (Oxford 1975), 447, saying that the chronicle, which was written from time to time between 1150 and 1186, is of independent value after 1150.

¹² *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (RS 68; London 1876), I, 256-7. See Gross, *Bibliography* (n. 11), 418.

¹³ *Works of Ralph of Diceto* (n. 12), I, 372.

to be no adequate foundation for the assertion that the series of income-taxes began with the second crusade' and that 'The meagre documentary evidence deals only with arbitrary sums demanded from the prelates by Louis VII.'¹⁴ Various recent scholars have followed this cautious view.¹⁵

An extraordinary event like a royal crusade could obviously not be financed simply out of normal royal revenues,¹⁶ and the letters written by both Louis VII and Conrad III while they were on route show that they were chronically short of cash.¹⁷ Louis's regent, abbot Suger of St Denis, was hard pressed to raise the necessary money and, according to his biographer, 'either sent to the king on pilgrimage or set aside all the money paid from the royal fiscs'.¹⁸ The document from Fleury refers specifically to the king's efforts to raise money from 'the churches of his realm', but the only other unambiguous reference is in a charter of 1145/7 confirming the privileges of the church of Le Puy, where Louis asked the bishop to help with the expenses of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem 'out of the money of the city' and promised that 'neither we nor any of our successors will exact this further on the basis of custom nor molest the church in this fashion'.¹⁹ The other documents cited by scholars as evidence of a royal levy at this time cannot with

¹⁴ William E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford 1926), 1-2.

¹⁵ Emile Bridrey, *La condition juridique des croisés et le privilège de croix* (Paris 1900), 66-9, already expressed some doubts, saying that 'Il subsiste pourtant quelque doute sur la nature véritable de cette imposition.' See also Carl Stephenson, 'The Aids of the French Towns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (1922), revised in idem, *Medieval Institutions* (Ithaca 1954), 3 n.5; James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison 1969), 185, who omitted referring to the 1146 levy and wrote that 'The earliest of these schemes [to raise money for the crusades] dates from 1166'; Virginia Berry, 'The Second Crusade', in *Wisconsin History*, I, 471; John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton 1970), I, 219.

¹⁶ Joseph Declareuil, *Histoire générale du droit français des origines à 1789* (Paris 1925), 703.

¹⁷ See the letters of Louis VII to Suger in Achille Luchaire, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris 1885), 171-6, nos. 224-5, 229-31, 236, 240, and the letter of Conrad III to Wibald of Corvey, in *MGH, Diplomata*, IX, 354-5, no. 195.

¹⁸ See Suger's letter to Louis referring to various measures for raising money, in *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. Albert Lecoy de la Marche (Société de l'histoire de France; Paris 1867), 258-60 and William of St Denis, *Vita Sugerii*, 3, *ibid.* 395, on which see Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris 1964), 56.

¹⁹ *GC*, II, preuves 231; cf. Luchaire, *Institutions* (n. 8), I, 127 n.2 (who has two significant textual variants in his edition of the text) and *Actes de Louis VII* (n. 17), 158-9, no. 185, dated 1 Aug. 1146/2 Feb. 1147.

certainly be associated with the crusade,²⁰ and their number and precise nature remain unclear.²¹

Peter the Venerable of Cluny urged the king in a well-known letter to force the Jews to contribute to the expenses of the crusade,²² but there is no evidence that he did so. Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn, writing probably in the 1170s, said that many Jews in France lost their property owing to Louis's remission of debts owed by crusaders,²³ but in fact only the interest on loans was cancelled, and that by the pope, not by the king. Ephraim further wrote that 'We also gave our wealth as ransom for our lives ... Whatever they asked of us, either silver or gold, we did not withhold from them,'²⁴ but he is referring here not to the crusaders themselves or their leaders but to the persecutors of the Jews in the Rhineland, who used the pretext of the crusade to plunder the Jews.

The first known provision for a general tax in aid of the Holy Land was Louis VII's decree in 1166 that a penny for each pound of property and revenues should be sent to Jerusalem 'for the defense of Christianity' annually for five years by himself and all his subjects, both clerical and lay.²⁵ Henry II of England, not to be outdone, issued a similar decree, doubling the amount to two pennies per pound for the first year.²⁶ The proceeds of this levy did not pay for a crusade, however,

²⁰ See the list of documents cited by Callery, *Histoire* (n. 7), 26; Luchaire, *Institutions* (n. 8), I, 126 n.2. These include several from the *Epistolae Sugerii abbatis S. Dionysii* published by François Duchesne in *Historiae Francorum scriptores coaetani*, 5 vols (Paris 1636-49), IV, 491-546, such as 500, no. 24, from the bishop of Amiens, which relates to the crusade but not necessarily to the king's financial demand, and 532, no. 123, from the abbot of Ferrières, which refers to a royal tax but not necessarily in connection with the crusade. The privilege for the church of Paris in *Monuments historiques*, ed. Jules Tardif (Paris 1866), 264-5, no. 494 (see Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII* [n. 17], 163, no. 200), relates to the tallage owed when the bishopric fell into the king's hand.

²¹ P. Gagnol, *Les décimes et les dons gratuits* (Paris 1911), 16, stressed that these payments were not called tithes.

²² *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), I, 327-30, no. 130; see Virginia Berry, 'Peter the Venerable and the Crusades', in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, ed. Giles Constable, James Kritzeck (Studia Anselmiana 40; Rome 1956), 148-50.

²³ Adolf Neubauer, Moritz Stern, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 1892), 64, 95; *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicle of the First and Second Crusades*, tr. Shlomo Eidelberg (Madison 1977), 131, 177 n.59. Ephraim went on to say that the king of England protected the persons and property of the Jews.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 122.

²⁵ *Chronicle of Robert of Torigni* (n. 11), 227, 230.

²⁶ Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (RS 73; London 1879-80), I, 198-9. On these levies in England and France, see Robert W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London 1878), 93; Cartellieri, *Philipp*

but were sent to Jerusalem, where they were used presumably for mercenaries and perhaps for fortifications. There were further levies in 1183 and 1185,²⁷ but the first specific crusading levy was the Saladin Tithe of 1188, which all non-crusaders, with a very few exceptions, were required to pay from all their moveable property and revenues.²⁸ Those who joined the crusade, according to the decree of Philip Augustus, were not only freed from payment but also entitled, if they were lords, to receive the tithes paid by their non-crusading vassals and, if they were knights, to receive the tithes of their parents. The decree of Henry II of England likewise established, in somewhat different terms, that crusaders both paid no tithes themselves and might receive the tithes of their men.²⁹ The development of a system of public financing of the crusades reached its final stage in the elaborate provisions of the decree *Ad liberandam* of the fourth Lateran council in 1215.³⁰

By this time it was also customary for vassals to contribute to the expenses of a lord's journey to Jerusalem. According to a charter of 1182, for instance, the abbot

II. (n. 10), 6-7; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The General Tax of 1183 in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem: Innovation or Adaptation?', *English Historical Review* 89 (1974), 342-3; Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley 1977), 105, 377-8. They amounted to five-year capital levies of 2.08 percent in France and 2.5 percent in England.

²⁷ See Cartellieri, *Philipp II.* (n. 10), 14-17; Fred A. Cazel, Jr., 'The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land', *Speculum* 30 (1955), 385-92; Kedar, 'General Tax' (n. 26), 339-45.

²⁸ *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. Henri F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Société de l'histoire de France 210, 224; Paris 1882-5), I, 88-90. That this was the first effort to impose a crusading tithe on the clergy was recognized in the eighteenth century by Louis Thomassin in his *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'église*, ed. M. André, 7 vols (Bar-le-Duc 1864-7), VI, 254, 270. See also Cartellieri, *Philipp II.* (n. 10), 58-72; Warren, *Henry II* (n. 26), 377-8; and the literature cited in Hans E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960), 209.

²⁹ Benedict of Peterborough (ascribed to), *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (RS 49; London 1867), II, 30-1, which is excerpted in William Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, 9 ed. (Oxford 1913), 189. The phrase 'sed de proprio suo et dominico' after the reference to the non-payment of tithes by crusaders was translated 'except for [or from] their own property and demesnes' in Carl Stephenson, Frederick Marcham, *Sources of English Constitutional History* (New York 1937), 96; David Douglas, George Greenaway, *English Historical Documents 1042-1189* (London 1953), 420; and 'except for what they give for their personal property and for their demesne lands' in Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Ideas and Reality, 1095-1274* (Documents of Medieval History 4; London 1981), 144. This makes nonsense of the exemption, and the phrase probably means that crusaders were expected to serve from their own property and demesne, as in *A Translation of Such Charters as are Untranslated in Dr. Stubbs' Select Charters* (Oxford n.d.), 59. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, ed. Richard Howlett, 2 vols (RS 82; London 1884), I, 273, clearly stated that 'Quicunque autem clericus aut laicus crucem acceperit, nihil dabit.'

³⁰ *Conc. oec. dec.*, 267-71. See the references *ibid.* 271, and in Michel Villey, *La croisade. Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (L'église et l'état au Moyen Age 6; Paris 1942), 179-85; Mayer, *Bibliographie* (n. 28), 209.

of Châtillon-sur-Seine had to give 300 shillings if the duke of Burgundy went to Jerusalem, and the monks of La Trinité at Vendôme were obliged in a charter of 1185 to give the count of Vendôme 3,000 shillings 'the first time he goes to Jerusalem'.³¹ Such payments naturally roused opposition. Peter of Blois protested in his letter *On hastening the pilgrimage to Jerusalem* that 'The beginning of this pilgrimage should not come from injuries or seizures',³² and Stephen of Tournai complained in a letter to the bishop of Soissons, probably with reference to crusading levies, at 'the new and unowed exactions ... under which the church groans today' and at 'the tributes and tithes' paid by the clergy.³³ These payments, however, in spite of their unpopularity, helped to establish a reasonably clear financial basis for the crusades.

In the twelfth century, however, most crusades and pilgrimages to the Holy Land were financed privately. 'All the pilgrims, once they were enrolled', wrote Vacandard of the second crusade, 'including the king, feudal barons, simple knights, peasants, bishops, abbots, monks, were preoccupied with the cost of the crusade. Their first resource was to sell or mortgage their property, both moveable and immovable'.³⁴ A few crusaders may have hoped for pay from the Greek emperor³⁵ or from the Latin rulers of the Holy Land, and others may have had sufficient liquid resources to cover their costs, like the pilgrimage nest egg stolen from a priest mentioned in the *De miraculis* of Peter the Venerable,³⁶ but the majority had to raise the necessary funds by sales or loans. 'Jews and priests, who had the most money', wrote Röhrich, 'received castles, woods, estates, and other property as

³¹ *Chartes de communes et d'affranchissements en Bourgogne*, ed. Joseph Garnier, I (Dijon 1867), 332; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. Charles Métais, 5 vols (Paris 1893-1904), II, 445, no. 578. These are the earliest examples of 'feudal' or 'seigneurial' aids cited by Richard, 'Financement' (see note on p. 141), 66.

³² Peter of Blois, *De Hierosolymitana peregrinatione acceleranda*, in *PL*, CCVII, 1068A.

³³ Stephen of Tournai, *Ep.* 154 to bishop Nivelon of Soissons, in *PL*, CCXI, 440B, and *Lettres d'Etienne du Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes-Paris 1893), 223-4, no. 184.

³⁴ Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, 2 vols (Paris 1895), II, 274. (This is the first and best edition.) The same point was made, with references to Vacandard and other works, by Eberhard Pfeiffer, 'Die Cistercienser und der zweite Kreuzzug 3. Hilfeleistungen der Cistercienserklöster an Kreuzfahrer', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 47 (1935), 78: 'Die Finanzierung des II. Kreuzzuges blieb demnach der Privatinitiative einzelner Personen oder Personengruppen überlassen, wie denn überhaupt von einer eigentlichen päpstlichen Kreuzzugssteuer im ganzen 12. Jahrhundert keine Rede sein kann.' Edmond-René Labande, 'Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XI^e et XII^e siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 1 (1958), 167-8, stressed that pilgrimages were well known to be expensive.

³⁵ As was proposed by Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 270 (and the long addition to n. 7 by the translators, who called the problem 'obscure'), 326.

³⁶ Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, I, 23, in *CC:CM*, LXXXIII, 70.

security for loans, as gifts, and through sale.³⁷ Religious institutions even more than individuals acted as sources of credit. These transactions had incalculable social and economic effects.³⁸ They contributed not only to the enrichment of many institutions at the expense of crusading families, some of which beggared themselves to pay the costs of their journeys,³⁹ but also to the transfer into liquid form, or de-hoarding, as at Fleury, of treasure and other assets and consequently to the increased flow of money into the markets of both western and eastern Europe.

Guibert of Nogent, writing in the early twelfth century, said that the enthusiasm for the crusade of all classes of men was so great that they sold their houses, vineyards, and fields almost without regard for their value. Prices fell owing to everyone's efforts to sell their best property, he said, 'at a lower price than if he were held captive in a harsh prison and needed to be speedily ransomed', and expensive things became cheap as a result of the movement which 'drove innumerable men into voluntary exile'.⁴⁰ Godfrey and Baldwin of Boulogne were said in the chronicle of Afflighem to have given 'large benefices from their patrimonies to many poor monasteries' when they joined the crusade and 'gathered an army from far and wide within the boundaries of this province', and the crusaders were described in a chronicle from Tournai as 'selling many of their lands and possessions and taking the proceeds with them'.⁴¹ The annalist of Rolduc, after describing the expedition to Jerusalem, Lisbon, and northeastern

³⁷ Röhrich, *Beiträge* (n. 6), II, 66, 97 n.29. See also Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London 1975), 206.

³⁸ Austin L. Poole, *Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries* (Ford Lectures 1944; Oxford 1946), 32: 'The crusade, involving the absence of many lords from their lands, doubtless worked a social upheaval.' On the transfer of money from the west to the east see Paul R. Hyams, 'Some Coin Exports from Twelfth-Century Yorkshire to the Holy Land', in *Coinage in the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. Peter Edbury, David Michael Metcalf (BAR International Series 77; Oxford 1980), 134.

³⁹ J. Marc, 'Contribution à l'étude du régime féodal sur le domaine de l'abbaye de Saint-Seine', *Revue bourguignonne de l'enseignement supérieur* 6 (1896), 71-3, who attributed the disappearance of knights in this part of France by the fourteenth century at least in part to the cost of the crusades. On the family of Brancion, see André Déléage, 'Les fortresses de la Bourgogne franque', *Annales de Bourgogne* 3 (1931), 167.

⁴⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, 6, in CC:CM, CXXVIIA, 118-19.

⁴¹ *Chron. Affligemense*, 17, in MGH, SS, IX, 415; *Chron. Tornacensis*, in *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, ed. Joseph-J. De Smet, 4 vols (Collection de chroniques belges inédites; Brussels 1837-65), II, 563, and MGH, SS, XIV, 326 n.***, where the quoted words appear as an addition to Herman, *Liber de restauratione S. Martini*. See also *Die Reinhardsbrunner Briefsammlung*, ed. Friedel Peeck (MGH, Epp. Sel. 5; Weimar 1952), 45-6, no. 49, for a letter written by an abbot of R. in 1103/4 containing a reference to a sale of land made 'at the time when innumerable people from the regions of various peoples sold their lands and went to Jerusalem and captured it by siege', and Tardif, *Monuments* (n.

Europe in 1146-7, wrote that 'When such a great multitude from every land and people was ready to leave, therefore, each person was forced to put up his lands for sale in order to provide for the expenses of such a great journey,' and the bishop of Salzburg in a document of 1152, presumably referring to the second crusade, said that at the time 'when the expedition to Jerusalem inspired almost the entire west with a marvelous and hitherto unheard-of fervor, people began to sell their property as if they were never going to return, which the churches, looking out for their own interests, bought according to their means.'⁴² The financial sacrifices made by the crusaders impressed even their enemies. The Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr in his account of the siege of Tyre said that 'A Frankish prisoner told me that he was his mother's only son, and their house was their sole possession, and she had sold it and used the money obtained from it to equip him to go and free Jerusalem.'⁴³

According to the first known crusading bull, *Quantum predecessores*, issued by pope Eugene III on 1 December 1145, crusaders were permitted 'to pledge freely and without opposition their lands and other possessions to churches or clerics and also to other of the faithful, provided their relations and lords, to whose fief they belong, have been informed and are either unwilling or unable to lend them the money'. They were also freed from paying interest on existing debts, even if they had promised to do so.⁴⁴ Alexander III in 1162 interceded with Louis VII on behalf of a knight whose wife refused to allow him to sell or pledge his paternal inheritance in order to go to Jerusalem. The pope asked the king to allow the knight 'to sell or pledge his possessions to whomever he wished' and to protect from harm or disturbance 'those to whom he sold or pledged'.⁴⁵ Philip Augustus in his decree on the Saladin Tithe granted crusaders a respite of two years to repay debts contracted before taking the cross, allowed debtors who were unable to repay the loans to secure bondsmen and pledges, and defined the terms upon which both

20), 268-9, no. 506, for a sale of a church by a Templar in 1150 owing to 'the oppression of the eastern church'.

⁴² *Ann. Rodenses*, ed. Petrus C. Boeren, Gerard W. A. Panhuysen (Assen 1968), 96; *Monumenta canonicae ad S. Zenonem*, 9, in *Monumenta Boica*, III (Munich 1764), 540.

⁴³ Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, tr. E. J. Costello (London 1969, repr. 1993), 183.

⁴⁴ *Quantum predecessores*, in Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I.*, I, 36, 3 ed. Georg Waitz, Bernhard von Simson (*MGH, SS* r.g.; Hanover 1912), 57; JL 8796. See also the text of the version of 1 March 1145 edited by Peter Rassow as an appendix to Erich Caspar, 'Die Kreuzzugsbullen Eugens III.', *Neues Archiv* 45 (1924), 285-305. On the freedom from the obligation to pay interest, see Bridrey, *Condition* (n. 15), 199-233, and esp. Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 15), 179-83 and (on the right to pledge) 176. Eugene III in 1148/53 strictly forbade lenders to receive more than the capital loaned: *PL*, CLXXX, 1567CD; JL 9667.

⁴⁵ *PL*, CC, 187AB; JL 10796. The inheritance apparently belonged to the husband, not (as would seem more reasonable under the circumstances) the wife. Alexander justified his request on the grounds that the wife had withheld herself from her husband and committed adultery.

crusaders and non-crusaders could pledge lands and revenues.⁴⁶ By the end of the twelfth century, therefore, the right of crusaders to sell or pledge their property and to pay no interest on debts was established in both canon and civil law.⁴⁷

The pledges made by the crusaders technically carried no interest and could usually be redeemed for the amount borrowed, but since the lender received the revenues from the property until the principal was repaid (which was sometimes, as at Fleury, set for a specific period), these loans were often highly profitable for the lenders.⁴⁸ In most cases it is impossible to estimate how profitable, but Peter the Venerable, who was a shrewd financial administrator, gave an indication in his *Dispositio rei familiaris*, drawn up in 1147/8, where he referred to a pledge given by a crusader in return for a loan of 4,000 shillings and yielding 300 shillings a year.⁴⁹ This represents a comparatively modest annual return of 7.5 per cent, and it is probable that the effective rate of interest was often in fact considerably higher.

While some crusaders obtained loans from their relations and lords, as Eugene III provided, and some from bishops,⁵⁰ clerics, Jews, and even servile dependents, whose tenures were occasionally freed for the period of the crusade and who could

⁴⁶ *Oeuvres de Rigord*, 58, ed. Delaborde (n. 28), I, 85-7. See Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 15), 181. Philip said that the debts were to be paid in three annual installments.

⁴⁷ Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 15), 175-87.

⁴⁸ Robert Génestal, *Rôle des monastères comme établissements de crédit étudié en Normandie du XI^e à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1901), 2-10, who contrasted these mortgages or dead pledges with live pledges (*vifgages*), where the principal was repaid out of the revenues of the property. Live pledges also carried effective interest when the revenues were estimated at less than their true value. The distinction between the two types of pledges is not always easy, but redemption by a lump payment is a sure sign of a mortgage.

⁴⁹ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1876-1903), V, 482, no. 4132. The arrangement was a complex one, by which the dean of Lourdon held the pledge (which was apparently a piece of land), presumably sold the produce, and gave the income to the chamberlain of Cluny, who used it to provide shoes and leggings for the monks, which could no longer be provided out of the revenues from England owing to the wars there. Peter stipulated that if the pledge was redeemed, the shoes and leggings should be provided out of the revenues of the manor of Letcombe-Regis, which was given to Cluny in 1136 by king Stephen in place of the annual cash gift given by Henry I: see *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 22), II, 138-9.

⁵⁰ *Cluny* (n. 49), V, 108, no. 3755 (mortgage to brother-in-law c. 1100); *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, I: 918-1206, ed. John Horace Round (London 1899), 93, no. 277 (mortgage to nephew 1188?); for examples of sales and mortgages to bishops, Bernard Bligny, *L'église et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Collection des Cahiers d'histoire publiée par les Universités de Clermont, Lyon, Grenoble 4; Paris 1960), 86; Luchaire, *Actes de Louis VII* (n. 17), 168, no. 215, where Louis VII in 1147 confirmed the mortgage of a crusader's fief to the bishop of Beauvais.

win their freedom by joining the crusade themselves,⁵¹ the vast majority turned to religious houses, which were the principal institutions of credit in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵² It was not unusual for monasteries to dispose of their treasures to raise the necessary funds, as did Fleury. The abbot of Capelle-Brouch plundered a reliquary of the Virgin and took gold and silver from some crosses in order to acquire some property from Baldwin of Ardre when he took the cross.⁵³ Bishop Godfrey of Langres used the liturgical vessels of his church and the gold and precious stones from the reliquary of St Mamas in order to raise money for his crusade in 1147.⁵⁴ The abbot of Rolduc, who lacked the means to buy the alod of a crusader, arranged for it to be bought by some moneylenders 'in such a way that the ownership thereof passed to the church and the buyers were entitled to sustenance for their lifetimes, after which free ownership passed to the church'.⁵⁵

The crusades thus presented a favorable opportunity for institutions with liquid resources to acquire property and make profitable loans.⁵⁶ The dramatic increase

⁵¹ Poole, *Obligations* (n. 38), 31-2.

⁵² On monasteries as institutions of credit, see, in addition to the basic work of Génestal, *Rôle* (n. 48), Giuseppe Salvioli, 'Il monachismo occidentale e la sua storia economica', *Rivista italiana di sociologia* 15 (1911), 18: 'Sappiamo come alle prime crociate abbiano largamente provveduto le risorse monetarie dei monasteri di tutto Occidente'; George G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, III: *Getting and Spending* (Cambridge 1936), 275, 561-2; Georg Schreiber, 'Cluny und die Eigenkirche' (1942), repr. in idem, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Münster 1948), 119; Paolo Grossi, *Le abbazie benedettine nell' Alto Medioevo italiano* (Pubblicazioni della Università degli studi di Firenze. Facoltà di Giurisprudenza NS 1; Florence 1957), 121-4; Bligny, *Eglise* (n. 50), 189: 'Avant l'institution des dîmes spéciales par la papauté, c'est sur le monachisme, plus encore que sur l'épiscopat, qu'a reposé le succès de la croisade'; José Mattoso, *Le monachisme ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, IV, 39; Louvain 1968), 371-2.

⁵³ Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, 139, in *MGH, SS*, XXIV, 632.

⁵⁴ *Translatio S. Mamantis*, II, 12, in *AASS*, 17 August III, 443D. See Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 34), 78. In *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Noyers*, ed. Casimir Chevalier (Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Touraine 22; Tours 1872), 583, no. 555, a crusader was given *in caritate* two silver cups, which he presumably used to finance his crusade.

⁵⁵ *Ann. Rodenses* (n. 42), 96 (fol. 19v s.a. 1146), see also 106 (fol. 22r s.a. 1153) for another example of the abbot's using money-changers to finance a purchase. The sale by the canons of Berchtesgaden to those of Reichenhall in 1147 (n. 42) was presumably to raise money to lend to or buy from crusaders.

⁵⁶ L. Bruhat, *Le monachisme en Saintonge et en Aunis (XI^e et XII^e siècle)* (La Rochelle 1907), 17, 173 (Saintes and St Jean d'Angély); Frank M. Stenton, *Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington and Alvingham* (Publications of the Lincoln Record Society 18; Horncastle 1922), xii, 6-7, no. 15; Paul Schmid, 'Die Entstehung des Marseiller Kirchenstaats', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 10 (1926-8), 206-7; Georges Duby, 'Economie domaniale et économie monétaire. Le budget de l'abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155,' *Annales* 7 (1952), 161: 'En ce temps, les chevaliers

at the turn of the twelfth century in the number of grants to the Cluniac house of Domène, in the kingdom of Burgundy, may be attributable to the needs of crusaders, who turned to this monastery rather than to the poorer houses of St Barnard at Romans or St Andrew at Vienne.⁵⁷ The six pan-charters issued by Godfrey of Langres for Clairvaux in 1147, which incorporate 149 separate transactions, may reflect the rash of financial operations associated with the second crusade,⁵⁸ even though the Cistercians (perhaps owing both to poverty and to a desire to avoid secular affairs) seem to have been less involved than other orders in financing the crusades.⁵⁹ Sometimes churches took the initiative in acquiring the property of crusaders. A charter of the count of Soissons in 1146 recorded that the abbot and provost of St Crispin, 'hearing that I was going to Jerusalem', asked for the tithes and other property of the church at Estrées;⁶⁰ and when archbishop Theobald of Canterbury heard that William of Oby had 'taken the cross and intended to visit the Holy Sepulcher', he required him to return to St Benet at Holme some property he held at farm, so that the monks would suffer no loss 'on the occasion of his pilgrimage'.⁶¹ While these charters included no reference to a quid pro quo, one was probably given.

du voisinage souhaitaient se procurer des espèces pour participer aux expéditions lointaines, en particulier à la croisade. Les moines en profitèrent et arrondirent à bon compte leur domaine en achetant ou en prêtant sur mort-gage.' Indeed, some scholars have suggested that the principal interest of monks in the crusades was the opportunity they presented for profitable deals: James R. West, *St. Benet of Holme 1020-1210* [I]: *The Eleventh and Twelfth Century Sections of Cott. MS. Galba E. ii. The Register of the Abbey of St. Benet of Holme* (Norfolk Record Society 2; n.p. 1932) and II: *Introductory Essay* (Norfolk Record Society 3; n.p. 1932), II, 205 ('Apparently the business side of the deal was more in the abbot's mind than the encouragement of the Crusaders.');

Coulton, *Five Centuries* (n. 52), III, 283, 670.

⁵⁷ Bligny, *Eglise* (n. 50), 188-9. The number of 'donations' was 18 c. 1085, 33 c. 1090, 24 c. 1095, 55 c. 1100, 22 c. 1105/7, 19 c. 1110.

⁵⁸ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Clairvaux*, ed. Jean Waquet, I (Troyes 1950), 20-45, nos. 13-18. See Robert Fossier, 'La fondation de Clairvaux et la famille de saint Bernard', in *Mélanges saint Bernard: XXIV^e Congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes. Dijon 1953* (Dijon 1954), 27, who associated these confirmations with the crusade.

⁵⁹ Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 34), 79: 'In den für diese Arbeit zur Verfügung stehenden Urkunden- und Literaturbüchern finden sich denn auch nur zwei Beweise für diese materielle Unterstützung von Kreuzfahrern durch Cistercienserklöster.'

⁶⁰ William M. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie*, 2 vols (Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire du droit des pays flamands, picards et wallons 27; Paris 1971), II, 45-9, no. 16.

⁶¹ *St. Benet of Holme* (n. 56), I, 18-19, no. 27; Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (University of London Historical Studies 2; London 1956), 354, no. 132 (dated probably 1153/61).

All types of property were involved in these transactions,⁶² including lands, buildings (houses, mills, ovens), churches, cemeteries, fairs, ecclesiastical and secular revenues, both in cash and kind, tolls, rights of justice, and occasionally people. A tithe collector was given to La Chapelle-Aude in 1095/6, a swine-herd to Vigeois in 1106/8, and seven serfs to Mouthier-Haute-Pierre in 1148 as the result of a vow made by an ill crusader.⁶³ Conditional grants or mortgages were sometimes changed into outright grants by crusaders, and obnoxious dues abolished. The grant of some tolls and taxes to Moutier-la-Celle by the count of Champagne in 1114 was confirmed by his nephew when he went on a crusade 40 years later, and the monks of Vaux-de-Cernay in 1202 were given the right to buy and sell 'foreign merchandise' for their own use without paying the customary dues.⁶⁴

The frequent use of the terms *dono* and *donatio* in the documents describing these transactions does not indicate that they were gifts in the modern sense of the term, nor, as is sometimes said, that they were disguised sales,⁶⁵ since *dono* and *donatio* were used in many regions to describe a variety of economic operations, including sales and loans.⁶⁶ Even in transactions referred to as gifts there was

⁶² I have found no general evidence to support the view (based on evidence from the Auvergne) of Gabriel Fournier, 'La création de la grange de Gergovie par les Prémontrés de Saint-André et sa transformation en seigneurie (XII^e-XVI^e siècles),' *Moyen Age* 56 (1950), 314, that 'Ces opérations financières, plus ou moins camouflées sous des prétextes religieux, portent rarement sur des terres, mais plus souvent sur des droits, percières, cens et dîmes.'

⁶³ *Fragments du cartulaire de la Chapelle-Aude*, ed. Martial-Alphonse Chazaud (Moulins 1860), 82-3, 88-90, nos. 43, 49; 'Chartularium monasterii sancti Petri Vosiensis', ed. Henri de Montégut, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 39 (1890), 62, no. 104 (presuming that *suarius* means swineherd); Auguste Castan, *Un épisode de la deuxième croisade* (Besançon 1862), 10-11. For other examples see Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 9 vols (Dijon 1885-1905), I, 417, no. 100 (1100); *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ed. Jacques Laurent, 2 vols (Collection de documents publiés avec le concours de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte d'Or 1; Paris 1907-11), II, 26-8, 143, 321-2, nos. 1.19 (1104), 1.146 (1100), 2.173(A) (1104); *Cartulaire de Romainmotier*, ed. Frédéric de Gingins-La-Sarra (Lausanne 1844), 72 (1158).

⁶⁴ *Cartulaire de Montier-la-Celle*, ed. Charles Lalore (Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes 6; Paris 1882), 15, 284-7, nos. 13, 233; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame des Vaux de Cernay de l'ordre de Cîteaux*, ed. Lucien Merlet, Auguste Moutié, 2 vols (Paris 1857-8), I, 122, 136, nos. 103, 118 (1202). See 'Monumenta Baumburgensia II', in *Monumenta Boica*, III (n. 42), 84, no. 226, concerning the grant in 1147 by a crusader of a small *taxatio* he held from his father; 'Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de La Réole en Bazadais du IX^e au XII^e siècle', ed. Louis Charles Grellet-Balguérié, *Archives historiques du département de la Gironde* 5 (1863), 140, no. 93 (1187).

⁶⁵ Edouard Perroy, reviewing Léon and Albert Miro, *La seigneurie de Saint-Vérain-des-Bois*, in *Revue historique* 197 (1947), 140 n.1; Fournier, 'Gergovie' (n. 62), 314.

⁶⁶ See the article by Georges Chevrier, 'Evolution de la notion de donation dans les chartes de Cluny du IX^e à la fin du XII^e siècle', in *A Cluny. Congrès scientifique. Fêtes*

often a reference to a *quid pro quo*, which was recorded in order to avoid any possible future claims on the part of the donor. In a crusading charter from Vendôme, a payment of 12 pennies to the youngest of four sons, who was said to be still in his cradle, was mentioned presumably as evidence that his interests had been considered, and when the count of Vendôme was going to Jerusalem he and his son granted part of a forest in return for 100 pounds of pennies *de caritate monasterii*, 'in order that this matter between us and the aforesaid monks may be better and more firmly established'.⁶⁷ The 'charity' of the purchaser in cases like this paralleled the 'gift' of the seller.⁶⁸

The terms for the redemption of loans and mortgages were usually spelled out in the charters, which often specified that the pledge would be forfeit if the crusader died or did not return and would belong to the monastery after his death even if he returned and redeemed it.⁶⁹ A pilgrim in the first half of the eleventh century pledged a manor to Vigeois in return for five shillings on condition that 'if he returned from Jerusalem ... he would return the five shillings he had received and would hold the manor for his lifetime and after his death it would belong to St Peter without contradiction'.⁷⁰ In 1140 Brogne allowed a crusader to redeem a pledge for half the amount given but would keep the property not only if he was killed on the crusade or died without heirs but also if his heirs ever had no heirs;⁷¹ and St Jean-d'Angély agreed to divide a pledge with a crusader after his return, until he was able to give back the full value of the loan.⁷² Occasionally

et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints abbés Odon et Odilon 9-11 juillet 1949 (Dijon 1950), 203-9: 'Du don à la vente, la transition est aisée et semble être sans conséquences' (207).

⁶⁷ *La Trinité de Vendôme* (n. 31), II, 104-5, 301-4, nos. 360 (c. 1098), 486 (1139).

⁶⁸ *Noyers* (n. 54), 581, 583, 584, nos. 553 (c. 1146), 555, 556 (c. 1146), where a crusader was given a total of 7s. 4d. *in caritate* in return for the census of four *censuales* and some other property. See *Cartulaire du prieuré de la Charité-sur-Loire*, ed. René de Lespinasse (Nevers 1887), 126-7, no. 50 (c. 1146), where the monks gave 300s. for an oven *charitatis intuitu*.

⁶⁹ For an example in 826 of a conditional arrangement prior to a pilgrimage to Rome, see *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Benjamin E. C. Guérard (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1840), 158, no. 85. According to Marc, 'Contribution' (n. 39), 72, and Bligny, *Eglise* (n. 50), 86, pledges were rarely redeemed. The number of agreements preserved in monastic cartularies (which were presumably kept as titles to property) also suggests that many pledges were not redeemed.

⁷⁰ *Vigeois* (n. 63), 4, no. 5 (1031/60).

⁷¹ Aubert Le Mire (Miraeus), *Opera diplomatica et historica*, 2 ed. Jean François Foppens, 4 vols (Louvain 1723-48), I, 689-90.

⁷² *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-d'Angély*, ed. Georges Musset, 2 vols (Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis 30, 33; Paris 1901-3), I, 384, no. 319 (c. 1101). It was specified in this charter that the monks would, as usual, keep the property if the crusader did not return and that he would give it to them at his death and, further, that they would receive him as a monk if he wished.

there seems to have been no expectation of repayment, as in the grant by Admont to Rupert of St George in 1147 'with the agreement that if he did not come back [the pledge] would pass to the monastery and that if he came back he would hold it for his lifetime and after his death it would pass to the monastery'.⁷³ This looks like a 'live' as contrasted with a 'dead' gage (mortgage), since the lenders were apparently compensated by the revenues of the pledge as well, perhaps, as by the expectation of eventual possession of the property.

Restrictions were sometimes put on when the pledge could be redeemed and by whom. An undated pledge to Aniane could not be redeemed before three years; a pledge to La Trinité at Vendôme in 1123 could be redeemed after two years by the crusader and after a further two years by his brothers and relations, but only as a single lump sum repaid in full at a chapter-meeting of the monks; and in a document from Chézery in 1147 two brothers who had pledged some land for ten pounds could each redeem it for five pounds for up to seven years, after which it belonged to the monastery.⁷⁴ Two brothers who went to Jerusalem in 1137 'gave and sold' their property to Savigny on separate terms: one sold his three-quarters of the property outright while the other gave his quarter but kept the serfs on condition that if he returned he would neither molest nor make demands of them before reaching an agreement with the abbot.⁷⁵ In a charter concerning the marsh at Fullerton made about 1147, the abbot of St Benet at Holme 'gave Philip [Basset] fifteen marks as a premium and at the same time freed the marsh from rent for fifteen years from the coming feast of St Michael following the departure for Jerusalem of the king of France and other barons and Philip himself'.⁷⁶ Special

⁷³ *Urkundenbuch des Herzogthums Steiermark*, ed. Josef von Zahn, I (Graz 1875), 279, no. 266.

⁷⁴ *Cartulaire d'Aniane*, ed. Léon Cassan, Edouard Meynial (Montpellier 1900), 200, no. 60; *La Trinité de Vendôme* (n. 31), II, 225, no. 444; 'Chézery. Chartes du XII^e siècle', ed. Jules Vuy, *Mémoires de l'Institut national genevois* 12 (1867-8), 16 (separate pagination), where the redemption was for the lifetime of the redeemer only. See also *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, ed. Henri Doniol, *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand* 34 (NS 3; 1861), 721, no. 327, where the pledge could be redeemed only by the crusader himself and with his own money; *Cartulare monasterii beatorum Petri et Pauli de Domina* (Lyons 1859), 218-19, no. 233.24, where the pledge could be redeemed by *aliquis suorum* but apparently not by a stranger; cf. Ulysse Chevalier, *Régeste dauphinois*, 7 vols (Valence-Vienne 1912-26), I, 634-5, no. 3784, dating this document c. 1147.

⁷⁵ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Savigny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, 2 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1853), I, 503-4, no. 937.

⁷⁶ *St. Benet of Holme* (n. 56), I, 87, no. 155. The marsh, with 300 sheep, was granted for an annual rent of five marks, which was apparently remitted in return for the payment to Philip (for whose crusade this charter is the only evidence). Savigny made a colossal loan of 500 silver marks to Archembald VI of Bourbon in 1147, when he was 'about to go to Jerusalem with king Louis of the Franks and many other nobles', and who promised to repay it in five annual installments of 100 marks, thus apparently paying no interest, since

arrangements like this were doubtless worked out to suit the needs of both parties, but the restrictions, particularly with regard to the timing of the redemption, usually benefited the lender, who was thus assured a certain return.

Clerical pilgrims and crusaders also needed funds to pay for their trips. Bishop Godfrey of Langres, as has been seen, plundered the treasury of his own church. When Reginbert of Passau went to Jerusalem 'in the service of this catholic and Christian army', he made a gift to his canons 'to supplement their prebend' and 'in order that Our Lord and God may direct our journey in the way of peace and salvation and bring us at the same time to the heavenly Jerusalem' – as indeed occurred, since he lost his life on the crusade.⁷⁷ It is uncertain what, if anything, he received in return, but he may have been permitted to keep the revenues of his position. A charter from St Martin-des-Champs in 1127/31 granting a priest a church in return for an annual rent of one mark specified that he might be absent for three years on a pilgrimage, and the cardinal-legate Otto of St Nicola in Carcere in 1160/1 allowed a canon of Noyon to keep the revenues of his benefice for three years while he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁷⁸ These arrangements adumbrate the decree of the fourth Lateran council allowing crusading clerics to keep their benefices, and if necessary to mortgage them, for three years.⁷⁹ Such absences occasionally created problems, and the bishop of Angoulême permitted a monk of St Amand-de-Boixe to serve a local church when its priest went to Jerusalem with the count of Poitiers.⁸⁰

Crusaders needed not only money but also supplies and equipment, and protection for their property and dependents. Horses and mules were often

the loan was unsecured; but the authenticity of this charter has been questioned: Martial-Alphonse Chazaud, *Etude sur la chronologie des sires de Bourbon (X^e–XIII^e siècles)*, ed. Max Fazy (Moulins 1935), 253–4 (cf. 362 and 366 on the date and authenticity of this charter); see also Max Fazy, *Les origines du Bourbonnais*, 2 vols (Moulins 1924), I, 273–4, no. 316; Léon Côte, *Contributions à l'histoire du prieuré clunisien de Souvigny* (Moulins 1942), 45, no. 47, both accepting its authenticity.

⁷⁷ 'Codex traditionum ecclesiae Pataviensis ... tertius', in *Monumenta Boica*, XXVIII (Munich 1829), 2.227, no. 15. See Willibald Plöchl, *Das kirchliche Zehentwesen in Niederösterreich* (Forschungen zur Landeskunde von Niederösterreich 5; Vienna 1935), 90–1, and (on Regenbert's death) *AASS*, 8 August II, 376F.

⁷⁸ *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Joseph Depoin, 5 vols (Archives de la France monastique 13, 16, 18, 20, 21; Ligugé-Paris 1912–21), II, 3–4, no. 193; *PU in Frankreich*, NF 7: *Nördliche Ile-de-France und Vermandois*, ed. Dietrich Lohrmann (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 3.95; Göttingen 1976), 362, no. 94.

⁷⁹ *Conc. oec. dec.*, 267. See Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 15), 178, who said that 'This privilege is another which was not mentioned in the records of the early crusades and which first found a place in ecclesiastical law with the constitution *Ad liberandam*.'

⁸⁰ This charter may be printed elsewhere but came to my attention in the notes by Etienne Baluze to his edition of Pierre de Marca, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii* (Frankfort 1708), 961–2.

included in these transactions,⁸¹ and a grant to Aureil made before 1100 specified that 'If he [the donor] wishes to go to Jerusalem, the prior and canons will provide him with his equipment.'⁸² The canons of St Vincent at Mâcon were given some property in 1060/1108 in return for looking after the donor's mother while he made a pilgrimage to Spain,⁸³ and a departing crusader in about 1146 arranged for the church of Saintes to protect his wife during her lifetime and to pray for both her and himself after they died.⁸⁴ Departing crusaders sometimes arranged for members of their families or themselves, after their return, to be received as monks or nuns. In an undated charter for Bèze a crusader specified that after his return he or a member of his family would have the right to become a monk.⁸⁵

For many crusaders spiritual protection was no less important than material support. Viscount Gisbert of Dijon made a grant to the abbey of St Stephen when he went to Jerusalem in 1145. 'For my protection,' he said, 'I made the glorious protomartyr Stephen a partner in my worldly estate.'⁸⁶ Many grants were made for the sake of the salvation or remedy of the souls of the donor and his relations and

⁸¹ See *La Trinité de Vendôme* (n. 31), I, 385, no. 243 (1074); *Molesme* (n. 63), II, 64, 84, nos. 1.54 (1101/9), 1.78 (1095/1100); *Cluny* (n. 49), V, 52, 77, 90, nos. 3703 (1096), 3727 (1097), 3737 (1100); *St-Jean-d'Angély* (n. 72), I, 384, no. 319 (c. 1101); *Steiermark* (n. 73), I, 324, no. 338 (c. 1150); *Sauxillanges* (n. 74), 882, 967, nos. 566 (n.d.), 697 (n.d.); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. Benjamin E. C. Guérard, 2 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1840), 516, no. 2.4.2. (n.d.).

⁸² *Cartulaires des prieurés d'Aureil et de l'Artige en Limousin*, ed. G. de Senneville (Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin 48; Limoges 1900), 29, no. 47. See also *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon*, ed. M.-Camille Ragut (Mâcon 1864), 321-2, no. 547 (1106); *Molesme* (n. 63), II, 113-14, no. 1.111 (1103/11), for examples of prospective crusades.

⁸³ *Mâcon* (n. 82), 20-1, no. 24 (1060/1108).

⁸⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes*, ed. Th. Grasilier (Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge 2; Niort 1871), 99-100, no. 124. See also *Cartulaire des abbayes de Saint-Pierre de la Couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes* (Le Mans 1871), 55-6, no. 52 (1140), for an example of an agreement by a monastery to defend a pilgrim's lands.

⁸⁵ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre de Bèze*, ed. E. Bougaud, Joseph Garnier (Analecta Divionensia 9; Dijon 1875), 472-3. See also *St-Jean-d'Angély* (n. 72), 384, no. 319 (c. 1101); *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours (1000-1300)*, ed. Louis-J. Denis, 2 vols (Archives historiques du Maine 12; Le Mans 1912-13), I, 87-8, no. 67 (1120); *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, I: *Traditionscodices*, ed. Willibald Hauthaler (Salzburg 1910), 411, 413, nos. 292 (1147), 296 (1147); *Aureil* (n. 82), 181-2, no. 245 (c. 1147); *St-Père de Chartres* (n. 81), 646, no. 3.3.31 (n.d.).

⁸⁶ Claude Fyot, *Histoire de l'église abbatiale et collegiale de Saint Estienne de Dijon* (Dijon 1696), preuves 99, no. 157. On the desire of pilgrims for divine protection, see Guillaume Mollat, 'La restitution des églises privées au patrimoine ecclésiastique en France du IX^e au XI^e siècle', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4.27 (1949), 416, citing several examples of gifts and sales to churches by departing crusaders.

in return for liturgical services, such as prayers and masses during a pilgrimage and burial and commemoration if the donor died.⁸⁷ The abbot and monks of St Andrew of Clermont were obliged, according to a charter of William of Auvergne in 1149, to seek and bring back his body 'if I should die in the war against the Saracens or otherwise outside the kingdom of France and this duchy'.⁸⁸ When Godescalc of Morialmé was 'inspired by the heavenly desire of journeying to Jerusalem in the company of the faithful in order to free the promised land from the hands of the impious' in 1188, he gave a church to Floreffe 'in order that his pilgrimage might be more pleasing and the effects of his pilgrimage more meritorious', asking that the revenues of the church be divided between two houses of nuns who were to pray for him, and the following year James of Avesnes 'on the occasion of my departure to succor the land of Jerusalem' gave an annual rent of 100 shillings to Brogne in order to maintain two lighted candles night and day before the cross.⁸⁹

Many grants were the result of vows made at times of danger and sickness in the course of a crusade and of the testamentary dispositions of crusaders who died

⁸⁷ *Le cartulaire du prieuré de Notre-Dame de Longpont* (Lyons 1879), 173-4, no. 182 (c. 1120); *Cartulaire d'Affligem*, ed. Edgar de Marneffe (Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique 2.1; Louvain 1894), 121, no. 78 (c. 1147); Johann-Peter von Ludewig, *Reliquiae manuscriptorum*, 12 vols (Frankfort-Leipzig-Halle 1720-41), IV, 196-8 (charter of duke Ottokar of Styria for Garsten in 1150). The request of the count of Brienne when going to Jerusalem in 1131 to replace canons with monks in the church at Brienne may have been motivated by his belief in the greater efficacy of monks' prayers: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Chapelle-aux-Planches*, ed. Charles Lalore (Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes 4; Paris 1878), 199-201, no. 75 (bishop Hato of Troyes for Montiérender). Examples of provision for burial and/or commemoration made by relations after a crusader's death are found in *St-Père de Chartres* (n. 81), 411-2, no. 2.2.14 (1102-22); Round, *Calendar* (n. 50), 169, no. 476 (1105 for Troarn); GC, X, instr. 424E-5A (1118 for St Arnulf at Crépy); *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch zur Geschichte des althluxemburgischen Territorien bis zur burgundischen Zeit*, I (Luxemburg 1935), 512, no. 358 (1123 for the abbey of Our Lady of Luxemburg). Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 34), 79-80, gives some examples of prayers by Cistercians and of gifts given by crusaders to Cistercian abbeys probably in return for spiritual benefits. Sometimes, as in *Noyers* (n. 54), 581, no. 553 (c. 1146), spiritual benefits were combined with a cash grant *in caritate*.

⁸⁸ Charles-Louis Hugo, *Sacri et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis annales*, I.1 (Nancy 1734), cxliv.

⁸⁹ 'Documents concernant Sautour et Aublain, extraits du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Floreffe', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 8 (1871), 365-6, no. 1; 'Obituaire de l'abbaye de Brogne ou de Saint-Gérard, de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît', ed. Joseph Barbier, *ibid.* 18 (1882), 367-8, no. 7. See Léopold Genicot, 'L'évolution des dons aux abbayes dans le comté de Namur du X^e au XIV^e siècle', in *XXX^e Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de la Belgique*. *Annales* (Brussels 1936), 146, and *idem*, *L'économie rurale Namuroise au Bas Moyen Age (1199-1429)*, I. *La seigneurie foncière* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux de l'histoire et de philologie 3.17; Louvain 1943), 146.

or were killed en route.⁹⁰ When Adjutor of Vernon (who later became a monk and saint) was ambushed near Antioch, he made a vow as a result of which, after his escape, he gave some property to Tiron;⁹¹ and the archbishop of Besançon forced Bartholomew of Cicon to fulfill a vow, made when he fell ill at Jerusalem in 1148, to restore a mill and seven serfs to Mouthier-Haute-Pierre.⁹² Shipwreck was another frequent occasion for vows. Count William of Nevers made some substantial concessions to Vézelay as a result of a vow made when he was shipwrecked on the second crusade,⁹³ and count Waleran of Meulan founded Le Valasse, probably in 1157, after being saved from shipwreck on his return from the crusade.⁹⁴

Other new houses, such as Lironville in the diocese of Toul,⁹⁵ were founded by departing crusaders for the good of their souls or as substitutes for crusades. Among the most remarkable of these was St Orens in the diocese of Toulouse, which was founded in 1098 by the would-be female crusader Emerias of *Alteias*, 'who raised the cross on her right shoulder in order to go to Jerusalem' but was persuaded by the bishop to build a house of God instead.⁹⁶ The Cistercian abbey of Meaux was established by William of Albemarle 'in redemption of his vow' to go on a crusade, which he was unable to fulfill 'on account of his age and weight'.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ *Cartularium abbatiae de Whiteby*, ed. John C. Atkinson (Surtees Society 69; Durham 1879), 2-3; *Vigeois* (n. 63), 68, no. 113 (1102/3); *Aureil* (n. 82), 105, no. 153 (c. 1115).

⁹¹ Hugh of Amiens, *Vita sancti Adjutoris monachi Tironensis*, in *PL*, CXCII, 1347A. On Adjutor, who died in 1130/2, see Alfons M. Zimmermann, *Kalendarium benedictinum. Die Heiligen und Seligen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 4 vols (Metten 1933-8), II, 79, 81.

⁹² Castan, *Episode* (n. 63), 10-11. The archbishop heard the testimony of four witnesses (including a Templar) who had been with Bartholomew when he made the vow and who later returned to France.

⁹³ Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis*, 2, in *CC:CM*, XLII, 423-4.

⁹⁴ Geoffrey H. White, 'The Career of Waleran, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester (1104-6)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4.17 (1934), 40-1. For another example of a church founded as a result of a vow during a shipwreck, see Fyot, *St Estienne de Dijon* (n. 86), preuves 154-5, no. 246 (1172), also in Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne* (n. 63), II, 352, no. 532.

⁹⁵ *GC*, XIII, instr. 479-80. See Jacques Choux, *Recherches sur le diocèse de Toul au temps de la Réforme grégorienne. L'épiscopat de Pibon (1069-1107)* (Nancy 1952), 68, 232.

⁹⁶ Claude De Vic, Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 5 vols (Paris 1730-45), V, 349, no. 323, 2 ed., 15 vols (Toulouse 1872-1905), V, 756-8, no. 401. See Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne de la fin du VIII^e à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail A 20; Toulouse [1974]), 562-3.

⁹⁷ William Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum*, ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, Bulkeley Bandinel, 7 vols in 8 (London 1817-30), V, 390. See David Knowles, R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2 ed. (London 1971), 122. William

The willingness of so many crusaders to make material grants in return for spiritual benefits is a reminder of the religious and penitential character of these expeditions and of the hopes of the participants for otherworldly rewards. When Robert II of Flanders went to Jerusalem in 1096, 'at the instigation of the divine admonition, promulgated by the authority of the apostolic see, to free the church of God that has long been oppressed by barbaric peoples', he gave some land to St Peter of Lille 'in order that God Almighty may give effect to my effort, by which both the sanctified honor of His name may be spread and the gracious gift of the coin that never fails [that is, salvation] may be given to me'.⁹⁸ At about the same time in the Auvergne a father and son,⁹⁸ who may have heard Urban II preach at Clermont, made a grant to Sauxillanges 'in remission of their sins' and in return for a mule worth 200 shillings and for burial and intercession for the father after his death, saying in their charter that 'When the persecution of the barbarians rose up to destroy the liberty of the eastern church, the entire strength and faith of the western peoples hastened to assist the destroyed religion at the exhortation of the pope.'⁹⁹

Individual crusades to Jerusalem were made throughout the twelfth century by pilgrims who made grants to monasteries in return for funds to pay their expenses and prayers to insure their eternal reward. When Geoffrey of Bero wanted to go to Jerusalem in about 1115, he confirmed a grant made by his father to St Peter at Chartres 'fearing lest the sanctity of this undertaking be spoiled by the taint of some fraud'.¹⁰⁰ A crusader sold some property to La Platière in 1139 'lest his labor be worthless and empty'.¹⁰¹ And William of Fossard gave some land to Watton in 1154/60 'above all for the journey that I am going to make to Jerusalem and for the remission of my sins and those of my relations both living and dead'.¹⁰² These charters show the element of personal spiritual motivation underlying the entire crusading movement, which included not only the great expeditions like that in

was advised to found a monastery by abbot Adam of Fountains 'when he found the earl nervous on account of the fulfillment of his vow'. The archbishop of Rouen allowed Walter of Valmondois, who was unable to go to Jerusalem owing to physical impediments, to redeem his vow by giving a benefice to Pontoise: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, ed. Joseph Depoin (Publications de la Société historique du Vexin; Pontoise 1895-1909), 120-1, no. 155 (1165/9). See also the charters from Molesme cited nn. 108-9 below.

⁹⁸ Fernand Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre, 1071-1128* (Commission royale d'histoire. Recueil des actes des princes belges; Brussels 1938), 63, no. 20.

⁹⁹ *Sauxillanges* (n. 74), 966-7, no. 697. It is uncertain whether they joined the crusade, but the terms of the charter, especially the grant of a mule, suggests that they did.

¹⁰⁰ *St-Père de Chartres* (n. 81), 603-4, no. 2.4.114.

¹⁰¹ *Cartulaire lyonnais*, ed. Marie-Claude Guigues, I (Lyons 1885), 35-6, no. 24.

¹⁰² *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. William Farrer, II (Edinburgh 1915), 396, no. 1095. See also Robert Wyard, *Histoire de l'abbaye Saint-Vincent de Laon* (St-Quentin 1858), 196-7, where Anselm of Ribemont asked pardon of the monks of St Vincent before he left with Godfrey of Bouillon in 1095.

1148, when (according to a charter recording the purchase of an estate by Werden) ‘the *universitas christianorum* made the expedition to Jerusalem marvellous by its greater beginning than by its conclusion’,¹⁰³ but also innumerable pilgrimages by individuals whose material sacrifices may collectively have been even greater than those made by members of the numbered crusades.

Although the arrangements made by the crusaders to finance their expeditions had many common features, which have already been discussed, and were described in the sources in similar terms, each in fact dealt with a specific situation and reflected different needs and circumstances. It may therefore be of interest, by way of conclusion, to look at some individual examples, most of which are more elaborate than many such transactions but which illustrate their general characteristics.

Two, from the cartulary of Cluny, are dated 12 April 1096 and 15 June 1100 respectively. The first records a loan of 2,000 shillings of Lyons and four mules to Achard of Montmerle, who wished to join ‘in the multitudinous and mighty arousal and expedition of Christians going to Jerusalem in order to wage war for God against the pagans and Saracens’. The loan was secured by a pledge that could be redeemed only by Achard himself and would belong to Cluny either if he died on the crusade or if he did not return or if he returned and died without heirs.¹⁰⁴ The charter of 1100 first recorded a grant made by the crusader Stephen of Neublens, after settling his dispute with the dean of Lourdon, and by his brother and nephew and the compensation given to each and then described a further gift by Stephen, made for the sake of the monks and abbot who, he said, ‘when I opened my heart to him concerning this journey and made this gift into his hand’, had himself put ‘the sign of salvation, that is, the cross’, on Stephen’s shoulder and a ring on his finger, granted him confraternity, and promised him liturgical commemoration if he died on the crusade, Stephen said; he also received 50 shillings and ‘two excellent mules’ from the dean of Lourdon.¹⁰⁵

These two charters, in addition to being evidence of the personal interest taken by abbot Hugh of Cluny in the crusade, show an interesting contrast in motivation, since the second one, unlike the first, includes no reference to fighting aside from Stephen’s half-apologetic references to himself as *quamuis miles* and as ‘involved in the temporal army in the secular habit’. The long *arenga* of this charter is filled with biblical citations and moral commonplaces and with expressions of a sense of guilt that must be expiated by sacrifice and charity.

¹⁰³ *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, ed. Theodor J. Lacomblet, I (Düsseldorf 1840), 249, no. 364. On the reaction to the failure of the second crusade, to which this charter refers, see chapter 10 below.

¹⁰⁴ *Cluny* (n. 49), V, 51-3, no. 3703. The specific reference to Achard’s desire to join the expedition *armatus* suggests that he might have gone unarmed, simply as a pilgrim.

¹⁰⁵ *Cluny* (n. 49), V, 87-91, no. 3737.

In view of the multitude of my sins and of the piety, gentleness, and mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who though rich became poor for our sake, I decided to give back to Him something for all those things that He gave to unworthy me. I therefore resolved to go to Jerusalem, where God the man was seen and kept company with men and to adore in the place where His feet stood.¹⁰⁶

No such lofty sentiments are found in two groups of charters, one from La Trinité at Vendôme and the other from Molesme, showing some of the difficulties encountered by crusaders in raising funds and, incidentally, by monasteries in acquiring property. A grant made to La Trinité by Robert of Moncoutour when he became a monk in 1081 was opposed by his son Bertrand, who had not given his consent, until 1098, when he decided to go to Jerusalem and realized 'that this journey to God would be worthless to him unless he dismissed his claim to the gift of his father'. The details of the settlement are recorded in another charter, showing that in return for renouncing his claim he received 1,800 shillings, his wife 100 shillings, his son Peter four pounds, his other three sons (one of whom was still a baby) 12 pennies each, and the lord 'of whose fief this obedience was' 20 shillings.¹⁰⁷

An even more complicated arrangement is described in a series of charters for Molesme describing the gifts made by three crusading brothers of the family of Toucy: Iterius, who died on the first crusade, Hugh, who died going to Jerusalem about 1100, and Norgaud, who died, also on the way to Jerusalem, about 1110.¹⁰⁸ The three brothers participated, between 1095 and 1100, in founding the priory of Crisenon, to which a final grant was renewed in about 1100 by Hugh and Norgaud, 'when they both aimed at Jerusalem', in return respectively for a mule 'of great price' and 30 shillings. They returned without reaching Jerusalem, however, and Hugh, worried at his failure to fulfill his vow, set out once more, after again renewing his gift, on an expedition from which he apparently never returned. Norgaud also decided to make another attempt, in 1101/7, when he mortgaged some property to Molesme for 20 silver marks and a mule worth 300 shillings or seven marks. Meanwhile a lawsuit arose over an allod which the three brothers had given jointly to Molesme and of which Iterius had given his share, 'when he was

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 88. The final words 'ac in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus adorare' are from Psalm 131.7 and resemble those used by Peter the Venerable in his letter 83 to the patriarch of Jerusalem, saying that as a monk, 'nec adorare in loco ubi steterunt pedes domini possumus': *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 22), I, 220. The sentiment, though a crusading commonplace, brings out the personal identification of the pilgrim with Christ.

¹⁰⁷ *La Trinité de Vendôme* (n. 31), II, 104-7, nos. 360-1, where it says (106-7) that, 'Tandem ipse Bertrannus, divina inspiratione compunctus, cum Jerosolimam ire disposuisset, et illam viam Dei sibi nihil posse prodesse certissime crederet si calumpniam, quam de elemosina patris sui faciebat, non dimitteret.' Although the money may not have been used for Bertrand's trip to Jerusalem, his intention to go is clear.

¹⁰⁸ *Molesme* (n. 63), I, 138-9 and II, 63 n.

dying on his Jerusalem journey' and either forgetting or disregarding his previous grant, to Vézelay and La Charité. At least two papal legates were involved in the case, and Molesme had to grant compensation to both the other monasteries before finally establishing its claim to the entire allod in 1107/10.¹⁰⁹

A different problem arose for the monks of Göttweig as a result of a loan to a noble named Wolfker, who 'decided to go to Jerusalem, wishing to fulfill the evangelical precept "If any man will come after Me" but since he was not well supplied with money' borrowed 20 marks from the monks in return for a pledge of some land which he could redeem for the same sum in the fifth year, if he returned, but which would belong to the abbey after five years or 'if he remained on the journey, alive or dead'. Wolfker apparently broke the agreement, however, and sold the land to another noble, whom the monks allowed to hold the property until his death, 'and then, by God's mercy ... may it be restored to us'.¹¹⁰

Monasteries had to be perpetually on guard against acts of bad faith.¹¹¹ Gardrad of La Faie, for instance, according to a charter of 1111/17, gave his part of the mills at Alville to the abbey of Baigne but 'a long time afterwards, when he wished to visit Jerusalem', he pledged this and some other property to the prior of Vitaterne, a dependency of St Martial at Limoges. All turned out well this time, however, for Gardrad, when he was dying on his pilgrimage, remembered and confirmed his original grant, and Baigne was able to establish its claim in the court of Angoulême.¹¹²

A deathbed gift to Sauxillanges was made by a crusader named Stephen, according to a charter of his cousin Bernard of *Rippa* in 1123. Stephen, 'travelling to Jerusalem', left his entire property to Bernard, with a *mansus* for Sauxillanges in order to establish a general repast for the monks on the feast of St Andrew. To this Bernard added on his own accord a pittance after Stephen's death. The monks in return offered prayers for Stephen's soul and received Bernard into association and confraternity, granting him a prebend at the priory of Taluyers 'and in all houses belonging to Sauxillanges'. Bernard further gave himself to God and the monks, according to the charter, in such a way that he could become a monk there and might neither enter another monastery nor journey to Jerusalem without

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. II, 64, 84, 105, nos. 54, 78, 101. See *GC*, XII, instr. 107-8, no. 12 (1110) and *PU in Frankreich*, NF 6: *Orléanais*, ed. Johannes Ramackers (Abh. Göttingen: Phil.-hist. Kl. 3.41; Göttingen 1958), 115, no. 56 (1145), for a crusading grant to Fleury by another member of the family of Toucy.

¹¹⁰ *Die Traditionsbücher des Benediktinerstiftes Göttweig*, ed. Adalbert Fuchs (Fontes rerum Austriacarum 2.69; Vienna 1931), 194-5, no. 55. The two parallel versions of this charter are substantially similar for the passages cited here. I am uncertain whether the words *quinto anno* mean 'in the fifth year' or, more generally, 'within five years'.

¹¹¹ Or what appear to be acts of bad faith in the surviving records, almost all of which derive from monastic sources.

¹¹² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Baigne*, ed. Paul F. E. Cholet (Nior 1868), 23-4, no. 26.

their permission.¹¹³ In return for the *mansus* and pittance, therefore, the abbey took on not only some liturgical obligations but also an anomalous member of the community.

Maurice of Glons seems to have made a similar arrangement in 1146, when he was 'armed with the sign of the cross and ready to go to Jerusalem' and resigned the fief he held from the abbey of St James at Liège on condition that half the revenues would belong to his mother during her lifetime and that it could be redeemed for 40 shillings either while she was living or after her death.

He asked that the money we were going to give him *pro karitate* for the expenses of his pilgrimage should be given to his mother and children if he died in the meantime. It should also be known that if he returns from Jerusalem ... he will settle in a dependency (*in obedientiam*) ready to serve either in the habit of a servant (*famulus*) or in the habit of a monk.¹¹⁴

Here as with Bernard of *Rippa* the exact monastic status of the donor is uncertain, but the arrangement probably should be seen both as an act of piety and as a means of support for someone who had given his property to a monastery.

A final example of the difficulties of financing a crusade is found in a complicated (and in places obscure) charter from Auch describing a series of events between 1150 and 1180, beginning with a pledge of some property by Raymond-Aimeric of Montesquiou to the canons of Auch in return for 70 shillings with which to pay a ransom. Raymond-Aimeric later brought a claim against the canons for some damage done to a church in the course of a dispute between his uncle the archbishop of Auch and the count of Armagnac. The canons agreed to restore the church, 'but when Raymond-Aimeric decided to go to Jerusalem and asked his uncle the archbishop for the necessary expenses to do this', they demanded that he renounce his claims against them on behalf of himself and of his heirs. He finally did so, but apparently only at the last minute, 'when he had already started on his way to Jerusalem', and he presumably then received the necessary funds.¹¹⁵

These examples show that the financing of the crusades affected almost every aspect of life in the twelfth century. They illustrate the broad appeal of the

¹¹³ *Sauxillanges* (n. 74), 1072-3, no. 905. The precise nature of this arrangement is unclear, but Bernard appears to have become a quasi-monk. His right to a prebend in any priory and the restrictions on his liberty are unusual.

¹¹⁴ Jacques Stiennon, *Etude sur le chartrier et le domaine de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques de Liège (1015-1209)* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 124; Paris 1951), 442-3, no. 6; see 386-7. *In obedientiam* may mean simply 'in obedience', that is, under the rule of the abbey. It is unclear from the text whether the redemption was during or after Maurice's or his mother's lifetime.

¹¹⁵ *GC*, I, instr. 162-3; *Cartulaires du chapitre de l'église métropolitaine Sainte-Marie d'Auch*, ed. C. Lacave La Plagne Barris (Archives historiques de la Gascogne 2.3; Paris 1899), 128-32, no. 113.

crusading movement and the sacrifices made by men and women of all classes in order to visit Jerusalem and to assist the Christians in the east. Above all, they show the importance of monasteries as institutions of credit and the importance of the crusades in contributing to the breakup of the old social and economic order by promoting the exchange of property, the transfer of treasure into liquid assets, the increase of circulation, and, through royal levies and feudal aids, the development of centralized financial administration. In the long run, indeed, how the crusaders got to the east may have had a more profound influence on the west than what they brought back with them when they returned.

Note

This is a revised and slightly expanded version of an article first published in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer, Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem 1982), 64-88. When it was written I was unaware of the unpublished thesis of Ronald Gossman, *The Financing of the Crusades* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1965). Among subsequent works particular attention should be drawn to Fred A. Cazel, Jr, 'Financing the Crusades' in Wisconsin *History*, VI, 116-49 (particularly on general aids and levies); Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading 1095-1130', in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, Sylvia Schein (New York a.o. 1995), 237-57; Jean Richard, 'Le financement des croisades', in *Pouvoir et gestion. Cinquièmes rencontres – 29 et 30 novembre 1996* (Collection histoire, gestion, organizations 5), 63-71 (primarily on royal and 'seigneurial' aids); Philippe Racinet, 'Le depart et le retour du croisé. Arrangements matériels et spirituels avec les moines', in *Orient et occident, IX^e - XV^e siècles. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du colloque d'Amiens 8, 9 et 10 octobre 1998*, in *Histoire médiévale et archéologie* 11 (2000), 11-24; on the use by monasteries of their treasuries to raise money, Philippe George, 'Définition et fonction d'un trésor d'église', *Etudes et travaux* 2004-5 (Centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre 9), 110-11. There is also relevant material in Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca-London 1987), 197-9, 222-3. Most of these authors stressed the great expense of crusading and that very few crusaders returned richer from their expeditions. A crusade cost a crusader two times his annual income, according to Gossman, *Financing*, 7, and four times, according to Riley-Smith, 'Early Crusaders', 246. The exact cost of a crusade is impossible to estimate and doubtless varied according to the rank and need of the participant.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 5

The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society

Crusaders did not fit easily into the accepted patterns of medieval society. They were neither, in accord with the traditional tripartite division, monks, clerics, or laymen, nor were they prayers, fighters, or workers, as in the later division into *oratores*, *pugnatores*, and *laboratores*.¹ They came closest to being laymen and fighters, but they shared with monks a consecrated status, though usually for a limited period of time, and theirs was a new type of fighting, in the service of God rather than for worldly ends. They were set off from the laity both by special privileges and obligations, and also, literally, by the mark of the cross that they bore on their clothing or, sometimes, branded on the forehead or elsewhere on the body, though the word *crucesignatus* – marked with the cross – did not emerge as the primary term for crusaders until the beginning of the thirteenth century, and even then it may also have been used for pilgrims generally.² The participants in the expeditions known as the first, second, and third crusades were usually referred to in contemporary sources as Christians, pilgrims, *bellatores*, and *milites*, which can be translated as knights, soldiers, and fighters, or, by their enemies, simply as Franks. Their expedition was a pilgrimage, journey, or *iter*. The crusading army was the *exercitus*, *agmen*, and *militia Dei* or *Christi*, the army of God or Christ, and its members were the *bellatores Domini*, *milites Christi*, or sometimes *athletae Christi*, like the monks and martyrs of the early middle ages.³

The crusaders were not alone in crossing the boundaries of what were regarded as distinct social categories. The twelfth century saw the development of several

¹ On the orders in medieval society, see Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge 1995), 249-87.

² James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison-London 1969), 189: 'Although the canonists recognized the crusader's status, obligations, and privileges, they never really came to grips in a systematic way with the problem of clarifying his role in medieval society.' On the cross, see chapter 2.

³ See the article by Johann Auer in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, X (Paris 1980), 1210-23; the articles in '*Militia Christi*' e *crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 28 agosto-1 settembre 1989* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scienze storiche 48. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13; Milan 1992); Horst Richter, '*Militia Dei*: A Central Concept for the Religious Ideas of the Early Crusades and the German *Rolandlied*', in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara Sargent-Bauer (Kalamazoo 1992), 107-26.

what may be called mixed orders that combined features that were previously regarded as incompatible. The ministerials were legally serfs but practically free and even noble; the regular canons were monks and clerics; and lay brothers and sisters were both *oratores* and *laboratores*, prayers and workers. Bernard of Clairvaux described himself in a famous passage in one of his letters as the chimera of his age, 'neither a cleric nor a layman. For I gave up long ago the way of life, though not the habit, of a monk.'⁴ In his treatise *In praise of the new army* Bernard said that the Templars

appeared in a certain marvelous and singular way to be both gentler than sheep and fiercer than lions, so that I am almost in doubt whether to call them monks or soldiers were it not suitable to call them both, since they lack neither the mildness of the monk nor the fortitude of the soldier.⁵

These anomalies, in spite of some grumbling by conservatives and those who felt that their traditional status and prerogatives were threatened, were on the whole accepted and even welcomed as signs of God-willed change and development. The desire to define and fit them into theoretical categories is more a modern than a medieval concern. In considering the place of the crusaders in medieval society, it is important to bear in mind the wise words of Jacques Dubois that religious communities 'accepted into their orbit a crowd of people who served God in their own way and who, not having wished while they were living to enter any defined category, cannot be put into one now they are dead'.⁶ The attempt of this chapter, therefore, is not to fit the crusaders into a defined category but rather to study some of the threads that came together in crusaders and made up their special status, including, first, the new attitude towards fighting and those who engaged in it; second, monks, and the parallel of their spiritual warfare with that of the *milites*; and third, penance and pilgrimage, which inspired the participation in the crusades. The military orders will be studied separately in order to see the light they throw on the status of the crusaders.

The idea of fighting for God went back to antiquity and the bible, where Paul exhorted Timothy to 'Labor as a good soldier of Christ Jesus.'⁷ Gregory the

⁴ Bernard, *Ep.* 250.4, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 147. See on this passage Adriaan H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Grand Rapids 1996), 186-9.

⁵ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude nouae militiae*, IV, 8, ed. Leclercq, III, 221.

⁶ Jacques Dubois, 'Quelques problèmes de l'histoire de l'ordre des chartreux à propos de livres récents', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 63 (1968), 47.

⁷ 2 Tim 2.3. See Hilarius Emonds, 'Geistlicher Kriegsdienst. Der Topos der militia spiritualis in der antiken Philosophie', in *Heilige Überlieferung (Festschrift Ildefons Herwegen)*, ed. Odo Casel (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens. Supplementband; Münster i. W. 1938), 21-50; Friedrich Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im frühen Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2; Stuttgart 1971), 23

Great spoke of the Christian as an armed *miles* who strove towards the end by fighting (*per militiam*), and Hugh of St Victor in the prologue to his book *On the sacraments* described the great and varied army of God 'serving the one King and following the one banner' in the war against the devil.⁸ The passage by Rabanus Maurus distinguishing between 'the legitimate prince ... who fights with arms against inequity to defend equity' and 'the seditious tyrant ... who tries to subvert the tranquility of Christian peace' was repeated by many canon lawyers, including Burchard of Worms, who prescribed a fast of 40 days for killing 'at the order of a legitimate prince' and a penance of seven years for killing 'without the order of a legitimate prince', and Ivo of Chartres, who in one of his sermons distinguished the Christian warfare of the martyrs from worldly fighting 'in which those who obtain what they evilly desire are considered victors'.⁹ The justification of warfare in a good cause and the sacralization of the person of the fighter were studied by Carl Erdmann in his seminal book which appeared in German in 1935 and was translated into English with the title *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*.¹⁰ Erdmann examined in particular the movements known as the peace and truce of God, the reformed papacy, Gregory VII and the *militia sancti Petri*, sacred banners and the *vexillum sancti Petri*, and the new cults of military saints and saintly knights, which contributed to the rise of the *milites* and *pugnatores* from fighting men of uncertain social status to a recognized order of knights.¹¹

Fighting in the service of God and the church thus came to be seen not only as legitimate but as positively good.¹² In the exhortation attributed to Urban II in the *History of Jerusalem* by Fulcher of Chartres the pope said:

on *militia/miles Christi*; Jean Leclercq, '“Militare Deo” dans la tradition patristique et monastique', in *Militia Christi* (n. 3), 3-18.

⁸ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, VIII, 2 (2), XII, 13 (17), XXXI, 45 (91), in *CC: SL*, CXLIII, 383, CXLIIIA, 639, CXLIIIB, 1612; Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis, prol.*, 2, in *PL*, CLXXXVI, 183BC.

⁹ Rabanus Maurus, *Poenitentiale*, 4, in *PL*, CX, 472D; Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, VI, 23, in *PL*, CXL, 770D-1A; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, X, 152, and *Serm.* 223, in *PL*, CLXI, 736D, XXXIX, 2158-9 (among the works of Augustine), on which see Rolf Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte* (Pariser historische Studien 1; Stuttgart 1962), 141. See generally Cyrille Vogel, 'Le pèlerinage pénitentiel', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 38 (1964), 146.

¹⁰ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*. See p. 17 on this work.

¹¹ Ian S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History* 58 (1973), 169-92; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and St Peter', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem 1982), 41-63.

¹² Ernst-Dieter Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?', *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994), 301-10, studied what he called a 'theology of war' and 'der *Deo auctore* Krieg' as one of the constituent elements in the crusade.

Let those who previously waged private war improperly against the faithful go against the infidels in a war that should be started now and should end in victory. Let those who were once robbers now become soldiers of Christ. Let those who formerly fought against their brothers and relatives now fight justly against the barbarians. Let those who were once mercenaries for a few shillings now obtain eternal rewards.¹³

Whether or not these were Urban's exact words, he touched the consciences of future crusaders like Tancred, whose soul was torn between the Gospel and the world, according to Ralph of Caen, because he knew that worldly fighting was contrary to the commands of God and who therefore responded with enthusiasm to Urban's summons to fight for Christ.¹⁴ Guibert of Nogent in a famous passage from his book on *The Deeds of God through the Franks* said that:

In our time God has instituted holy warfare so that the knightly order (*ordo equestris*) and unsettled populace (*vulgus oberrans*) ... might find a new way of deserving salvation. They are no longer forced to leave the world, as used to be the case, by choosing the monastic way of life or some religious profession, but in their accustomed freedom and habit, from their own office, they may obtain in some measure the grace of God.¹⁵

In this passage Guibert brought out the parallel between knights, particularly crusaders, and monks.¹⁶

These categories were supposedly distinct, but in real life the line between the soldier, the pilgrim, the crusader, and the monk was sometimes very thin. Hugh of Lacerta as a young man went to Jerusalem, according to his biography, 'in order to fight for Christ and never to return from there to his own possessions'. While he was there, 'the man of God was sometimes a knight and sometimes a pilgrim', and

¹³ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I, 3, 7, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913), 136, tr. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville 1969), 66-7. See Gerd Althoff, 'Nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum extiterint raptore. Zur Entstehung von Rittertum und Ritterethos', *Saeculum* 32 (1981), 317-33; Jörg Oberste, 'Rittertum der Kreuzzugszeit in religiösen Deutungen', *Francia* 27 (2000), 67-74.

¹⁴ Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, I, in *RHC, Hist.occ.*, III, 605.

¹⁵ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, I, 1, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIIIA, 87. See Oberste, 'Rittertum' (n. 13), 61-7.

¹⁶ In an anonymous sermon from the circle of Bernard, the angels, laymen, and monks in the court of God were compared to the three types of soldiers (vassals, mercenaries, and those fighting to recover a lost inheritance) in the courts of secular princes: Henri-M. Rochais, *Enquête sur les sermons divers et les sentences de saint Bernard* (Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis 18.3-4; Rome 1962), 145-6.

he later returned to the west and became a monk.¹⁷ The participants in the second crusade were said in the *Deeds of the abbots of Lobbes* to come, like monks, 'to the habit of conversion and a holy way of life', and Nicholas of Montiéramey referred to a noble knight 'who seeks God in the world and who is professed a monk under the military belt'.¹⁸ When a knight in England gave his chain mail to the hermit Wulfric of Hazelbury 'as to a stronger knight', Wulfric wore it until it slipped from his shoulders in old age.¹⁹ The Cistercian Galland of Reigny explained that his proverb 'When you go to Jerusalem with the others, you should not go unarmed or without first paying the debts to your creditors' meant that 'He who does not fight daily against his vices is unworthy to reach the spiritual Jerusalem.'²⁰ The parallel between spiritual and secular warfare is shown visually in a drawing of two fighting knights in the St Albans Psalter, which dates from the 1120s (figure 5.1). They would certainly be taken for secular soldiers were they not described in the accompanying text as 'Holy figures armed with a manly spirit, they are made into friends of Christ and heavenly athletes.' The writer stressed the need for battle and compared faith and love to weapons. 'We however should ordain for our spirits the whole art that these two fighters provide for their bodies,' he wrote. Good monks meditate night and day on this 'battle and divine inheritance'.²¹

Monks and nuns were seen as soldiers of Christ engaged in spiritual warfare against both external and internal foes. Cassian wrote in his *Institutes* that the

¹⁷ William Dandina of St Savin, *Vita Hugonis de Lacerta*, 2-14, in *Veterum scriptorum ... amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmond Martène, Ursin Durand, 9 vols (Paris 1724-33), VI, 1146D, 1147A. See Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth: A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), 74, on Hugo *transalpinus* who came to the Holy Land in order to fight and later became a monk; *Vita s. Stephani Obazinensis*, I, 10, ed. Michel Aubrun (Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand. Publications de l'Institut d'études du Massif Central 6; Clermont-Ferrand 1970), 60, on Stephen of Obazine, who urged his followers to convert the Muslims by preaching or 'themselves be killed for Christ by the unbelievers'.

¹⁸ *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, 25, in *MGH, SS*, XXI, 329; Nicholas of Montiéramey, *Ep.* 47, in *PL*, CXCVI, 1648D.

¹⁹ John of Ford, *Vita Wulfrici Haselbergiae*, 5, ed. Maurice Bell (Somerset Record Society 47; n.p. 1933), 19; see the notes on 143-6.

²⁰ Galland of Reigny, *Libellus proverbiorum*, 40, ed. Jean Châtillon, in *Revue du moyen âge latin* 9 (1953), 55-6; ed. Alexis Grégois (SC 436; Paris 1998), 90-1.

²¹ Otto Pächt, Charles R. Dodwell, Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 25; London 1960), 149-50, 160, 163-4. See Jonathan G. Alexander, 'Ideological Representation of Military Combat in Anglo-Norman Art', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1992), 4, who cited other examples of representations of the conflict between good and evil, which 'are most likely to have been seen by contemporaries as figures like themselves struggling for victory over outside Evil and inner Temptation' (19); Peter Dinzelsbacher, 'Miles symbolicus. Mittelalterliche Beispiele geharnischter Personifikationen', in *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole. Festschrift für H. Kühnel* (Graz 1992), 49-85.

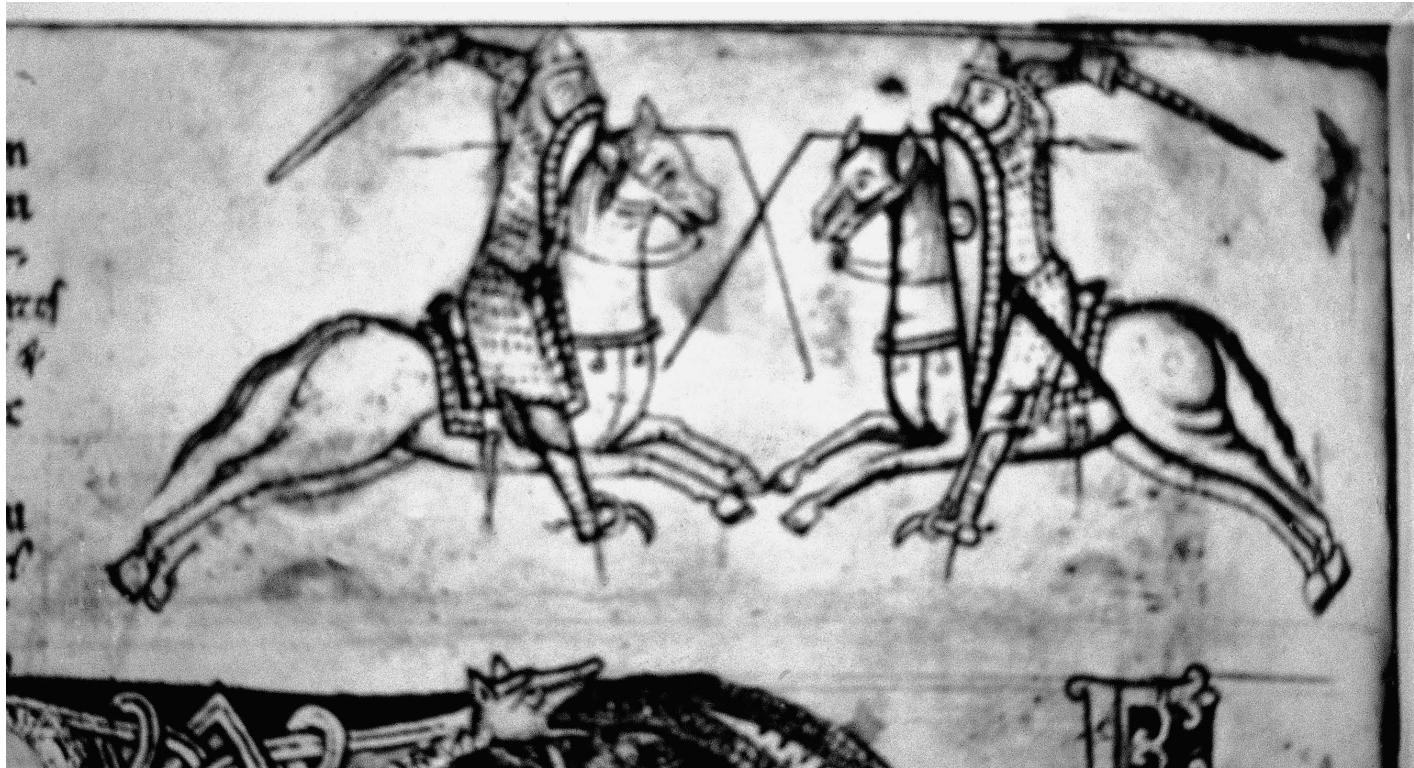


Figure 5.1 Wordly combat as a metaphor for spiritual combat, from the St Albans Psalter, p. 72: see Pächt/Dodwell/Wormald, *St. Albans Psalter* (n. 21), 147-52, 163, 164

monk should always make ready for battle 'as a soldier of Christ',²² and the terms *militia* and *militare* were used in the rule of Benedict, where they probably refer to the concept of service and obedience more than to fighting.²³ Throughout the middle ages monks were called *milites* and religious communities were compared to armies. According to the chronicler of St Hubert, writing in the mid eleventh century, 'The abbot rules over all those fighting for God under the discipline of the rule, like the leader of a military undertaking (*dux industrie militaris*).'²⁴ Abelard called the community of nuns a *militia* of which the superior was the emperor, the six officials were dukes and consuls, the claustral nuns were mounted *milites*, and the lay sisters were foot soldiers.²⁵ An anonymous author, writing probably in the early 1130s, compared monks, canons, and priests to 'soldiers guarding the castles of their lords', and Hildegard of Bingen in 1156/65 called on abbot Manegold of Lautenbach to rise *ut probus miles*.²⁶

The band of young *milites* who entered monastic life with Bernard of Clairvaux was not unlike the group of knights who set out on a crusade. The Cistercians were called 'the new soldiers of Christ' in the *Little beginning of Cîteaux*, where God's mercy was later said to have inspired 'this spiritual army in His men',²⁷ and William of St Thierry in the *First Life* of Bernard referred to the nobles who 'gave their right hand to the spiritual army' and who 'professed the sacred army' at Cîteaux.²⁸ Bernard in a letter to his cousin Robert, who had left Clairvaux for Cluny, cited Paul's words to Timothy and called on Robert to rise and fight as a *miles Christi*. 'Woe to you,' he wrote, 'if by refusing the battle you lose at the same time both the victory and the crown.'²⁹ And Peter of Blois said that the Cistercian Baldwin of Ford (who became archbishop of Canterbury and died on the third

²² Cassian, *Instituta*, I, 1, ed. Jean-Claude Guy (SC 109; Paris 1965), 36.

²³ Eugène Manning, 'La signification de *militare-militia-miles* dans la Règle de saint Benoît', *Revue bénédictine* 72 (1962), 135-8; Antonio Linage Conde, 'Las órdenes militares y la tradición benedictina', *Hidalguía* 21 (1983), 4-12 (of offprint); Leclercq, '“Militare Deo”' (n. 7), 13-15.

²⁴ *La chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium*, 10, ed. Karl Hanquet (Brussels 1906), 28.

²⁵ Abelard, *Ep.* 2, in *PL*, CLXXVIII, 266B-8A; ed. Terence P. McLaughlin, in *Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1956), 252.

²⁶ *Rescriptum cuiusdam pro monachis*, 53, ed. Raymonde Foreville, Jean Leclercq, in *Analecta monastica*, IV (Studia Anselmiana 41; Rome 1957), 96; Hildegard of Bingen, *Ep.* 123, in *CC:CM*, XCIA, 298.

²⁷ *Exordium parvum*, 15 (*Instituta monachorum cisterciensium de Molismo venientium*, 9), 16 (*De tristitia illorum*, 5), in *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux*, ed. Jean de la Croix Bouton, Jean Baptiste Van Damme (Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses: Studia et documenta 2; Aachel 1974), 77, 80. See Martha Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180* (Figuræ: Reading Medieval Culture; Stanford 1996), 29-37.

²⁸ William of St Thierry, *Vita prima s. Bernardi*, XI, 55-6, in *PL*, CLXXXV, 257BC.

²⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 1.13, ed. Leclercq, VII, 11.

crusade) 'girded himself with the belt of the army of Cîteaux in the service of Christ'.³⁰ A splendid illustration of a *miles Christi*, showing a knight standing on the shoulders of his servant or steward and fighting a two-headed dragon, which represents the forces of evil, is found in the manuscript of Gregory the Great's *Moralia* made at Cîteaux in the early twelfth century (figure 5.2).³¹ Here, as in the St Albans Psalter, only the provenance of the manuscript and accompanying text show that a spiritual battle is in progress, since the fighter looks like a secular knight, all the way to a natty goatee, and dragons at that time were considered real beasts.

The accoutrements of a knight were frequently compared to various aspects of religious life. Herbert of Losinga told a young monk that 'Fighting, my son, is the life of your religion ... Take the shield of obedience; gird yourself with the sword of patience; brandish the spear of providence, to which the banner of the cross of the Lord is indissolubly attached;' and Bernard of Clairvaux said that a knight of Christ should be armed with the shield of patience, the chain mail of humility, and the lance of love.³² In the *Ancren riwle*, which was written for a community of female religious in the first half of the thirteenth century, Christ was compared to a king who proved His love by knightly prowess and entered a tournament for the sake of His lady. His cross, body, and blood were the wood, leather, and painting of His shield.

After the death of a valiant knight, men hang up his shield high in the church in his memory. So is this shield, that is the crucifix, set up in the church, in such a place in which it can be soonest seen, thereby to remind us of Jesus Christ's knighthood, which He practiced on the cross.³³

³⁰ *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, 10, ed. Elizabeth Revell (Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 13; Oxford 1993), 53; cf. *Epp.* 18 ('tamquam fortis miles'), 19 ('exercitio militie spiritualis'), *ibid.* 103, 108.

³¹ MS Dijon, Bibl. mun., 168, f. 4^v reproduced in Charles Oursel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux* (Dijon 1926), pl. 22. See Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux 'Moralia in Job'* (Princeton 1997), 46, 51, 54-5.

³² Herbert of Losinga, *Ep.* 13, ed. Robert Anstruther (Caxton Society; Brussels-London 1846), 23; Bernard, *Sententia*, 32, ed. Leclercq, VI.1, 18. Guigo of La Chartreuse in his letter to Hugh of Payens (Payns), master of the Templars, referred to the shield of faith, helmet of salvation, and sword of the spirit: *Lettres des premiers Chartreux* (SC 88; Paris 1962), 156.

³³ *The Ancren Riwle*, ed. James Morton (Camden Society 57; London 1853), 389-93. On this work, which is now commonly called the *Ancrene wisse*, see the references in Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1996), 66 n.95. The seventh-century bishop and martyr Theodard, whose *Vita* was rewritten by Siebert of Gembloux (d. 1112), was said to have donned the armor of God 'at the precept ... and example of the Lord Jesus', girded his loins with truth, shod himself with evangelical peace, and put on the chain mail of justice, the helmet of salvation, the shield of faith, and the



Figure 5.2 Combat of men and dragons, from the illustrations to Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* (1111), MS Dijon, Bibl. mun., 168, f.4v: see Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts* (see p. 79), I, 140; II, 73-4

sword of 'the spirit that is the word of God': Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita et passio sancti Theodardi episcopi et martyris*, 4, ed. Jean Schumacher, in *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège* 51 (1971-5), 29.

These comparisons of monks with fighting men were metaphors, and most of the religious leaders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were opposed to the participation of monks in the crusades or even in unarmed pilgrimages.³⁴ Though it is doubtful whether the council of Clermont specifically prohibited monks to join the first crusade, Urban did so in some of his subsequent letters, though he occasionally allowed them to go with the permission of their bishops and abbots,³⁵ and it is clear that many in fact went. Bernold of Constance wrote in his *Chronicle* under the year 1096 that there were among the crusaders many apostates, 'who having put aside the habit of religion prepared to fight with them', and Geoffrey Grossus in his *Life* of Bernard of Tiron said that many abbots, monks, and even hermits left their monasteries in order to join the crusade.³⁶ According to theologians like Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter, clerics were allowed to carry arms and defend themselves when they were on pilgrimage or traveling.³⁷ The practice of allowing them to retain the revenues of their benefits for three

³⁴ Giles Constable, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages', *Studia Gratiana* 19 (= *Mélanges G. Fransen*, I; 1976), 131-41, citing Anselm, Bernard, Peter the Venerable, and others.

³⁵ Robert Somerville, 'Clermont 1095: Crusade and Canons', in *La primera cruzada. novecientos años después. El concilio de Clermont y las orígenes del movimiento cruzado*, ed. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos (Madrid 1998), 66-7. See Urban's letters of 1096 to the people of Bologna and the monks of Vallombrosa in *PL*, CLI, 483D (JL 5670 = Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* [Innsbruck 1901], 137-8); Wilhelm Wiederhold, 'PU in Florenz' (1901), repr. in Paul F. Kehr, *PU in Italien*, 6 vols (Acta Romanorum pontificum 1-6; Vatican City 1977), III, 216-17; Paul F. Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, 10 vols (Berlin 1906-75), III, 89, no. 8; V, 248, no. 14. See the references in Constable, 'Opposition' (n. 34), to which can be added (on Anselm) Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 90, 107. On clerical participation in the first crusade, see Walter Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade', *Speculum* 21 (1946), 1-23, who listed 41 clerics on the first crusade (21-3).

³⁶ Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1096, in *MGH, SS*, V, 464; Geoffrey Grossus, *Vita Bernardi Tironiensis*, II, 16, in *PL*, CLXXII, 1378B. Odo of Deuil, Theobald of St Columba at Sens, and Herman of Tournai were among the monks who participated in the second crusade. See James Brundage, 'The Transformed Angel (X 3.31.18): The Problem of the Crusading Monk', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan* (Cistercian Studies Series 13; Spencer, Mass. 1971), 55-61; Horst Fuhrmann, *Papst Urban II. und der Stand der Regularkanoniker* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-hist. Kl.: Sitzungsberichte 1984.2; Munich 1984), 36 n.86; generally, Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 19; Stuttgart 1980), and on hermits and the crusades Patrick Henriët, 'Verbum Dei Disseminando. La parole des ermites prédicateurs d'après les sources hagiographiques (XI^e - XII^e siècles)', in *La parole du prédicateur V^e - XI^e siècle*, ed. Rosa Maria Dessi, Michel Lauwers (Collection du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice 1; Nice 1997), 182-3.

³⁷ See the texts cited in Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre* (Théologie historique 95; Paris 1994), 202 nn.83-4.

years while on crusade existed already in the twelfth century and was officially approved by Innocent III in *Quia maior* and the fourth Lateran council.³⁸

Some contemporaries disapproved in principle of fighting by clerics, let alone by monks, even in a good cause. Henry of Huntingdon in his *Letter on the contempt of the world* described the Cluniac bishop Henry of Winchester as 'some new monster, made up newly and corruptly' because he was a monk and a knight (*monachus et miles*).³⁹ Bernard, in spite of his praise of the Templars as monks and soldiers, criticized Stephen of Garland for being both a cleric and a soldier and an archdeacon and a royal chamberlain, saying that 'He entirely confuses the orders, and abuses the two offices very artfully, since he is pleased on one hand by the pomp but not the worldly fighting and on the other by the profit but not the care of religion.'⁴⁰ And in his treatise *On consideration*, which was addressed to pope Eugene III, Bernard angrily asked:

Why do clerics want to be one thing [and] to look like another? ... They show themselves indeed soldiers in their dress, clerics in their occupation, neither in their deeds. For they neither fight like soldiers nor evangelize like clerics. Of what order are they? When they want to be of both, they desert both, and they confuse both.⁴¹

These views were inspired not only by disapproval of fighting by monks and clerics but also by a dislike of mixed or cross orders. Philip of Harvengt, who was a regular canon, denied that anyone could be both a monk and a cleric, and though Gerhoh of Reichersberg, another regular canon, somewhat reluctantly accepted the division of clerics who lived together into monks and regular canons, he rejected a third type who lived a mixed lay and clerical life, neither dispersed nor in communities.⁴² The poet (and bishop) Marbod of Rennes criticized the use by abbots of the distinctive insignia of bishops. An abbot who wore the episcopal ring, gloves, sandals, or miter, he said, was neither an abbot nor a bishop, but a

³⁸ *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Joseph Depoin, 5 vols (Archives de la France monastique 13, 16, 18, 20, 21; Ligugé-Paris 1912-21), II, 3-4, no. 193; *PU in Frankreich*, NF 7, ed. Dietrich Lohrmann (Abh. Göttingen: Phil.-hist. Kl. 3S 95; Göttingen 1976), 362, no. 94 (charter of cardinal Otto of S Nicola in Carcere in 1160/1); Georgine Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.* (Weimar 1929), 93; *Conc. oec. dec.*, 267.

³⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, VIII, 3 (*de contemptu mundi*), 15, ed. Diana Greenway (OMT; Oxford 1996), 610-11 (translating *ex integro et corrupto* 'part pure and part corrupt').

⁴⁰ Bernard, *Ep.* 78.12, ed. Leclercq, VII, 209.

⁴¹ Bernard, *De consideratione*, III, 5, 20, ed. Leclercq, III, 447-8.

⁴² Philip of Harvengt, *De institutione clericorum*, IV: *De continentia clericorum*, 104-6, in *PL*, CCIII, 807D-11D; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Expositio in Psalmos*, LXIV, 44, in *PL*, CXCIV, 36B.

bipartite monster, like a centaur.⁴³ These writers believed that everyone should keep to their own rule and social category. Philip of Harvengt said that 'No one should doubt that everyone should behave according to his order,' and Gerhoh of Reichersberg that 'Every order and every profession ... has a rule suited to its quality, under which it can reach the crown by fighting legitimately.'⁴⁴ For a rich man to dress poorly or a poor man to dress splendidly, or for a knight to till the land or a peasant to fight was disorderly and improper, according to one of the proverbs of Galland of Reigny, who in his explanation compared a poorly dressed rich man to a monk in secular clothing and a richly dressed poor man to a lay man in a religious habit. A *miles Christi* should not be encumbered by worldly things, and a man who cultivates his body is unsuited for the *spiritualis militia*.⁴⁵

In this passage Galland probably had monks rather than crusaders in mind, but his words could apply to crusaders, who were also soldiers of Christ and members of a spiritual army. They were often described in terms like those used for monks, and their fighting was called spiritual. Bohemund at the siege of Antioch urged his men 'to fight valiantly for God and the Holy Sepulcher, for you know that this in truth is a war not of the flesh but of the spirit', and Godfrey of Bouillon was said to have appeared 'more a monk than a soldier'.⁴⁶ Going on a crusade resembled in many respects becoming a monk. Both were ways to win remission from sins and renew the Christian life with a clean slate. Fighting for God against His enemies took the place for the crusader of the monk's *opus Dei* in church.

Military service in itself was not regarded as incompatible with monastic austerity. Odo of Cluny described Gerald of Aurillac, who died in 909, as leading a monastic life while defending peace and justice in the world, and Nicholas of Montiéramey wrote in the name of two friends to a knight 'who seeks God in the world [and] who under the military belt is professed a monk'.⁴⁷ For some crusaders becoming a monk was the fulfillment of their vow. William II of Nevers, after vowing to take the cross and go to Jerusalem, went to La Grande Chartreuse, where 'as a true pilgrim of the world he bore the cross of the Lord every day', and when the crusader Odo Arpinus returned from the east he became a monk at

⁴³ Marbod of Rennes, *Carmina*, 18, in *PL*, CLXXI, 1656C.

⁴⁴ Philip of Harvengt, *De institutione clericorum*, IV: *De continentia clericorum*, 86, in *PL*, CCIII, 782A (see Constable, *Three Studies* [n. 1], 263-4); Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De aedificio Dei*, 43, in *PL*, CXCIV, 1302D.

⁴⁵ Galland of Reigny, *Libellus proverbiorum*, 28, ed. Châtillon (n. 20), 52; ed. Grémois (n. 20), 78-80.

⁴⁶ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (OMT; London-Edinburgh 1962), 37; Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 5, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 731E.

⁴⁷ Nicholas of Montiéramey, *Ep.* 47, in *PL*, CXCVI, 1648D. See Newman, *Boundaries* (n. 27), 185. On Gerald see pp. 193-4.

Cluny on the advice of pope Paschal II, who urged him not to lose the reward of his pilgrimage by returning to the world.⁴⁸

In addition to being sanctified soldiers and, in a certain sense, secular monks, crusaders were pilgrims, who were both called *peregrini* and regarded themselves as pilgrims and their expeditions as pilgrimages.⁴⁹ It is a matter of dispute, however, whether crusading should be seen as a special type of pilgrimage or as a new and different activity. Though pilgrims were supposed to be unarmed, in practice they had to defend themselves.⁵⁰ Crusaders can therefore be seen as armed pilgrims, and contemporaries drew no clear distinction between pilgrimage and crusade.⁵¹ Fulcher of Chartres referred to some crusaders who, frustrated by the delays and fearing future poverty, sold their bows and resumed the staffs of pilgrimage (*baculis peregrinationis resumptis*), where the use of 'resume' suggests they were pilgrims who had taken up arms, and Goscelin of Canterbury, though he stressed the novelty of crusading, said that 'Our men who had hitherto been accustomed to

⁴⁸ *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, I, ed. Decima Douie, Hugh Farmer, 2 ed., 2 vols (OMT; Oxford 1985), I, 57 (where William is mistakenly called Gerard). On Odo Arpinus, see chapter 9. See also the *Vita* of Gilbert who became a canon after returning from the second crusade: *AASS*, 6 June I, 763. Cf. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 35), 70, on the crusade as a 'valid alternative to profession into the religious life'.

⁴⁹ *Peregrinatio* remained a standard word for crusade throughout the middle ages. Humbert of Romans, for instance, writing in 1272/4, said in his *Opus tripartitum*, I, 12, ed. Edward Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, 2 vols (London 1690), II, 192, that innumerable men died 'in huiusmodi vero peregrinationibus contra Saracenos'.

⁵⁰ Scholars disagree over whether the pilgrims in 1064-5 were armed: see Einar Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York 1928), 14-15, 21, 40, who argued against Röhrich, Bréhier, and others that they were not armed but that they defended themselves by throwing stones and using the weapons of their adversaries (21-2, 25, see also 33); Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 13, who said, 'It is not easy to explain how they managed this [to defend themselves] since pilgrims were always unarmed.' Cf. Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, I. *Les premières croisades*, ed. Alphonse Dupront (Evolution de l'humanité 38; Paris 1954), 26; Edmond René Labande, 'Pellegrini o crociati? Mentalità e comportamenti a Gerusalemme nel secolo XII', *Aevum* 54 (1980), 218, who assumed pilgrims were at times armed.

⁵¹ There was no incompatibility between pilgrimage and fighting in the *Vita* of bishop Oleguer of Barcelona: Martin Aurell, 'Prédication, croisade et religion civique. *Vie et miracles d'Oldegar* (†1137), évêque de Barcelone', *Revue Mabillon* NS 10 (1999), 127 (text on 138-56). Paolo Lamma, *Momenti di storiografia cluniacense* (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo. Studi storici 42-4; Rome 1961), 142: 'Dal pellegrinaggio alla crociata il passo non è lungo, specialmente all'età di Pietro il Venerabile'; Ludwig Schmugge, '“Pilgerfahrt macht frei” – Eine These zur Bedeutung mittelalterlichen Pilgerwesens', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1979), 19: 'Mann kann den Kreuzzug überhaupt als einen Sonderfall der Peregrinatio definieren, als bewaffnete Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem.'

visit Christ the King in His city with pouch and staff now rejoiced to proceed to His grace ... with spear and sword.'⁵² For Peter the Venerable the *Ierosolimitana uia* of abbot Theobald of St Columba at Sens, who went on the second crusade, was *tua peregrinatio*.⁵³

The religious and penitential aspects of the crusade at times prevailed over the military objectives, and some crusaders went home after they had seen Jerusalem, bathed in the river Jordan, and gathered palms at Jericho.⁵⁴ The crusaders at the siege of Antioch asked the papal legate Ademar of Le Puy to order a fast for three days 'in order that after their bodies had been afflicted their souls could rise stronger for prayer',⁵⁵ and when the crusaders failed to take Jerusalem, according to Ekkehard of Aura, the bishops and princes, after taking counsel, decided 'that the city should be circled with bare feet, in order that through their humility He who entered it in humility for us should open it to them'.⁵⁶ Here the elements of penitence and the imitation of Christ were inextricably mixed with the military objectives of the crusade. A letter concerning the second crusade was addressed 'to the entire army that wishes to walk in the way of Christ (*in uiam Christi*)', which for participants was at the same time a spiritual and a physical journey.⁵⁷

Penitential pilgrimages were a recognized form of expiatory work in the middle ages and won an effective remission from the penalty of sin. Unlike ascetic pilgrims or expatriates who left their homes to live in perpetual exile or constant wandering, penitential pilgrims often went to specific places and traveled naked and barefoot and loaded with chains, though they carried letters assuring them food and lodging.⁵⁸ Penitent heretics were marked by a large cross on their

⁵² Fulcher, *Historia*, I, 7, 5, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 13), 168; Goscelin of Canterbury, *Historia translationis Augustini ep. Cantuariensis*, 47, *AASS* (3 ed.), 26 May VI, 422F.

⁵³ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 144, in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), I, 359.

⁵⁴ Fulcher, *Historia*, I, 32, 1, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 13), 318-19. See also Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, 18, ed. John H. and Laurita L. Hill, *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades; Paris 1969), 142-3, 144-5, 153.

⁵⁵ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, IV, 22, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 264. See Peter W. Edbury, John G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4S 8; Cambridge 1988), 96 and 152 for references by William to the crusade as a pilgrimage and to the crusaders as pilgrims. *Afflictis corporibus* may mean 'scourgings of the body' but more likely refer to the afflictions of the fasting.

⁵⁶ Ekkehard of Aura, *De oppressione, liberatione, ac restauratione Ierosolymitanae ecclesiae*, 15, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V, 23. Cf. Otto of Freising, *Chronica siue historia de duabus ciuitatibus*, VII, 4, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, 2 ed. (*MGH, SS* r.g.; Hanover-Leipzig 1912), 314.

⁵⁷ Elisabeth Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta Floriacensia', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 117 (1959), 22.

⁵⁸ See Etienne van Cauwenbergh, *Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au moyen âge* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux

backs and chests,⁵⁹ and criminals, especially arsonists, were punished by enforced pilgrimages. Calixtus II decreed at the council of Rheims in 1119 that unmarried murderers within the truce of God and arsonists either within or outside the truce should, if unmarried, become a monk or go to Jerusalem or, if they were married, make satisfaction to the bishop.⁶⁰ An arsonist 'should remain in Jerusalem or Spain for an entire year in the service of God', probably military service, according to the councils of Clermont (1130), Rheims (1131), and Lateran II (1139), and should visit the Holy Sepulcher or Compostela, according to Frederick Barbarossa in 1186.⁶¹ Innocent III allowed the bishop of Regensburg to absolve arsonists and those who had attacked clerics if, after giving suitable satisfaction, they took the cross.⁶² In these laws and decrees, pilgrimage, crusading, and entering a monastery had a parallel penitential character.

In ecclesiastical law expeditions against the infidels and penitential pilgrimages were considered equivalent to penance, fasting, and self-imposed sufferings and a commutation of penitential works imposed for sins, according to Vogel, who said that 'Participation in the crusade replaced and dispensed from the penitential process.'⁶³ The council of Clermont specifically declared that 'Whoever out of devotion alone and not for the acquisition of honor or money will journey to Jerusalem to free the church of God, that journey will count for him in place of all penance (*pro omni penitentia*)' or, in an alternate version, 'That concerning

publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie 48; Louvain 1922), esp. 1-9 on the early middle ages; Vogel, 'Pèlerinage' (n. 9), 113-53.

⁵⁹ Van Cauwenbergh, *Pèlerinages* (n. 58), 22.

⁶⁰ Mansi, XXI, 237A. See Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Schriften der MGH 20; Stuttgart 1964), 227; Schumge, "'Pilgerfahrt'" (n. 51), 27. A letter of 1152/3 concerning a man about to go to Jerusalem 'pro homicidio quod perpetravit' is found in a letter collection published by Friedrich W. E. Roth, 'Eine Briefsammlung des Propstes Ulrich von Steinfeld aus dem 12. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 18 (1896), 259.

⁶¹ 1130 Clermont 13, 1131 Rheims 17, 1139 Lateran II, 18, in Mansi, XXI, 440B, 462B, 531C (= *Conc. oec. dec.*, 201; Gratian, *Decretum*, XXIII, 8, 32, in *Corpus iuris canon.*, I, 965); Frederick Barbarossa, *Constitutio contra incendarios* in MGH, *Leges*, IV: *Constitutiones*, I, 450, no. 318.8. The version of this canon published as of a council in Rome in 1097/9 in Julius von Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, 3 vols (Tübingen-Stuttgart 1880-8), II, 167-8, no. 203, can. 5, is probably a reworking of the canon of Lateran II: see Karl (Charles) J. von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, ed. and tr. Henri Leclercq (Paris 1907 ff.), V.1, 453-6.

⁶² PL, CCXVI, 907B.

⁶³ Vogel, 'Pèlerinage' (n. 9), 147. See also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 28, who said that 'Urban's indulgence was no more than an authoritative declaration that the crusade was so severely penitential an exercise that it would be satisfactory penance for all previous sins'; Hehl, 'Was ist ...' (n. 12), 297-336, esp. 311-16, who argued that penitential work and *remissio peccatorum* were, together with war at the command of God, the distinguishing marks of a crusade.

the journey to Jerusalem, people should be told that whoever goes in the name of penance, both he and his property will always be in the truce of the Lord.⁶⁴ Urban II in his letter to the people of Bologna in 1096 likewise promised 'complete penance of the sins of which they make a true and perfect confession' to everyone who went to Jerusalem 'not out of desire for worldly goods but only for the salvation of his soul and liberation of the church'.⁶⁵ The precise nature of this 'full' or 'complete' penance is uncertain. It may indeed have been unclear at the time whether the remission of sins, or indulgence, as it was later called, applied to the guilt for sin or the punishment due for sin, but it was generally understood by the crusaders, as Brundage put it, 'as complete and total wiping out of past misdeeds ... so that the crusader who died was believed to enter immediately ... into eternal bliss with the saints in paradise'.⁶⁶ It is also unclear whether the offer applied only to the participants in particular expeditions. It was repeated for each crusade throughout the twelfth century, and Innocent III in *Quia maior* revoked the remissions and indulgences granted to fighters against the Muslims in Spain and the heretics in Provence 'above all because they were conceded to them temporarily (*ad tempus*)', but the fact he revoked the privilege suggest that it remained in place until specifically withdrawn.⁶⁷

There was no legal distinction between different types of pilgrims, according to Garrison, who associated the development of the *ordo peregrinorum* with the *lex peregrinorum*, which went back to the eighth and ninth centuries and defined the various rights and responsibilities of pilgrims, including protection on the road, exemption from tolls, freedom from arrest and confiscation of their property, and the suspension of obligations and claims during their absence. Pilgrims were blessed by a special rite and carried the distinctive signs of pilgrimage, the staff and pouch, to which a badge was added in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, like the scallop shell of St James and the cross, which became the mark of crusading.⁶⁸ Both pilgrims and crusaders were set off from the other members

⁶⁴ Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*, I: *Decreta Claromontensia* (Annuaire historiae conciliorum: Supplementum 1; Amsterdam 1972), 74. See idem, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (= *Mélanges G. Fransen*, II; 1976), 323-37, esp. 327 on the canons relating to crusader privileges.

⁶⁵ Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (n. 35), 137.

⁶⁶ Brundage, *Canon Law* (n. 2), 149 (and 146-53 generally). See also Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London 1981), 100; Jean Richard, 'Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence', in *Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift Alfons Becker zu seinem fünfundsiebzehnten Geburtstag*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Hubertus Seibert, Franz Staab (Sigmaringen 1987), 129-35; Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 50), 23-6, 30-1, 292-4 n.65.

⁶⁷ Tangl, *Studien* (n. 38), 94.

⁶⁸ Francis Garrison, 'A propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique', in *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vols (Paris 1965), II, 1165-89,

of society by a vow, though there has been some debate among scholars over when the crusading vow was introduced.⁶⁹ Urban II referred to a vow (*uotum*) in his letter to the Flemings; Fulcher of Chartres, to 'a vow of going (*votum eundi*)'; Ivo of Chartres, to a crusader who had vowed (*deuovisti*) himself to the army of Christ; Guibert of Nogent, to 'all those who vowed (*uouerent*) to go'; and Robert of Rheims, to 'whoever ... made a promise to God'.⁷⁰ While the precise content of this vow or promise is unknown, and may have varied from person to person, it was regarded as irrevocable unless it was replaced by a greater vow to enter a religious community, and severe penalties were imposed, at least in theory and sometimes in fact, on those who failed to carry out its obligations.

In the sermon attributed to Calixtus II in the *Codex Calixtinus*, which formed part of the *Book of St James*, the pope warned against the dangers of pilgrimage and stressed the need for both internal and external reform. 'The way of pilgrimage (*via peregrinalis*) is very good but narrow and straight,' he said, citing the description of the gate and the way in Matthew 7.14, and went on to call it

the lack of vices, the mortification of bodies, the revelation of virtues, the remission of sins, the penance of the penitent, the way of the just, the love of the saints, the faith of the resurrection and remuneration of the blessed, the putting off hell, the mercy of heaven.

'What good does it do, beloved brothers', Calixtus asked, 'for a man to undertake the journey of pilgrimage unless he goes in accord with the law (*legitime*)?'⁷¹ To be a pilgrim was to undertake a special way of life. When the young St Norbert refused to join the entourage of pope Gelasius owing to his youth and 'the penance

esp. 1172-4. On the cross see chapter 2.

⁶⁹ Michel Villey, *La croisade. Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (Eglise et l'état au moyen âge 6; Paris 1940), 119-20; idem, 'L'idée de croisade chez les juristes du moyen âge', in *Comitato internazionale di scienze storiche. X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma 4-11 settembre 1955. Relazioni*, III, *Storia del medioevo* (Florence 1955), 581-6; James Brundage, 'The Votive Obligations of Crusaders: The Development of a Canonistic Doctrine', *Traditio* 24 (1968), 77-118; idem, 'The Army of the First Crusade and the Crusade Vow: Some Reflections on a Recent Book', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971), 334-43, who concluded that 'the narrative sources concerning the Council of Clermont point unmistakably to the existence of a crusade vow from the time of that Council onward'; Somerville, 'Council of Clermont' (n. 64), 333-4; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 347-8, esp. n. 131, summarizing the dispute; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* (n. 63), 22-3; Richard, 'Urbain II' (n. 66), 130; Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 50), 38-9, 295 n.17.

⁷⁰ Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (n. 35), 137 (and n. on 212); Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, I, 4, 4, ed. Hagenmeyer (n. 13), 14; Ivo, *Ep.* 245, in *PL*, CLXII, 251D; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta*, I, 5, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIIA, 117; Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, I, 2, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, 729.

⁷¹ *Liber sancti Jacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, I: *Texto*, I, 17, ed. Walter Muir Whitehill (Compostela 1944), 152, 157.

that he had undertaken (*assumpta poenitentia*), he offered to become a canon, a monk, a hermit, 'or also a traveling pilgrim (*euntem peregrinum*)'.⁷² Bernard said in his sixth sermon for Lent, which was devoted to the pilgrim, the dead man, and the crucified man, that 'The pilgrim enters on the royal road. He swerves neither to the right nor to the left. He aspires to the homeland; he strives towards the homeland.'⁷³ These three texts date from the first half of the twelfth century, after the first crusade but before crusading became an established institution. They reflect a view of the *via peregrinalis* as a consecrated way of life, with special rights and obligations, like other forms of consecrated life.

The obligations created by the vow of pilgrimage were especially stressed in the treatise *On military matters and the triple way of pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, which was written in 1187/8 by Ralph Niger, who said that whether a vow was public, private, or associated with a particular order or office, it had to be fulfilled 'according not to a man's spirit (*animus*) but to the debt of its constitution', that is, its precise conditions. Anyone who had taken a vow (*devovatus*), including monks and canons, should be cautious in making a pilgrimage 'and omit nothing to complete the vow and associated matters'. 'Those who are inquisitive and involved in worldly affairs' must rid themselves of their inquisitiveness and make satisfaction for their sins before undertaking 'the offices of pilgrimage'.⁷⁴ Ralph did not spell out the nature of these offices, but they included the commitment not only to visit certain places but also to dress simply and behave well. The crusaders in 1096, according to Anna Comnena, promised to keep themselves pure until they reached Jerusalem, but they broke their promise.⁷⁵ The failures of the crusaders were often attributed to their misbehavior and consequent loss of the favor of God.

Ivo of Chartres wrote to count Hugh of Troyes, citing Luke 14.31, that:

We have heard and know that you are going to journey to Jerusalem and have vowed yourself to the army of Christ and that you are going to join that evangelical army with which he with ten thousand men can safely meet him who comes against us with twenty thousand.

Ivo went on to warn Hugh that he must obtain the voluntary consent of his wife and that if he were chaste without his wife's agreement he would be offering a sacrifice at no cost to himself (cf. 2 Kings 24.24).⁷⁶ Ivo was applying here a prescription of

⁷² *Vita* [B] s. Norberti, IV, 23, in *PL*, CLXX, 1272C-3A.

⁷³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo 6 in Quadragesima*, 1-3, ed. Leclercq, IV, 377-80.

⁷⁴ Radulfus Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane* (1187/88), IV, 21, 23, 42, ed. Ludwig Schmugge (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 6; Berlin-New York 1977), 209, 216, 219.

⁷⁵ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XI, 6, 7, ed. Bernard Leib, 3 vols (Paris 1937-45), III, 30. The term *τηρέω* meant that they would restrain or watch over themselves.

⁷⁶ Ivo, *Ep.* 245, in *PL*, CLXII, 251D-3A. See Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres* (n. 9), 140-1.

pope Urban II, who wrote to the people of Bologna forbidding young married men to join the crusade without the consent of their wives,⁷⁷ and it further illustrates the parallel between going on a crusade and entering a monastery, for which a married person required the permission of the spouse.

Some scholars have argued that there was no essential difference between crusaders, pilgrims, and penitents. 'Within that vast *ordo* of penitents, ...' wrote Delaruelle, 'more specialized categories can little by little be distinguished, but they continued to draw on the same resource and to feed on a spirituality that was common and traditional in many points.'⁷⁸ Expressions like *volens proficisci Jerusalem, cum voluit ipse ire ad sepulcrum Domini*, and *quando abiit in Hierusalem peregrinari* could refer either to a pilgrimage or to participation in a crusade.⁷⁹ The sign of the cross did not necessarily indicate a crusader, or even a traveler to Jerusalem. The first Lateran council in 1123 referred to 'those who are known to have placed crosses on their clothes either for the Jerusalemite or for the Spanish journey',⁸⁰ and the destinations of the pilgrims on the tympanum of the cathedral at Autun and the sculpture from Belval in the museum of Nancy, who are clearly marked by a cross, are uncertain (figures 2.2, 2.4). 'The First Crusade lent pilgrimage to the Holy Land a new dimension,' Tyerman said, 'but did not create a separate tradition ... Pilgrimage and crusade were fused together.'⁸¹

⁷⁷ See the letter of Urban II to the Bolognese, in Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (n. 35), 138 and n. 18 on 216-17. Robert Pullan, *Sententiarum libri octo*, VII, 22, in *PL*, CLXXXVI, 936A, prohibited a married man to go on a pilgrimage without the permission of his wife; and in the late twelfth century the author of a letter appended to the *Summa dictaminis* of Bernard of Meung urged a friend to give up his plan to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher for the sake of his wife and children: Léopold Delisle, 'Notice sur une "Summa dictaminis" jadis conservée à Beauvais', *Notices et extraits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 36 (1898), 199; Alexander Cartellieri, *Ein Donaueschinger Briefsteller. Lateinische Stilübungen des XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Orléans'schen Schule* (Innsbruck 1898), 48, no. 215. See the three articles by James Brundage, 'The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary', *Studia Gratiana* 12 (= *Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*, II; 1967), 425-42; 'The Crusader's Wife Reconsidered', *Studia Gratiana* 14 (= *Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*, IV; 1967), 241-52; 'St Anselm, Ivo of Chartres, and the Ideology of the First Crusade', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XI^e-XII^e siècles. Etudes anselmiennes (IV^e session)* (Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique; Paris 1984), 180.

⁷⁸ Etienne Delaruelle, 'Les ermites et la spiritualité populaire', in *L'eremitismo in occidente nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della seconda settimana internazionale di studio*. Mendola, 30 agosto - 6 settembre 1962 (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Contributi 3S: Varia 4. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 4; Milan 1965), 225-6.

⁷⁹ Garrison, 'A propos des pèlerins' (n. 68), 1181-2.

⁸⁰ *Conc. oec. dec.*, 192. On the cross see chapter 2.

⁸¹ Christopher Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 567, cf. 554: 'Far from being a new way to salvation, the

The privileges of pilgrims naturally invite comparison with those of the crusaders, whose temporal rights were studied by Bridrey in his book on the juridical condition of the crusaders and the privilege of the cross, which appeared in 1900, and more recently by Villey and Brundage.⁸² No specific record of the privileges granted by Urban II survives, but according to the alternate version of the second canon of the council of Clermont, cited above, a crusader and his property were in the truce of God, which implies some sort of protection. Ivo of Chartres described the general protection granted to a crusader's property as a new institution, and the first Lateran council in 1123 decreed that:

To those who journey to Jerusalem and effectively assist in defending the Christian people and in fighting the tyranny of the infidels, we grant remission of their sins and we receive their houses and families and all their goods into the protection of the blessed Peter and the Roman church, just as was established by our pope Urban. Anyone who presumes to sell or take these while they [the crusaders] are on that journey will be punished with excommunication.⁸³

These privileges were further defined in the bull *Quantum predecessores*, which was issued by Eugene III for the second crusade and promised participants not only remission and absolution for the sins they confessed with a humble heart but also: 1) protection of their families and property, 2) immunity from any claim to the property they held from the time they took the cross until they returned or died, 3) freedom from interest on existing debts, and 4) the right to pledge lands and other possessions, presumably in order to raise funds to pay for the crusade.⁸⁴ In 1162 pope Alexander III asked king Louis VII to allow a knight to sell or pledge his paternal inheritance, in spite of his wife's opposition, in order to go to Jerusalem.⁸⁵ These privileges were repeated several times in the course of the twelfth century and were given a definitive formulation by the fourth Lateran council in the canon

crusade was an old way of gaining reward, by loyal service to a master (the pope or, more generally, Christ) only writ large.'

⁸² Emile Bridrey, *La condition juridique des croisés et le privilège de croix* (Paris 1900), 110-202; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 69), 141-58; idem, 'L'idée de croisade' (n. 69), 586-8; Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 50), 39; and several works by James Brundage, most recently in his paper 'Crusade and the Jurists: The Legal Consequences of Crusader Status', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)* (Rome 1997), 141-54. These authors tend to concentrate on the later crusades, when the juridical status and privileges of the participants were more clearly established.

⁸³ *Conc. oec. dec.*, 191-2.

⁸⁴ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, I, 36, ed. Georg Waitz, Bernhard von Simson, 3 ed. (*MGH, SS r.g.*; Hanover-Leipzig 1912), 57 (JL 8796). On this bull, which was revised several times in the course of the twelfth century, see pp. 263-4, 267-9.

⁸⁵ *PL*, CC, 187B (JL 10796).

Ad liberandum terram sanctam, which also confirmed the right of clerics who participated in a crusade to receive and if necessary to pledge the revenues of their benefices for three years, 'as if they were living in the churches'.⁸⁶

The confusion surrounding crusader privileges in the early twelfth century is illustrated by the account given in several letters by Ivo of Chartres of the claim brought, probably in 1106, by Hugh of Le Puiset, viscount of Chartres, against count Rotocus of La Perche for building a castle on some land that allegedly owed service to Hugh. The details of the case are complex. The interesting part for the purpose of this article is that Hugh heard about the castle when he was about to go to Jerusalem and that he raised a cry in the ears of the church, as Ivo put it in a letter to the archbishop of Sens, and claimed 'the justice that was owed to Jerusalemites'. After Hugh appealed to pope Paschal II 'that he should do justice concerning this injury and protect the property of a Jerusalemite according to his statutes (*secundum sua statute*)', the pope apparently gave Hugh a letter delegating the case to Ivo and three other bishops, who, as Ivo wrote to Paschal, summoned Rotocus on the charge that he had started 'to build a fortification on land belonging to the right of the aforesaid Hugh after he had taken the cross'. The judges could not reach a decision, however, because, Ivo said:

it is a new institution (*novam institutionem*) concerning the ecclesiastical protection that should cover the goods of soldiers going to Jerusalem, and they did not know whether this protection should pertain only to their possessions or whether it also should pertain to their tenures which powerful men (*potentes homines*) hold and their goods.⁸⁷

The outcome of the case is not known, but it shows the imprecision and novelty of crusading privileges at their inception and the doubts surrounding the status of crusaders. This uncertainty, voiced by a leading churchman of the first half of the twelfth century, shows the challenge posed by the crusaders to the accepted view of society. The crusaders had a temporarily consecrated and privileged status which defied any clear definition. The three threads of fighting, monasticism, and pilgrimage, which were traditionally separate, came together sufficiently closely for contemporaries to recognize crusading as a new way of winning salvation and the privileges of the crusaders as a new institution, but the precise nature of the institution remained unclear. Modern scholars are almost as puzzled as Ivo and his

⁸⁶ See n. 38 above.

⁸⁷ Ivo of Chartres, *Epp.* 168 (to archbishop Daimbert of Sens), 169 (to bishop Galo of Paris), 170 (to Daimbert), 173 (to Paschal II), in *PL*, CLXII, 170D-4A, 176B-7B (quotes on 171B, 172B, 176BC, 177A). On Ivo's attitude towards the crusade, see Sprandel, *Ivo* (n. 9), 140-1; Brundage, 'St Anselm' (n. 77), esp. 178-9 on this case, which is also discussed by Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 35), 136, dating it 1107, when Paschal II visited Chartres; idem, 'The State of Mind of Crusaders to the East, 1095-1300', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford 1995), 71.

colleagues over how to define the status of crusaders, who occupied a place apart in the social structure of the late middle ages.

Note

Revised from 'The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society', *Viator* 29 (1998), 377-403.

Chapter 6

The Military Orders

The nature of the military orders posed some serious problems for contemporaries as well as for later scholars. The historian Edward Gibbon echoed Bernard of Clairvaux when he described them as ‘the strange association of a monastic and military life which fanaticism might suggest, but which policy must approve’.¹ All armies share to some extent a combination of fighting with self-denial and discipline, but none to the same extent and with the same ambiguity as the military orders. Among the questions they present and which will be discussed here are whether they were a novelty on the religious and social scene of the twelfth century, whether their members should be regarded as crusaders, whether their service was lifelong or temporary, and how they fitted into the established organization of the church and society. Were they laymen or some sort of canon, monk, or *conversus*? These questions were much discussed in the middle ages, as they are today, and they may be ultimately unanswerable, in part because people at that time were less concerned than modern scholars with problems of categorization and definition.

With regard to the first question, most contemporaries had no doubt. Although some historians have found a few (rather unconvincing) precedents in both Christian and Islamic society, people in the twelfth century regarded the military orders as something new and unprecedented.² In the early sources they were associated with no existing institutions. The Templars were called ‘this new type of religion’ in their first known rule, and Bernard of Clairvaux, writing before 1136, entitled his treatise addressed to the master of the Templars ‘In praise of the new army’.³ Peter the Venerable in a letter to the preceptor of the Temple written

¹ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 58, ed. David Womersley, 3 vols (London 1994), III, 609.

² Alan Forey, ‘The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century’ (1985), repr. in idem, *Military Orders and Crusades* (Variorum CS 432; Aldershot 1994), 176-81. See also Marcus Bull, ‘The Confraternity of La Sauve-Majeure: A Foreshadowing of the Military Orders?’, in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot 1994), 313-19; Christopher J. Tyerman, ‘Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?’, *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 566.

³ *Regula commilitonum Christi*, 49, in Gustav Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel* (Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 3.1-2; Freiburg 1903), 147; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude novae militiae*, ed. Leclercq, III, 213. See *Vita Oldegaris ep. Barcinoniensis*, IV, 45, in *AASS* (3 ed.), 6 March I, 490E: ‘in nova Templorum religione’, which is not included in the *Vita* edited by Martin Aurell, ‘Prédication, croisade et religion civique: *Vie et miracles* d’Oleguer (†1137), évêque de Barcelone’, *Revue Mabillon* NS 10 (1999), 138-49.

in about 1150 rejoiced that 'among all the professors of religion' who had arisen in his time this 'sacred army of the sacred temple' and 'army of the eternal King ... had gathered from various places as if out of heavenly camps for the new wars against the devil and the enemies of the cross of Christ'.⁴ Otto of Freising called them 'the new type of army' in his *Chronicle or history of the two cities*, where he wrote that its members were armed against the enemies of the cross of Christ 'so that constantly bearing the mortification of the cross on their bodies in life and manner they appear to be not knights but monks'.⁵ The chronicler Richard of Poitiers, writing about the same time, said that 'A new type of army arose in Jerusalem at this time; living in the manner of monks, they strove for chastity, kept discipline at home and in battle, ate in silence, had all things in common, took arms only against the pagans, and grew greatly.'⁶

Anselm of Havelberg also described 'a new institution of religion in Jerusalem the city of God':

Lay men, religious men are indeed gathered there and call themselves knights of the Temple, who having left their property live a [common] life, fight under the obedience of one master, renounce a superfluity and preciousness of clothes, and are ready to defend the glorious tomb of the Lord against the incursions of the Saracens.

Anselm praised their obedience and silence in their houses and their discipline and dash in battle, and he cited a confirmation of their undertaking and way of life by pope Urban II 'who decreed that whoever joins this society out of hope for eternal life and faithfully perseveres in it will have remission of all sins and who affirmed that they were not less meritorious than either monks or canons'.⁷ Urban never issued such a decree, since he died before the Templars were founded, but Anselm reflected the view that was current at the time he was writing.

⁴ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 172, in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), I, 407-8.

⁵ Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, VII, 9, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, 2 ed. (*MGH, SS r.g.*; Hanover-Leipzig 1912), 320.

⁶ Richard of Poitiers, *Chronicon*, in *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmond Martène, Ursin Durand, 9 vols (Paris 1729-33), V, 1172A. See Elie Berger, *Notice sur divers manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, Richard le Poitevin, moine de Cluny, historien et poète* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 6; Paris 1879), 56-8, on this passage, which comes from MS Paris, Bibl. nat., Lat. 5014 and probably belongs to the second redaction, which dates from the 1150s and 1160s.

⁷ Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, I, 10, ed. Gaston Salet (SC 181; Paris 1966), 98-110. See Gabriella Severino, 'La discussione degli "Ordines" di Anselmo di Havelberg', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo* 78 (1967), 91-2.

Towards the end of the century Joachim of Fiore called the Templars and Hospitallers 'a new type of religion'.⁸ Their detractors likewise stressed their novelty. Isaac of L'Etoile's 'the new monster of a certain new army', which he called 'the order of the fifth evangel', may have been one of the military orders.⁹ For these writers the essence of the novelty, for better or for worse, lay in the combination of spiritual with secular, or physical, warfare, which remained the distinctive feature of the military orders throughout their history.

The question of whether the members of the military orders were, or should be, considered crusaders is more difficult, since it depends on the definition of crusade. For Alphanhéry the military orders manifested 'the idea of the living crusade', and Hehl considered them 'the typical expression of the crusading period' and their members 'so to speak long-term crusaders'.¹⁰ Riley-Smith, on the other hand, said that they were not crusaders because their commitment was permanent rather than temporary, like that of a pilgrim, and because they were not all dedicated to the defense of Christendom. 'Whereas crusaders were laymen directing their everyday skills for a time into a holy cause', he said, 'Templars were religious as permanently at war as their colleagues in other more conventional orders were at prayer',¹¹ and for Marcus Bull, 'Templars and their imitators were not technically crusaders being differentiated by the nature of their obligations and the duration of their service'.¹²

⁸ Joachim of Fiore, *Liber concordie novi ac ueteris testamenti*, V, 18 (Venice 1519, repr. Frankfurt 1964), f. 69^v.

⁹ Gaetano Raciti, 'Isaac de l'Etoile et son siècle. Texte et commentaire historique sur sermon xlviii', *Cîteaux* 12 (1961), 290, identifying the order as Calatrava. See Louis Bouyer, *La spiritualité de Cîteaux* (Paris 1955), 201-2; Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton 1984), 104-6 (suggesting Santiago, not the Templars); Jean Flori, 'Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 85 (1990), 625-6 (Hospitallers or Templars). Isaac was abbot of l'Etoile from 1147 to 1167.

¹⁰ Paul Alphanhéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade. I: Les premières croisades*, ed. Alphonse Dupront (Evolution de l'humanité 38; Paris 1954), 157. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?', *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994), 326. According to Ernest O. Blake, 'The Formation of the "Crusade Idea"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 27, 'The Templar's vow is the crusader's act of self-renunciation in assuming the cross taken to its logical conclusion.'

¹¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 161. See also idem, *What Were the Crusades?* (London-Basingstoke 1977), 71, and 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 182, where he said that members of the military orders were 'not technically crusaders'.

¹² Bull, 'Confraternity' (n. 2), 313. See also Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke-London 1992), 12, who said that the members of the military orders differed from crusaders 'by combining these [military] functions with a religious form of life'; Tyerman, 'Were there any crusades' (n. 2), 553.

These distinctions might have surprised a member of one of the military orders, at least in their early years, when they were dedicated to the defense of Christendom either in the Holy Land or in Spain. They were signed with the cross, *cruce signati*, and were therefore technically crusaders, even if the term did not exist before the end of the twelfth century. The Templars certainly wore a cross by 1139, when Innocent II in *Omne datum* referred to their having 'the sign of the life-living cross on (in) your chest', and the Hospitallers had a cross in front of (*ante*) the chest by 1153 at the latest.¹³ They enjoyed spiritual benefits resembling those of crusaders and shared many of the same temporal privileges. Crusading was indeed sometimes a preparation for joining a military order or a religious community. According to the *Deeds of the abbots of St Bertin* some crusaders, after suffering such dangers for God, decided not to return to worldly pleasures and devoted themselves to the Temple:

under this rule that they renounced the world, had no property, applied themselves to chastity, led a common life under a poor habit, and when necessary used arms only to defend the land against the attack of the rising pagan.¹⁴

With regard to the third question, the length of service, the situation is also unclear, but at the beginning the commitment was not always permanent. The first rule of the Templars included chapters entitled 'Concerning dead soldiers who are temporary (*ad terminum*)' and 'How those remaining for a time (*ad tempus*) should be received', which concerned knights who wanted 'to serve Jesus Christ ... in the same house for a term (*ad terminum*)' and who, 'when the time came ... for them to go home', received half the value of their equipment, and other references to members (who may not have been knights) who joined 'for a time' or 'for a term'.¹⁵ According to Ordericus Vitalis, Fulk of Anjou in 1120 'stroved to do penance for the

¹³ Rudolf Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius*, 1. *PU für Templer und Johanniter* (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 3F 77; Göttingen 1972), 205, 207, no. 3; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris 1894-1906), I, 68, no. 70.11; Anastasius IV, *Christianae fidei religio* (JL 9930), in *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 1080B; see Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, 427 for reissues. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XII, 7, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 554, and James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, I, 65, ed. François Mosch (Douai 1597), 117, said that the Templars adopted red crosses under Eugene III: see Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templarordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 99 (1988), 322; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars', in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris 1996), 197-8; Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ. Les ordres religieux-militaires au moyen âge (XI^e -XVI^e siècle)* (Paris 2002), 198. The Hospitaller cross was white: Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, 35, in *Bibl. max.*, XXVI, 472C.

¹⁴ Simon of St Bertin, *Gesta abbatum s. Bertini*, 69, in *MGH, SS*, XIII, 649.

¹⁵ *Regula*, 5, 29, 32, 52, ed. Schnürer (n. 3), 136, 142-3, 149.

sins he had committed ... and went to Jerusalem and remained there associated for a time (*associatus aliquandiu*) with the knights of the Temple', and Walter Map said that at the beginning of the order some 'warlike pilgrims' joined the Templars for only a time.¹⁶ The emphasis on stability and the irrevocability of commitment found in later papal bulls for the Templars and Hospitallers should probably be seen as part of their institutionalization and growing resemblance to other religious orders, but the practice of temporary service lasted into the thirteenth century, when members of at least some military orders returned to their previous status after serving for an agreed period.¹⁷

The most puzzling question concerning the military orders, both in the twelfth century and today, is their place in the structure of medieval society. The problem is exacerbated by the confusion of terminology, especially the word 'lay', which was traditionally used (as it is now) for people living in secular society, with the right to marry and own property, but which also meant 'not in holy orders'. Most women, including nuns, were lay in this sense. Monks and hermits who were not ordained were considered lay, and many religious communities in the twelfth century had lay as well as clerical members. The Grandmontines were a lay order, and their founder Stephen refused to be classified as a monk, canon, or hermit. The new *conversi* or lay brothers were neither monks nor laymen in the traditional sense, since they followed a rule and were members of religious communities. Some lay men and women observed the practices of religious life (such as celibacy, regular prayer, and fasting) within their own homes and in confraternities or, later, as members of so-called third orders, or tertiaries, associated with religious communities, and were recognized as *religiosi* (which also had several meanings).

The ambiguity of *ordo*, which was used in both secular and religious senses, has also contributed to the scholarly confusion over the nature of the military orders. For G. G. Meersseman (using the term in both senses) the military order was 'conceived as a true religious order in defense of the Christian order' and 'the

¹⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, XII, 29, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford 1969-80), VI, 310; Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, 18, ed. Montague Rhodes James, rev. Christopher N. L. Brooke, Roger A. B. Mynors (OMT; Oxford 1983), 54.

¹⁷ In addition to Giuseppe Ligato, 'Fra ordini cavallereschi e crociata: "milites ad terminum" e "confraternitates" armate', in *Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scienze storiche 48. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13; Milan 1992), 645-97, see Régine Pernoud, *Les Templiers* (Que sais-je? 1557; Paris 1974), 13-14; Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, tr. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam-New York-Oxford 1979), 113; Kaspar Elm, 'Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des palästinischen Ritterorden', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein, Manfred Hellmann (Vorträge und Forschungen 26; Sigmaringen 1980), 163; Forey, 'Emergence' (n. 2), 179-80; idem, *Military Orders* (n. 12), 55-6; Luttrell, 'Earliest Templars' (n. 14), 195 and n. 13.

term *militia Christi*, in the sense of a military corporation, indicated a true order, not a confraternity'. Georg Schreiber, on the other hand, argued that the inner autonomy of the military orders was insufficient to regard them as 'a *novum et inauditum* in the monastic legal development of the twelfth century'.¹⁸

The military orders were listed among the new religious orders (together with the Cluniacs, Cistercians, Carthusians, and regular canons) in many contemporary sources, including the Premonstratensian continuation of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, where the Templars and Hospitallers were said to live chastely in a religious habit and to devote themselves respectively to fighting for God and to serving the poor and infirm, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, and the chronicle of Geoffrey of Vigeois, who listed them among 'the followers of various dogmas' which arose 'as the love of the former cenobites grew cold'. He saw no incompatibility between the piety of laymen and of monks and canons: 'Knights often seek out monasteries or hospitals and more frequently make pilgrimages to Jerusalem.'¹⁹ The Cluniacs prayed for the Templars and Hospitallers together with members of their own order and those of Cîteaux and La Chartreuse.²⁰ In the *Mirror of fools* by Nigel of Canterbury Brunellus the ass, who was looking for the easiest religious order, combined the horses of the Templars and the freedom to travel of the Hospitallers with features from the Cluniacs, Cistercians, Grandmontines, Carthusians, black canons, and Premonstratensians, to which he added a companion from the nuns.²¹ James of Vitry in his *Eastern history and western history* described, among other religious orders, the Templars, who 'bound themselves by profession and a solemn vow ... to fight for the highest King in obedience and chastity and without property like regular canons' and who were 'rough knights on campaign and like hermits and monks in church'; the Hospitallers, whose founder 'received

¹⁸ Gilles Gerard Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols (Italia sacra 24-6; Rome 1977), III, 1235, 1237-8, stressing the inspiration of the Cistercians; Georg Schreiber, *Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 65-8; Stuttgart 1910), I, 99.

¹⁹ *Sigeberti continuatio Praemonstratensis* s.a. 1131, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 450; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, VII, 21, ed. Clement C. J. Webb, 2 vols (Oxford 1909), II, 192-3; Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica*, I, 31, 74, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Philippe Labbe, 2 vols (Paris 1657), II, 296, 329. On this passage, which was taken from Geoffrey of Vigeois and revised by Bernard Itier, see Jean-Loup Lemaître, 'Le combat de Dieu et les croisades dans les notes de Bernard Itier, moine de Saint-Martial de Limoges (1163-1225)', in '*Militia Christi*' (n. 16), 734.

²⁰ *Statuts, chapitres généraux et visites de l'ordre de Cluny*, ed. Georges Charvin, I (Paris 1965), 52, no. 5.62.

²¹ Nigel of Canterbury (Longchamps), *Speculum stultorum*, II, 2051-76, 2413-64, ed. John Mozley, Robert Raymo (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1960), 76-7, 85-6. The Hospitallers and Templars were included with the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, black monks and canons, and others in the dispute between the black and white sheep, the ass, and the goat by Odo of Cheriton: Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, IV. *Eudes de Chérillon et ses dérivés* (Paris 1896), 223

the regular habit after some honest and religious men had joined him'; 'the devout and humble' knights of Calatrava, who professed 'the rule and observance of their order'; and the knights of Santiago, whom James counted among 'the other regular brothers' who took the habit and were bound by their profession and oath to protect the church against the Saracens.²²

These sources show that the members of the military orders were considered both *religiosi*, in so far as they were committed to a life of religion, and *regulares*, in that they followed a rule. Peter Comestor called the Templars and Hospitallers *virii religiosi*.²³ Joachim of Fiore in his *Books on the concord of the New and Old Testaments* said that in the sixth age God

created in the order of laymen a new type of religion and such are the brothers of the Temple and the Hospitallers, and some others in Spain and the lay brothers of the order of Cîteaux and those like them who were all created by the Lord to assist clerics and monks.²⁴

The canon lawyer Henry of Susa (Hostiensis) cited the Hospitallers as an example of those who lived chastely, renounced property, and promised obedience and were therefore considered religious even though they could not administer spiritual things.²⁵

In the division of the faithful postulated in the canon 'There are two types of Christians', which probably dates from the eleventh century and exercised great influence owing to its inclusion in the *Decretum* of Gratian, members of the military orders would certainly have been classified as clerics 'and those who are devoted to God, that is converts', rather than as laymen and those who married, paid tithes, and engaged in worldly activities.²⁶ Joining a military order was generally recognized as equivalent, though inferior, to entering a religious community, whose members were also *milites* fighting for the Lord. That a regular canon of Arrouaise was allowed to leave to become a Dominican or Carthusian but not to join a military order shows the relative ranking of the members of military orders in the hierarchy of religious strictness.²⁷

²² James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, 64, 65, ed. Mosch (n. 13), 112-14 (Hospitallers), 115-19 (Templars); idem, *Historia occidentalis*, II, 16, 26, ed. John F. Hinnebusch (Spicilegium Friburgense 17; Fribourg 1972), 119 (Calatrava), 141-2 (Santiago).

²³ Beryl Smalley, 'Peter Comestor on the Gospels and His Sources', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 66 (1979), 125-6.

²⁴ Joachim, *Concordia* (n. 8), 69^v.

²⁵ Henry of Susa, *Summa aurea*, III, 3 (Venice 1586), 1108.

²⁶ Gratian, *Decretum*, C. XII, 1, 7, in *Corpus iuris canon.*, I, 678. On this canon, which was attributed by Gratian to Jerome, see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1996), 321-2, with further references.

²⁷ Ludo Milis, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*, 2 vols (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte 147-8;

The Templars, and perhaps the members of other orders, clearly regarded themselves as clerics and almost, perhaps, as priests. John of Salisbury said in the *Policraticus* that, taking advantage of a privilege of Adrian IV allowing them to claim 'the disposition of churches', the Templars, 'whose profession is almost to spill human blood, occupy priestly livings (*personatus*) and presume in a certain manner (*quodammodo*) to minister the blood of Christ to the faithful'.²⁸ According to William of Tyre they withdrew their obedience from the patriarch of Jerusalem, refused to pay tithes and first-fruits, and apparently claimed benefit of clergy for a knight who killed an envoy of the king of the Assassins.²⁹ Bishop Ulger of Angers instructed the clergy of his diocese to allow the Templars, who, he said, had given up secular desires and professed 'an arduous religion', to preach and to receive alms. Even churches under interdict should be opened once a year to them and to all parishioners, except those who were excommunicated.³⁰ James of Vitry did not go as far as this in his sermon addressed 'to the brothers of a military order', but he said that 'Those who come to religion put aside secular ways' and warned them against excessive fasting, which diminished their ability to fight.³¹ Innocent IV in 1245 referred to the Templars and Hospitallers 'and other ecclesiastical persons'.³²

The point of greatest controversy is whether they should be called monks and canons. Bernard of Clairvaux said of the Templars in his treatise *In praise of the new army* that:

In a certain marvelous and singular way they are seen as both gentler than lambs and fiercer than lions, so that I am almost in doubt whether to consider them monks or soldiers, except that I should perhaps most suitably consider them both who are known to lack neither the mildness of the monk nor the fortitude of the soldier.³³

Bruges 1969), I, 480-1. Innocent IV in 1245 allowed the Franciscans to transfer to other approved orders except for the orders of St Augustine, the Templars, Hospitallers 'and other *religiosi* bearing arms': Konrad Eubel, *Bullarii Franciscani epitome* (Quaracchi 1908), 36, no. 370.

²⁸ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, VII, 21, ed. Webb (n. 19), II, 192-3.

²⁹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XII, 7; XX, 30, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 555; CXIII, 955. On the efforts of the bishops in the Holy Land to have the privileges of the Hospitallers rescinded, see William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XVIII, 7, in *CC:CM*, CXIII, 819-20; Peter Edbury, John G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4S 8; Cambridge 1988), 124-7; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, 'Les débuts de l'ordre du Temple en Orient', *Le Moyen Age* 111 (2005), 586-7.

³⁰ Ulger of Angers, *Ep.* 3, in *PL*, CLXXX, 1655B-6A.

³¹ James of Vitry, *Serm.* 37, in *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis*, II. *Tusculana*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Pitra (Paris 1888), 411-12.

³² *Conc. oec. dec.*, 281.

³³ Bernard, *De laude*, IV, 8, ed. Leclercq, III, 221.

Otto of Freising in the passage cited above said that the Templars appeared to be 'not knights but monks', and Peter the Venerable wrote to the master of the Templars in 1148/53 that in spiritual warfare they showed the nature of monks and hermits and that in physical fighting they exceeded the purpose (*propositum*) of all religious men, 'You are monks in virtues, soldiers in deeds, fulfilling the former in spirit [and] exercising the latter in body.'³⁴ These three eminent contemporaries, therefore, sat on the fence, unable to decide whether the Templars were monks or laymen. Many modern scholars have followed their example and have described the members of the military orders as both monks and soldiers.³⁵

Some writers went further and said that the members of the military orders were in essence monks or canons. In the passages cited above they were said to live *more monachorum* (Richard of Poitiers) and *more canonicorum* (William of Tyre) and to have been equal in merit to monks and regular canons (Anselm of Havelberg). Guy de Valous called the order of the Temple a new form of monasticism; Malcolm Barber compared it to 'the other new monastic orders of the twelfth century' and to 'the more conventional monastic orders'; and Norman Housley called the Teutonic Knights 'armed monks' and members of 'a monastic order'.³⁶ For Jonathan Riley-Smith,

³⁴ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 172, ed. Constable (n. 4), I, 408.

³⁵ See among others Paul Rousset, 'Les laïcs dans la croisade', in *I laici nella 'Societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 21-27 agosto 1965* (Pubblicazioni dell' Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Contributi 3S: Varia 5. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 5; Milan 1968), 433; Francesco Tommasi, '“Templarii” e “Templarii Sancti Iohannis”. Una precisazione storiografica', *Studi medievali*, 3S 24 (1983), 383; idem, '“Pauperes commilitones Christi”. Aspetti e problemi delle origine gerosolimitane', in 'Militia Christi' (n. 17), 465; Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095-1197* (Edinburgh-London 2002), 52 ('warrior-monk'), 54 ('fighting monks'). They were called 'monje-guerrero' by Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla in his paper presented at the congress held at Teruel in July 2001.

³⁶ Guy de Valous, 'Quelques observations sur la toute primitive observance des Templiers et la *Regula pauperum commilitonum Christi Templi Salomonici*, redigée par saint Bernard au concile de Troyes (1128)', in *Mélanges saint Bernard. XXIV^e congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes. Dijon 1953* (Dijon 1954), 37; Malcolm Barber, 'The Social Context of the Templars', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5S 34 (1984), 36; idem, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge 1994), 55; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford 1992), 323, 368, cf. idem, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099-1128', in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem-London 1992), 38, where he said that the military orders began 'to link holy war with monasticism instead of pilgrimage'.

All were religious orders, that is to say they were religious institutes for which solemn vows were made and in which the brothers followed the rules of life and the monastic horarium and submitted themselves to canonical discipline.³⁷

Recruits to the military orders had to discover, according to Alan Forey, whether they could accustom themselves to life within a religious order, adhere to the normal monastic vows, and live according to a rule.³⁸ The influence of the rules of Benedict and Augustine on the rules of the military orders is generally recognized and has reinforced the view that their members were a type of monk or canon.³⁹

³⁷ Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (n. 11), 72. Similar views are found in Blake, 'Formation' (n. 10), 27; Pernoud, *Templiers* (n. 17), 8, 14, 31; Richard, *Latin Kingdom* (n. 16), 113 ('a new religious order, an order in the tradition of St Benedict, based on the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience'); Paul Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La croisade* (Lausanne 1983), 68, 70-1; Kaspar Elm, 'Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme', in *Militia Christi* (n. 17), 511-17; Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders (1128-1291)* (Leicester-London-New York 1993), 1 ('religious foundations, akin to monastic orders'); Anthony Luttrell, 'The Military Orders 1312-1798', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford 1995), 345 ('fully professed religious'), cf. 326; idem 'The Military Orders: Some Definitions', in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri. Idea e istituzioni. Atti del Colloquio internazionale*, ed. Kaspar Elm, Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Vatican City 1998), 81, 88 ('part of a broadly monastic movement' but 'not monks in the narrower sense of the term'); Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow-London 2004), 80 (required 'to live as a community of monks').

³⁸ Alan Forey, 'Novitiate and Instruction in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 7; idem, 'The Military Orders 1120-1312', in *Oxford History* (n. 37), 268 (recruits 'took the normal monastic vows' and 'were expected to live a cenobitic form of life within a convent').

³⁹ On the rules of the military orders, see Marion Melville, 'Les débuts de l'ordre du Temple', in *Geistlichen Ritterorden* (n. 17), 26; Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-c. 1300* (Woodbridge-Rochester 1999), 8-10; Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ* (n. 13), 81-95. More generally on the influence of the monastic orders, especially the Cistercians, on the military orders, see Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 3 ed., 2 vols (Paderborn 1933), I, 339, 615; Patrice Cousin, 'Les débuts de l'ordre des Templiers et saint Bernard', in *Mélanges saint Bernard* (n. 36), 41-52; Jacques Hourlier, *L'âge classique (1140-1378). Les religieux* (Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'église en Occident 10; Paris 1974), 101, 106; Antonio Linage Conde, 'Las órdenes militares y la tradición benedictina,' *Hidalguía* 21 (1983), 4-12 (of offprint); Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 77, 79; Forey, *Military Orders* (n. 12), 170-2; Tommasi, '“Pauperes”' (n. 35), 465; Elm, 'Spiritualität' (n. 37), 510 n.118; Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, 'The Influence of St Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992), 59-60, stressing 'the close connection between the two orders', and 63,

The strongest evidence for the monastic status of the military orders comes from Spain. In 1134 bishop Oleguer of Barcelona and Tarragona asked the master of the Templars to send him ten *religiosi* to form a monastery against the Muslims.⁴⁰ The thirteenth-century historian Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada said that after Calatrava was given by king Sancho to the abbot of St Mary of Fitero in 1158:

Many men, inspired by devotion, received their order after the habit was modified to suit military activity and began at once to attack and fight the Arabs and with the Lord's help the work prospered in the hands of the monks.⁴¹

Pope Alexander III in 1164 addressed a privilege to the master and brothers of Calatrava 'living in accordance with the order of the Cistercian brothers'. In it he confirmed 'the institution that our beloved sons the Cistercian abbot and brothers have established in that place' and instructed them to keep their orders, 'girded with military arms to fight vigorously against the Saracens', and to follow a regime that was monastic in all respects except that they were allowed, in view of their military activities, to eat meat three times a week and to wear 'in place of the religious habit' clothes suitable for riding and fighting.⁴² In the same year the Cistercian general chapter accepted the knights of Calatrava 'not as familiars but as true brothers', and in 1190 decreed that 'The knights of Trujillo [perhaps San Julián de Pereiro] like those of Calatrava should be associated with the order and should obey the abbot of Moreruela.'⁴³ Most historians of medieval Spain have accepted the monastic character of the Spanish military orders, which were, according to Maur Cocheril, 'a group of knights bound by the observance of a

saying that the Templars were included in the family of the Cistercians; idem, 'Die Anfänge des Templarordens. Bernhard von Clairvaux. Cîteaux', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 104 (1993), 312-27; Luttrell, 'Earliest Templars' (n. 13), 194, referring to Bernard's 'Cistercianization' of the order.

⁴⁰ *Vita Oldegaris*, IV, 45, in *AASS* (3 ed.), 6 March I, 490EF.

⁴¹ Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, VII, 14, in *CC:CM*, LXXII, 235.

⁴² *PL*, CC, 310C-11C (JL 11064).

⁴³ *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian Chapter General*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Brecht 2000), 200. For the 1165 letter see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux [I]', *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* 15 (1959), 188, and 'Affiliation [II]', *ibid.* 16 (1960), 38-42, who accepted its authenticity but said (42) that the knights' status was 'intermediate to that of choir monks and lay brothers'. These papers are reprinted in idem, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London 1975). See also Bernd Schwenk, *Calatrava. Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert* (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 2S 28; Münster 1992), 87 ('Calatravazisterze'), 103-33; Theresa Vann, 'A New Look at the Foundation of the Order of Calatrava', in *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions: Essays in Honor of Joseph F. O'Callaghan*, ed. Donald Kagay, Theresa Vann (Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1998), 93-113.

monastic rule, living in communities, practicing the essential vows of religion, and remaining in more or less strict dependence on the order that they joined'.⁴⁴

The institutional development of the military orders resembled that of many new religious houses which started as communities of laymen and over time developed into monasteries with both clerical and lay brothers.⁴⁵ The distinction between clerics and lay brothers (*conversi*) is found in the rules of some military orders, though the knights were not commonly referred to in the sources as lay brothers as distinct from monks. Joachim of Fiore at the end of the twelfth century called the Hospitallers and Templars 'two orders of lay brothers' and 'in the order of laymen'.⁴⁶ The 'essential characteristic' of the military orders for Jonathan Riley-Smith was that 'a number of the professed lay brothers were themselves warriors'.⁴⁷ Jacques Hourlier in particular stressed the distinction within the military orders between the clerical chaplains and the lay knights and sergeants, whom he compared to lay brothers 'especially in those monastic orders where the lay brothers found themselves entrusted with the entire administration. The purpose of the order, and the distinctive function of the knights and sergeants, made all the difference'.⁴⁸

These and other scholars find it hard to accept the idea of a professed religious bearing arms and fighting, even in a religious cause sanctioned by the church. According to Kaspar Elm, 'Contemporaries knew, and recent research has emphasized, that members of the military orders were neither monks nor canons but laymen',⁴⁹ and Alan Forey, in spite of his emphasis on the monastic character of

⁴⁴ Maur Cocheril, 'Essai sur l'origine des orders militaires dans la péninsule ibérique [I]', *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium reformatorum* 20 (1958), 347-8; see (on the order of Calatrava) idem, 'Essai [II-III]', *ibid.* 21 (1959), 236, 307-9; O'Callaghan, 'Affiliation [I]' (n. 43), 173 and especially his paper 'The Spanish Military Orders Affiliated to the Order of Cîteaux', presented at the Teruel congress in 2001, where he stressed the 'monastic character of the Orders affiliated with Cîteaux' and called Calatrava 'an integral part of the Order of Cîteaux'. Among other papers presented at this congress see those by Carlos de Ayala Martínez and (on the monastic character of the architecture of the military orders in Spain) Joan Fuguet Sans and Arturo Zaragoza Catalán. Gilles Gerard Meersseman, 'I penitenti nei secoli XI e XII', in *Laici* (n. 35), 332-4, associated the military orders in Spain with the penitents who under special circumstances were allowed to carry arms against the pagans.

⁴⁵ On the Templars, see Hiestand, 'Matthäus von Albano' (n. 13), 323; Bulst-Thiele, 'Anfänge' (n. 39), 317, who compared the distinction between sergeants and knights to that between monks and lay brothers; Phillips, *Crusades* (n. 35), 53.

⁴⁶ Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, intro. 20 (Venice 1527, repr. Frankfurt 1964), f. 19^v; idem, *Concordia* (n. 8), 69^v.

⁴⁷ Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (n. 11), 72.

⁴⁸ Hourlier, *Âge classique* (n. 39), 106. This is not the place to discuss the question of the status of lay brothers, but it was certainly closer to that of monks than of laymen living in the world.

⁴⁹ Elm, 'Spiritualität' (n. 37), 511.

the military orders, related their emergence to the ‘development of the concept of true knighthood’ and distinguished them from ‘many other religious foundations’ because their members were laymen.⁵⁰ The Templars have even been described as members of a third order, or tertiaries, though tertiaries were unknown in the early twelfth century.⁵¹ James of Vitry addressed some of these problems in his sermon to the members of a military order, where he said that their critics, who asserted that they should not take the material sword or fight against the enemies of the church, were inspired by the devil, who wanted to destroy their order. James went on to justify fighting in a good cause and described the *milites Christi* who died defending the church as martyrs.⁵²

Although the members of the military orders were not specifically called monks, canons, or lay brothers in any contemporary sources outside Spain, their life was described in terms closely resembling those used for members of monasteries and religious communities. In the first surviving rule of the Templars they were called ‘the army of Christ’ in contrast to ‘the secular army’, ‘the poor co-fighters of Christ’, and ‘the military religion’, which by divine providence took its origin in the holy places ‘in order that you may mix fighting with religion and that the armed religion may thus proceed by fighting [and] strike the enemy without guilt’.⁵³ They were called a military or equestrian (meaning knightly) order, a society, and a fraternity, as were many religious communities. The rule established that they should hear matins and the entire service ‘according to the canonical institution and the custom of the regular [clerics] of the holy city’, that is, Jerusalem.⁵⁴

The rule is full of terms like *propositum religionis*, *conversatio*, profession, common life, and renunciation of the world and self-will, as is the charter of 1133 concerning Pagan of Bure, who ‘transformed himself from the secular way of life

⁵⁰ Forey ‘Emergence’ (n. 2), 181; idem, *Military Orders* (n. 12), 2-3; idem, in *Oxford History* (n. 37), 184 (saying that the ‘majority of members’ were lay-brothers), 204, 207. Luttrell, ‘Earliest Templars’ (n. 13), 200, called the Templars ‘lay religious rather than tertiaries or members of a third order’.

⁵¹ Charles Dereine, reviewing Marion Melville, *La vie de Templiers*, in *Le Moyen Age* 59 (4S 8; 1953), 197 (‘une sorte de tiers-ordre des chanoines réguliers du Saint Sépulchre’); Josef Fleckenstein, ‘Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift “De laude novae militiae” Bernhards von Clairvaux’, in *Geistlichen Ritterorden* (n. 17), 20; Elm, ‘Kanoniker und Ritter’, ibid. 150; Tommasi, ‘“Pauperes” ’ (n. 35), 159; Franco Cardini, *I poveri cavalieri del Cristo. Bernardo di Clairvaux e la fondazione dell’ordine Templare* (Rimini 1992), 86 (‘una sorta di “terz’ordine” laico’).

⁵² James of Vitry, *Serm.* 38, ed. Pitra (n. 31), 419-20.

⁵³ *Regula*, pref. 49, 60, 63, 70, ed. Schnürer (n. 3), 130-2, 147, 149, 150, 153. On *pauperes commilitiones Christi* and other terms for the Templars, see Tommasi, ‘“Templarii” ’ (n. 35), 373-84; idem, ‘“Pauperes” ’ (n. 35), 446-8.

⁵⁴ *Regula*, 1, ed. Schnürer (n. 3), 135.

to Christ's army of the Temple of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem, and by a faithful vow gave himself and his possessions to that place'.⁵⁵

The first papal bull for the Templars, issued in 1139 by Innocent II, described 'the religious army of the Temple', 'your religion and venerated institution', and 'your sacred institution and religious army' as a 'sacred college', a society, and a religion, and it called the Templars 'religious brothers' who had been 'established by the Lord as defenders of the catholic church and foes of the enemies of Christ'. The pope instructed them to observe a religious life, to live chastely and without property, and to attest 'in words and deeds' their profession, which he later described as 'the profession of living according to the rule (*regulariter*) and of obeying their master', who should be 'a military and religious person who has professed the habit of your own way of life'. Those who entered the order must promise stability and *conversatio morum* (as in the rule of Benedict) and to fight all their days under the obedience of the master. No one who had made such a profession and assumed the habit was allowed to depart.⁵⁶

The theme of the double warfare against the enemies of the spirit as well as of the body is prominent in the sources relating to the military orders, such as Guigo of La Chartreuse's letter written, perhaps in 1128, to Hugh of Payens (Payns), 'the prior of the sacred army'.⁵⁷ Bernard's *In praise of the new army* was also addressed to Hugh, whom he called 'the knight of Christ and master of the army of Christ'. The Templars were God's ministers, Bernard wrote, citing Romans 13.4, and their way of life led to evangelical perfection, citing 'one heart and one soul' from Acts 4.32, which was often applied to new religious communities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He required simple clothes and food, no wives or children, and a common life under one roof without private property. Over two-thirds of the work are devoted to the holy places of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the mount of Olives, the valley of Jehoshaphat, the river Jordan, mount Calvary, the Holy Sepulcher, Bethpage, and Bethany. At the end Bernard stressed 'the sweetness of devotion' that filled those who physically saw the place of the Lord's peace, 'How sweet it is for pilgrims after the great fatigue of a long journey, after the many

⁵⁵ Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 9 vols (Dijon 1885-1905), II, 218, no. 255. On self-oblation to the Templars, see Elisabeth Magnou, 'Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple au XII^e siècle', *Annales du Midi* 73 (1961), 377-97.

⁵⁶ Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten* (n. 13), 205-10, no. 3. See Barber, *New Knighthood* (n. 36), 156-7, and, on the twelfth-century privileges for the Templars and Hospitallers, Ludwig Falkenstein, *La papauté et les abbayes françaises aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques 336; Paris 1997), 196-204.

⁵⁷ *Lettres des premiers Chartreux* (SC 88; Paris 1962), 154-61. On Hugh, see Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri* (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 3F 86 (Göttingen 1974), 19-29, dating his mastership from 1118/19 to 1136/7.

perils of land and sea [cf. 2 Corinthians 11.26] finally to be there where they know that their Lord was at peace.⁵⁸ This spiritual dimension of *In praise of the new army*, which was a work for meditation as well as of exhortation, is sometimes forgotten.⁵⁹ For Bernard the Templars were not only knights and monks but also pilgrims bound on a spiritual mission.

William of Tyre in his *Chronicle* called the first Templars 'noble men of the equestrian order, devoted to God, religious and God-fearing ... who were professed to live perpetually in the manner of regular canons in chastity and obedience and without a will of their own'.⁶⁰ Michael the Syrian, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, who died in 1199, likewise said that the early Templars imposed the rule of monastic life (*dāwayya*) on themselves, lived chastely, took no baths, and had no private property, holding all their possessions in common.⁶¹

In the thirteenth century James of Vitry stressed that 'this holy and venerable order is bipartite from the order of martyrs and from the order of monks or cloistered men'. 'Going in time of war, returning in time of peace,' he said, 'going by the active [life], returning by the contemplative; going in war to fight, returning in peace to be quiet and free for prayer, so that they are like knights in battle and as if monks in their house.'⁶² Humbert of Romans struck the same theme in his treatise *On the learning of preachers* where he called the Templars 'a double ... army that is fleshly or bodily and spiritual'. They labor in both armies and fight only in defense of the faith and justice.⁶³

⁵⁸ Bernard, *De laude*, ed. Leclercq, III, 213-39 (quote from XI, 29, p. 236). It was dated before the council of Troyes in 1129 by Dominic Selwood, 'Quidam autem dubitaverunt: The Saint, the Sinner, the Temple and a Possible Chronology', in *Autour de la première croisade* (n. 13), 226-7; see also Claverie, 'Débuts' (n. 29), 554. Bernard's maternal uncle Andrew of Montbard was a Templar and later master of the order: Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, 1 (and best) ed., 2 vols (Paris 1895), I, xxi n.1, 5, 258; Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus* (n. 57), 323.

⁵⁹ Jean-François Cottier, *Anima mea. Prières privées et textes de dévotion du Moyen Âge latin* (Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses 3; Turnhout 2001), lxiv n.129.

⁶⁰ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XII, 7 (s.a. 1118), in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 553. He went on to say that they lived 'in a secular habit' until they received a rule and a white habit, to which a red cross was later added, at the council of Troyes. See Barber, *New Knighthood* (n. 36), 60-1.

⁶¹ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche 1166-1199*, XV, 11, ed. and tr. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, 4 vols (Paris 1899-1910), III, 201. *Dāwayya* refers to someone who takes a vow and lives in a community, unlike an *ihidaya*, who lives in solitude. See Claverie, 'Débuts' (n. 29), 550, 556, 577.

⁶² James of Vitry, *Serm.* 37, ed. Pitra (n. 31), 406.

⁶³ Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, II, 34, in *Max. bibl.*, XXV, 472H-3F.

The military orders also had their detractors and, it appears, some self-doubts among their members.⁶⁴ A writer calling himself Hugh the sinner (who has been identified as either Hugh of Payens or Hugh of St Victor) wrote a letter to the Templars in the mid 1130s, warning them against instability, inconsistency, and levity and saying that some of them had been troubled 'that your profession by which you dedicate your life to bear arms against the enemies of the faith and peace in defense of Christians ... is either illicit or pernicious, that is, either a sin or a barrier to greater progress'.⁶⁵ When Amadeus of Hauterives entered the Cistercian abbey of Bonnevaux with his son and 16 knights he urged them not to join the Templars because 'To go to the Temple is not to give up pleasures but simply to change the color of your clothing'.⁶⁶ John of Salisbury, while praising the self-sacrifice of the Templars, criticized them for exercising ecclesiastical functions, although to spill human blood was 'almost their profession', and Isaac of L'Etoile in the passage cited above, which may apply to the military orders, described them as 'the new monster of a certain new army'.⁶⁷ As time went on the Templars in particular were criticized for their wealth and cupidity, among others by Walter Map, though he praised Hugh of Payens for persuading 'warlike pilgrims' to devote themselves perpetually 'or at least to swear for a time' to the service of God in the Holy Land.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ David A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Geneva 1986), 207-8; Forey, *Military Orders* (n. 12), 204-20; Sophia Menache, 'Rewriting the History of the Templars According to Matthew Paris', in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, Sylvia Schein (New York 1995), 183-213.

⁶⁵ Jean Leclercq, 'Un document sur les débuts des Templiers' (1957), repr. in idem, *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, II (Storia e letteratura 104; Rome 1966), 87-99, with a postscript (98-9) saying that the author was probably Hugh of St Victor. On this letter and its author see (among recent works) Fleckenstein, 'Rechtfertigung' (n. 51), 9-12, 21; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (n. 9), 105 n.27; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985), 209; Forey, *Military Orders* (n. 12), 15-17; Elm, 'Spiritualität' (n. 37), 490-1; Bulst-Thiele, 'Anfänge' (n. 39), 313; Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?' (n. 10), 327 and n. 76; Barber, *New Knighthood* (n. 36), 41-4, 343 n.10; Selwood, 'Quidam autem' (n. 58), 222-4; Simonetta Cerrini, 'Le fondateur de l'ordre du Temple à ses frères. Hugues de Payns et le *Sermo Christi militibus*', in *Dei gesta per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiés à Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot-Burlington 2001), 102-6; Claverie, 'Débuts' (n. 29), 554 n.65. Selwood, Cerrini, and Claverie argue, against most scholars, that the letter was written by Hugh of Payens.

⁶⁶ *Vita venerabilis Amedaei Altae Ripae*, 4, ed. Marie-Anselme Dimier, in *Studia monastica* 5 (1963), 282.

⁶⁷ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, VII, 21, ed. Webb (n. 19), II, 193, 198.

⁶⁸ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, 18, ed. James (n. 15), 54. It is uncertain to which order (if any) Isaac of L'Etoile was referring in his *Serm.* 48 (n. 9). On criticism of the Templars in the east, see Claverie, 'Débuts' (n. 29), 586-7.

The Hospitallers, who may have antedated the first crusade, presented fewer problems for contemporaries because at their beginnings they performed charitable work and only later took up fighting. In the treatise entitled the *Beginning and origin of the holy hospice and order of the army of St John the Baptist of the Hospitallers at Jerusalem* the founder Gerard was said to have devoted himself to the care of the poor and sick and to have persuaded his companions to enter 'a holy band and fraternity', without making a vow of religion or changing their clothing 'except that they used more humble clothes and bound themselves by an oath to serve the catholic faith and the poor'.⁶⁹ They began to be militarized probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century and adopted a rule and habit under Eugene III.⁷⁰ There are both Latin and vernacular versions of the rule, which reflected the growing monasticization of the order and referred to the distinction between clerical and lay brothers, the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and the silence at meals.⁷¹ Innocent II forbade any brother to leave without permission 'after he has once vowed himself to the hospital of God and its dependencies'.⁷² And Anastasius IV in 1154 issued a privilege referring to the fraternities and associations of the Hospitallers, confirming their right to receive laymen 'for *conversatio* and the service of the poor of Christ', and prohibiting anyone who had been received into

⁶⁹ *Primordium et origo sancti xenodochii atque ordinis militiae sancti Joannis Baptistae Hospitaliorum Hierosolimitani*, 4, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V, 431. See Rudolf Hiestand, 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter', in *Geistlichen Ritterorden* (n. 17), 55, who said that in the twelfth century they were not called *religiosus*, *regularis vitae*, or *monachus*. Other terms for them included *dedicatus*, *frater*, *custos*, *cliens*, *famulus*, *magister*, and *confrater* in addition to *miles*: see Elm, 'Kanoniker' (n. 16), 151-9; Tommasi, '“Templarii”' (n. 35), who said that any reference to St John or the Temple of St John indicated the Hospitallers. On their origins, which may date from Urban II's travels in France in 1095-6, see Michael Matzke, 'De origine Hospitaliorum Hierosolymitanorum. Vom klösterlichen Pilgerhospital zur internationalen Organisation', *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 1-23.

⁷⁰ *Primordium*, 6, in *RHC, Hist. occ.*, V, 432. On the disputed dating of the militarization of the Hospitallers, see Hiestand, 'Anfänge' (n. 69), 64-5, who said that it started in the mid 1120s, grew slowly, and was first recognized in the statutes of the order in the early 1180s; Forey, *Military Orders* (n. 12), 18-19, saying they were a military order already in the 1130s (and the review in the *Catholic Historical Review* 82 [1996], 537, by Michael Gervers, who associated the militarization with the second crusade); Nicholson, *Templars* (n. 37), 23, 120-1 ('undeniably militarized' by the 1160s); Riley-Smith, *First Crusades* (n. 12), 163; Demurger, *Chevaliers* (n. 13), 41-3 (perhaps c. 1136 but probably c. 1160); Phillips, *Crusades* (n. 35), 59.

⁷¹ *Cartulaire général* (n. 13), 63, 65, 68, nos. 70.1, 11, 19. On the rule see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310* (London 1967), 46-52, dating it between 1130 and 1153.

⁷² Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten* (n. 13), 211, no. 4. See also the privileges of Innocent II and Eugene III in *Cartulaire* (n. 13), 95-6, 16-8, nos. 113, 219; Riley-Smith, *Knights* (n. 71), 375.

'your sacred college', made a profession, and taken the religious habit to reject 'the cross of the Lord which they had taken and the habit of your profession' or to go 'to another place, even a monastery of greater or lesser religion'.⁷³

The question of whether the members of the military orders should be called monks or laymen (or neither) remains, therefore, open and is from most points of view badly put, since they were *sui generis*. It is unfortunate that there was no single term distinguishing them from other groups in medieval society. They certainly had a consecrated status as knights and soldiers in the army of God that was fighting to defend the church and other Christians. As *religiosi*, *regulares*, and *personae ecclesiasticae*, bound by vows and profession, they had a recognized position, even if a relatively low one, in the hierarchy of types of religious life. They can be compared to other specialized orders which arose in the twelfth century and of which the members were committed to work in the world, such as ransoming captives, redeeming slaves, and maintaining bridges, which for them replaced the primary occupation of traditional monks and canons with prayer.⁷⁴ The *opus Dei* for members of the military orders was fighting in a good cause. They were also pilgrims, whose spiritual rewards in the Holy Land were vividly described in Bernard's *In praise of the new army*. The three threads of consecrated warfare, monasticism, and pilgrimage were combined more firmly in the members of the military orders than in the crusaders, some of whom were more fighters, some more pilgrims, and a few, perhaps, more monks. But they were all soldiers in a good cause, marked by a common goal, a common sign, and common rewards, and it is impossible to distinguish them too strictly or to combine them into a clear category based on traditional religious and social distinctions. These three characteristics, however, were joined sufficiently closely in the military orders for contemporaries to recognize them as 'a new type of religion', 'a new institution of religious life', 'a sacred army', and, 'a new army' that fought 'the new wars' against the enemies of Christ and of the church.

Note

Revised from 'The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society', *Viator* 29 (1989), 377-403.

⁷³ PL, CLXXXVIII, 1078C-80D (JL 9930). Hiestand, 'Anfänge' (n. 69), 61, stressed the dependence of this bull on *Omne datum* for the Templars.

⁷⁴ See the articles in *Atti del primo congresso europeo di storia ospitaliera, 6-12 giugno 1960* (Reggio Emilia 1962), esp. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Fonseca), 'Canoniche e ospedali' (482-98); also Fleckenstein, 'Rechtfertigung', in *Geistlichen Ritterorden* (n. 51), 19.

Chapter 7

Cluny and the First Crusade

The question of Cluny and the first crusade can be approached in several ways. Judged on the basis of direct evidence, Cluny was no more involved in the crusade than many monasteries. Some scholars have concluded on the basis of indirect evidence, however, that Cluny played a major part in preparing and promoting, and also in profiting from, the crusade.¹ This chapter will survey the evidence, moving from certainty to uncertainty and from fact to speculation and will suggest more than one possible level of involvement. In doing so, it is important to remember that Cluny was not only a monastery in Burgundy but also the head of a monastic order that by the end of the eleventh century had dependencies and interests all over the Christian world. The term Cluniac was often applied to houses that had no affiliation with the order, and even to all black Benedictine monks. No one, therefore, including the abbot of Cluny himself, can be considered to act or speak for the entire order. It should also be borne in mind that the initiative taken at Clermont had a post-history, extending for several years. Historians call the expedition that set out in 1096 the first crusade, but not all crusaders left at the same time, and historically the first crusading movement consisted of several expeditions (including that of Peter the Hermit) and lasted for over a decade. Ordericus Vitalis referred to the 1107 expedition as ‘the third expedition of westerners to Jerusalem’.² The question of Cluny and the first crusade involves the continuation and results of the crusade as well as its beginnings.

The only direct evidence for the involvement of Cluny comes from charters, beginning in April 1096, when Achard of Montmerle expressed his wish to join, armed, as he put it, ‘in this great and very large awakening or expedition of the Christian people to go to Jerusalem in order to fight for God against the pagans and the Saracens’. He therefore mortgaged a piece of property to abbot Hugh and the monks of Cluny in return for 2,000 shillings of Lyons and four mules. He specified that the pledge could be redeemed only by himself and that the property would belong to the monastery if he decided not to return, if he returned but died without

¹ See the works cited by Gerd Tellenbach, ‘Zum Wesen der Cluniacenser’, *Saeculum* 9 (1958), 373-4; Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Cluny and the First Crusade’, *Révue bénédictine* 83 (1973), 285-311; Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, 2 vols. (MGH, Schriften 19.1-2; Stuttgart 1964-88), II, 288-93, 313-14; Armin Kohnle, *Abt Hugo von Cluny (1049-1109)* (Beihefte der *Francia* 32; Sigmaringen 1993), 123-4

² Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 19, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford 1969-80), III, 182. For Orderic, the second expedition was apparently in 1101-2.

a legitimate heir of his body, or if he died 'on this pilgrimage to Jerusalem', as in fact occurred in 1099.³ At about the same time two brothers 'journeying with the others on the expedition to Jerusalem for the remission of their sins' mortgaged the *mansus* of Busart to Cluny for 100 shillings on condition that if they died on this pilgrimage the monastery would keep the *mansus* and that if they returned and redeemed the mortgage they would hold the *mansus* for their lifetime, after which it would belong to Cluny 'for the salvation of ourselves and all our relations alive and dead and as the place of our burial'. A note in the same hand as the charter recorded the death of both brothers, and it is known from another source that Busart belonged to Cluny before 1100.⁴

In a charter dated 15 June 1100, Stephen of Neublens said that 'although a *miles*' he heeded the biblical calls to charity, took into account both his own sins and Christ's piety, gentleness, and mercy, and wished to return something to Him 'for all the things He has given to unworthy me'. He therefore decided 'to go to Jerusalem, where God the man was seen and lived with men, and to adore in the place where His feet stood'. He settled some outstanding disputes with the monks of Cluny and gave them various properties, which were described later in the charter, together with the proviso that 'Although I made this gift especially for my soul, I received from Artaldus [the dean of Lournand] fifty shillings and two excellent mules'. Stephen also said that:

When I came before the lord abbot and opened my heart to him concerning this journey and made this gift in his hand, he put the sign of salvation, that is of the holy cross, on my shoulder and a ring on my finger, and furthermore I received from the brothers their society in the chapter and accepted from the abbot this instruction that if I died on this journey I would send one of my servants to him

³ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1876-1903), V, 51-3, no. 3703 (= *Cluny*). See, on Achard's death at the siege of Jerusalem, Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton 1984), 59, and, on this and other crusading charters from Cluny (in addition to chapters 4 and 5), Étienne Delaruelle, 'L'idée de croisade dans la littérature clunisienne du XI^e siècle et l'abbaye de Moissac', in *Moissac et l'Occident au XI^e siècle. Actes du colloque international de Moissac 3-5 mai 1963* (Toulouse 1964), 102-3, repr. in idem, *L'idée de croisade au moyen âge* (Turin 1980), 138-9; Johannes Fechter, *Cluny, Adel und Volk* (Diss. Tübingen 1966), 114; Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 302-3; Constance Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca-London 1987), 197-9, 221-3; Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 124; Jean Richard, 'Sur le duché carolingien et capétien, 16. Départs de pèlerins et de croisés bourguignons au XI^e s.. À propos d'une charte de Cluny', *Annales de Bourgogne* 60 (1988), 139-43; Philippe Racinet, 'Le départ et le retour du croisé, arrangements matériels et spirituels avec les moines', in *Orient et Occident IX^e-XV^e siècles. Actes du colloque d'Amiens, 8, 9 et 10 octobre 1998 = Histoire médiévale et archéologie* (2000), 13.

⁴ *Cluny*, V, 59, no. 3712; cf. V, 83, no. 3734.

and he would have me inscribed so that my memory would endure for all time at Cluny.⁵

Arrangements of this type were not rare, and many monasteries made loans secured by property. There are a number of documents in the cartulary of Cluny, going back to the tenth century, concerning loans either for an indefinite period or for specific terms ranging between five and ten years.⁶ Some of these were connected with pilgrimages, which naturally created a need for money and equipment. In 1037 viscount Archimbald of Mâcon gave Cluny some property that the monks had previously held until he returned from Jerusalem.⁷ And at some time during the abbacy of Hugh, Ilius of Cray gave Cluny a vineyard, with the permission of his brothers, in return for three ounces of gold 'which he carried on his way to Jerusalem'.⁸ Similar documents are found among the charters of Cluny's dependencies, such as Sauxillanges, which is located not far from Clermont. According to a charter of about 1096, 'Not long after the time when the barbarian persecution rose up to destroy the liberty of the eastern church, an exhorting decree was issued by the pope that the entire strength and faith of the western nations should hasten to assist the destroyed religion', and Roger of St Germanus and his son Robert renewed and enlarged a previous gift to Sauxillanges in return for a mule worth 200 shillings, presumably to take on the crusade.⁹ When Humbert II of Savoy gave a *mansus* to Cluny and 'the place called Le Bourget' in 1097, he asked for the guidance of God on his journey across the sea and received a very good mule.¹⁰

Some of these transactions look like a hard bargain, and they show that Cluny and its dependencies took advantage of the crusade to acquire land by providing money and equipment to participants, but they may also have reflected a desire to support the undertaking. No known Cluniac went on the crusade, though a monk whom Guibert of Nogent said was 'from the most renowned monastery of all' (which may have been Cluny) joined the expedition to Jerusalem 'incited not by

⁵ *Cluny*, V, 87-91, no. 3737. On this charter, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 126-8.

⁶ *Cluny*, II, 675; III, 28, 85, 92-3, 131, 372, 603-4, 663; IV, 142, 371-2, 709-10, 768-9; nos. 1640, 1766, 1841, 1851, 1908, 2236, 2532, 2616, 2941, 3257, 3575, 3607. See also Arnold Angenendt, 'How Was a Confraternity Made? The Evidence of Charters', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. David Rollason a.o. (Woodbridge 2004), 214-17.

⁷ *Cluny*, IV, 123-4, no. 2922.

⁸ *Cluny*, IV, 254, no. 3071. See also V, 108, 117-18, 156-9, 199, 202-3, 246-8; nos. 3755, 3765, 3809, 3840, 3850, 3896.

⁹ Henry Doniol, 'Cartulaire de Sauxillanges', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand* NS 3 (1861), 966-7, 1072-3, nos. 697, 905.

¹⁰ Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoye* (Lyons 1660), III (preuves), 27. See *Cluny*, V, 77, no. 3727.

piety but by levity' and was duly punished after he was found with a woman.¹¹ A few crusaders later became monks at Cluny, like Odo Arpinus of Bourges.¹² Cluny also acquired some relics as a result of the crusade. The Byzantine emperor allowed archbishop Maurice of Braga to buy a relic of the cross that, owing to the Turkish advance, has been taken to Constantinople from Caesarea on condition that it should be given to Cluny, where it was taken in 1112 by a monk of the Cluniac house of Carrión.¹³ And archbishop Hugh of Edessa, whom Hugh of Cluny had invested 'with the society of all the goods of the congregation' when he was on his way from Flanders to Jerusalem, gave a relic of St Stephen to Cluny.¹⁴ Abbot Hugh apparently used the association with Cluny as a way to extend its influence and attract gifts from the newly conquered lands in the east.

Beyond these few references there is no known evidence linking Cluny directly to the first crusade. No history of the crusade or propagandistic work was written at Cluny or in a Cluniac house, with the possible exception of the so-called encyclical of Sergius IV, which has been linked to Moissac.¹⁵ No manuscript of a

¹¹ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, IV, 15, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIII, 196. Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* (n. 5), 81, called him a Cluniac.

¹² See chapter 9. Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* (n. 5), 132, cited (121) the *miles* Grimaldus who made a gift to Cluny after his return from Jerusalem and received the society and confraternity of the monks (*Cluny*, V, 117-18, no. 3765).

¹³ *RHGF*, V.1, 295-8.

¹⁴ *RHGF*, V.1, 317-20. See Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 303-4.

¹⁵ The most recent edition is in Hans Martin Schaller, 'Zur Kreuzzugensyklika Papst Sergius' IV.', in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Tübingen 1991), 135-53, esp. 150-3 for the text. Schaller defended the authenticity of the document, which he dated 1010, against the arguments of Alexander Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012)', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1948), 3-23, 6 (1950), 3-34, esp. 26-32, who believed that it was fabricated at Moissac and associated with the Holy Land and the Spanish crusades. In spite of the doubts expressed by Delaruelle, 'Idée de croisade' (n. 3), 111-15, on the crusading interests at Moissac, this hypothesis has been accepted by various scholars, including Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 301-2; Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien. Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-León vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Kallmünz 1974), 8; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 17; Ambrogio Piazzoni, '“Militia Christi” e Cluniacensi', in 'Militia Christi' e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989 (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scienze storiche 48. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13; Milan 1992), 261; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c.1130* (Oxford 1993), 64-6; John France, 'The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 4. It was described as 'an odd letter', of which the peculiarities are not removed 'by transporting them to 1095', by Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford History of the Christian Church; Oxford 1989), 147 n.16; see idem, 'Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion

crusading history was in the library at Cluny. The two letters written from the Holy Land by Anselm of Ribemont to archbishop Manasses of Rheims in 1097 and 1098 and the crusading appeal addressed to the faithful by the clergy and people of Lucca in 1098 are known only in a manuscript from St Martin-des-Champs, which was a prominent Cluniac house,¹⁶ but this barely shows an interest in the crusade, let alone a role in preparing or promoting it. There was a memory in the middle of the twelfth century associating Urban's initiative with Cluny. Prior Peter of the Augustinian house of St John at Sens in his letter written to bishop Hato of Troyes soon after he became a monk at Cluny, late in 1145 or early in 1146 (that is, just before the second crusade), wrote after describing Urban's call to the crusade:

Let no one doubt that he acquired in the monastery of Cluny, where he had been prior, the knowledge and eloquence which were able to enlighten all the faithful and gave to the Christians the courage to crush the infidels. And this great good flowed from the same holy place, from whose fountainhead that apostolic man drank the flood of holy religion and such great eloquence.¹⁷

Interesting as this is, it was written many years later and does not prove the direct involvement of Cluny in the origins of the crusade.

In view of the paucity of contemporary evidence, indeed, and of the exaggerated claims for Cluniac participation made by some scholars, others have argued that Cluny not only had nothing directly to do with the crusade but was unsympathetic or even opposed to it both in practice and in principle. Delaruelle in particular criticized what he called 'un véritable "panclunisme"' and maintained in his article on 'L'idée de croisade dans la littérature clunisienne du XI^e siècle et l'abbaye de Moissac' that for the Cluniacs life in the world was distinct from life in the monastery, which was dedicated to prayer and incompatible with the idea of holy war.¹⁸ He cited the passage from the letter from the emperor Henry III to Hugh of

to Jerusalem before the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. Robert H. Swanson (Studies in Church History 36; Woodbridge 2000), 92 and n. 10, defending its authenticity.

¹⁶ Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck 1901), 144-6, 156-60, 165-7. See the discussion of the manuscript (now Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, H 1710 [formerly H 1345]), which is made up of fragments of two manuscripts, one of the eleventh and the other of the twelfth century, in Paul Riant, 'Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades [2]', *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), 165 n.6.

¹⁷ Giles Constable, 'The Letter from Peter of St John to Hato of Troyes', in *Petrus Venerabilis 1056-1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death*, ed. Giles Constable, James Kritzeck (Studia Anselmiana 40; Rome 1956), 51, cf. 47-8.

¹⁸ Delaruelle, 'Idée de croisade' (n. 3), 96-7 on 'panclunisme' and *passim*. Cf. the warnings against exaggerating the role of Cluny expressed by Ernst Robert Curtius, 'Der Kreuzzugsgedanke und das altfranzösische Epos', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 169 (1936), 49; Guy de Valous, 'Les monastères et la pénétration française en

Cluny in 1051, inviting him to be godfather of his infant son, the future Henry IV, and asking for his prayers 'for the welfare of the republic, the honor of the entire realm, [and] the salvation of ourselves and our men'. The prayer of Hugh and his monks, Henry wrote, 'is the purer the further it is removed from the actions of the world; the worthier, the closer it is to holy manifestations'.¹⁹

Henry clearly recognized the value of Cluniac prayers for secular society, and Cluny was never in fact cut off from the world, even if many individual Cluniac monks rarely if ever left their monasteries. Especially in the eleventh century, Cluny had far-flung interests and concerns that brought it into contact with the frontiers of Christian society, and, inevitably, with the pagans and Muslims who lived beyond. It was in touch with southern Italy in the tenth century. John, the author of the *Vita* of abbot Odo, came from Salerno and was on one occasion sent to Naples for the business of the monastery, and the abbey of La Cava, south of Naples, was founded by the Cluniac Alferius about 1025.²⁰ There were Saracens closer to home, and their capture of abbot Maiolus in 972 led to the so-called 'war in the name of saint Maiolus' and the expulsion of the Saracens from Provence.²¹ The author – most likely a Cluniac abbot, perhaps Odilo – of a letter to the king of Germany probably in 1046, but possibly in 980/2 or 1013/14, wrote that:

The neighbors either hurry to submit themselves to you or waste away terrified when they have heard the praises of your power. The Slav grunts; the Hungarian cries out; the Greek is in awe and amazed; the Saracen trembles and flees; the African pays tribute; the Spaniard asks for help; the Burgundian gives honor and love; the joyful Aquitanian comes in haste.²²

Espagne du XI^e au XIII^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 30 (1940), 86; Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 291-4; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 329 n.73 (and more generally 68-72); Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 16), 292 n.5; Segl, *Königtum* (n. 16), 7-8.

¹⁹ MGH, *Diplomata*, V.2, 351, no. 263. See Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 74, 268, no. 2, 292, no. 29, and on Hugh's sponsorship of Henry IV, Joseph Lynch, 'Hugh I of Cluny's Sponsorship of Henry IV: Its Context and Consequences,' *Speculum* 60 (1985), 800-26, esp. 801 on this letter.

²⁰ John of Salerno, *Vita Odonis*, II, 21, in *PL*, CXXXIII, 72B. On La Cava, see Paul Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cava* (Cava dei Tirreni 1877), 16-20; Lynn White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Mediaeval Academy of America Publ. 31; Cambridge, Mass. 1938), 134-5; Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), II, 16. An early manuscript of a version of Bernard's *Consuetudines cluniacenses* is from Monreale, now MS Palermo, Bibl. naz., S. Maria Nuova XXV F29.

²¹ Delaruelle, 'Idée de croisade' (n. 3), 97; Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Continence et virginité dans la conception clunisienne de l'ordre du monde autour de l'an mille', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus* 1985, 132-3, 134-5, on the Saracens, whom Maiolus identified with luxury; Piazzoni, '“Militia Christi”' (n. 15), 248-9.

²² Ernst Sackur, 'Ein Schreiben Odilos von Cluni an Henrich III. vom Oktober 1046', *Neues Archiv* 24 (1899), 734, and the partial edition, with a discussion of the authenticity

Abbot Hugh went to Hungary as the legate of pope Leo IX in 1051 or 1052 and to Spain in 1085 and 1090.²³ Although there were no known Cluniac houses in Byzantium or the Holy Land before the twelfth century,²⁴ Cluny was certainly in contact with the east in the eleventh century. The Cluniac monk and hermit Anastasius, who came from Venice and died in 1085 or 1086, probably had Greek connections.²⁵ Cluniac manuscripts and frescoes of that time also show that Byzantine influence came not only through Italy but also from Byzantium itself.²⁶

The area of most concern to Cluny on the borders of Christianity, and the area where scholars have found the most interesting forerunners of the crusades, was Spain, where the first Cluniac houses were established in the early eleventh century and where Cluny had great influence, though scholars have now abandoned the view that it was the primary force behind the Reconquista.²⁷ The charters and other

and date, in *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*, ed. Georgius Györffy, I (Budapest 1992), 427-8.

²³ Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049-1109* (London 1967), 131; Lynch, 'Hugh I' (n. 19), 813; Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), II, 17; Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 292, 317, 321.

²⁴ Hunt, *Cluny* (n. 23), 130-1; *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), II, 293-4; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster, und Stifter im Königreich Jerusalem (MGH, Schriften 26; Stuttgart 1977)*, 48-50, 403-5.

²⁵ Walter, *Vita Anastasii*, in *PL*, CXLIX, 425-32. See Jules Baudot, Léon Chaussin, *Vies des saints et des bienheureux*, 13 vols (Paris 1935-59), X, 519-23; Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), II, 15.

²⁶ Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (Wrightsmen Lectures 3; London 1970), 112-18.

²⁷ Among many recent works on Cluny and Spain, see (in chronological order) Anscari Mundó, 'Moissac, Cluny et les mouvements monastiques de l'Est des Pyrénées du X^e au XII^e siècle', in *Moissac* (n. 3), 299-48; Fechter, *Cluny* (n. 3), 102-17; José Mattoso, *Le monachisme ibérique et Cluny. Les monastères du diocèse de Porto de l'an mille à 1200* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie 4S 39; Louvain 1968), esp. 120-5, dating the introduction of Cluniac customs into the diocese of Porto in 1085-1115; Charles J. Bishko, 'Fernando I y los origines de la alianza castellano leonesa con Cluny', *Cuadernos de historia de España* 47-8 (1968), 31-135, 49-50 (1969), 50-116, and the studies reprinted in idem, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300* (London 1984), esp. 'The Cluniac Priors of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration, 1075 - ca. 1230' (1965); Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford 1970), 214-47; idem, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 289, 297-300; Segl, *Königtum* (n. 16), 7-10 for bibliography; idem, 'Cluny in Spanien', *Deutsches Archiv* 33 (1977), 560-9, who discussed (565) the view that León-Castile became a vassal state of Cluny; Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), II, 289-93, who argued (289) that 'Entscheidend war das innere Verhältnis, die geistige Einstellung Clunys und der Cluniazenser zur Reconquista und, damit zusammenhängend, später zum Kreuzzug'; Vincente Cantarino, 'The Spanish Reconquest: A Cluniac Holy War against Islam?', in *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of Intercultural Relations*, ed. Khalil I. Semaan (Albany 1980), 82-109, who concluded (with some reservations) that 'The Spanish Reconquest became a Holy War under Cluniac

sources show that the motive of the Spanish kings and nobles in founding and supporting Cluniac monasteries was their desire to promote a renewal of monastic life and above all to associate themselves with the prayers of Cluniac monks.²⁸ King Sancho the Great of Navarre in his privilege for Oña in 1033 said that:

No one could show more perfectly the perfection of the monastic profession ... than the congregation of Cluny, which at that time flourished more brightly than other monasteries of Benedict in the perfect regular religion, with the aid of God and the administration of the venerable abbot Odilo.²⁹

When the celebrated archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmirez visited Rome to get the pallium in 1104, according to the *Historia Compostelana*, he came 'to Cluny as to the head of the entire monastic religion'.³⁰ The kings of León and Castile in particular saw Cluny as a dynastic *Kultkloster* upon which the welfare of their family and kingdom depended.³¹ Alfonso VI referred to 'the so celebrated, so tested, so holy religion of the monastery of Cluny' and humbly requested 'the society of the monks fighting for God and St Peter in that place' in a charter of 1090 doubling his annual subsidy from one hundred to 200 dinars, where he further said:

influence'; Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI 1065-1109* (Princeton 1988), esp. 94-5, 113-14, 211-13; Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 95 n.13, saying that Cluniac influence on the Reconquista has been exaggerated; Bull, *Knightly Piety* (n. 16), 70-114; Émile Magnien, 'Cluny et la croisade d'Espagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', in *Paray-le-Monial, 28-29-30 mai 1992. Actes du colloque* (Paray-le Monial 1994), 79-97; Humbert Jacomet, 'Pèlerinage et culte de saint Jacques en France. Bilan et perspectives', in *Pèlerinages et croisades*, pref. Léon Pressouyre (Actes du 118 congrès national annuel des sociétés historiques et scientifiques; Paris 1995), 120 esp. n. 132. On Cluniac bishops in Spain in the eleventh century, see Segl, 'Cluny' (n. 16), 567; Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), I, 241; Joachim Mehne, 'Cluniacenserbischofe', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 11 (1977), 260-1.

²⁸ Pierre David, 'Grégoire VII, Cluny et Alphonse VI', in idem, *Etudes historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection portugaise publiée sous le patronage de l'Institut français au Portugal 7; Lisbon-Paris 1947), 341-469, esp. 363-4; Delaruelle, 'Idée de croisade' (n. 3), 105; Mattoso, *Monachisme* (n. 27), 280-1; Bishko, 'Cluniac Priors' (n. 27), 337; esp. Segl, *Königtum* (n. 16), 181-93.

²⁹ *Cluny*, IV, 90, no. 2891.

³⁰ *Historia Compostelana*, I, 16, in CC:CM, LXX, 38. On this work, of which the first part was composed probably between 1111 and 1113, see Bernard Reilly, 'The *Historia Compostelana*: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish *Gesta*', *Speculum* 44 (1969), 78-85. See also Jacomet, 'Pèlerinage' (n. 27), 121 and n. 134.

³¹ See esp. Charles J. Bishko, 'Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León' (1961), repr. with an additional note in his *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History* (n. 27); also Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 288; Segl, *Königtum* (n. 16), 193-9; Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 48.

I make this constitution for the assistance of the souls of myself, my father and mother, and my brothers, for my wife and children [and for all those who are born from my family up until the end of the world] in order that it may help the living to deserve eternal life and the dead to have eternal rest.³²

Bernold of St Blaise, writing in Germany towards the end of the eleventh century, described Alfonso as ‘catholic in faith and an obedientary of the abbot of Cluny in way of life’ and also said, after describing his wars against the pagans, restorations of churches, and building of the great church at Cluny, that he would have become a monk there ‘if the lord abbot had not considered it better for him to remain for the time being in the secular habit’.³³

Cluny’s interests in Spain thus extended beyond the exclusively spiritual sphere. According to Ralph Glaber, the Christians who attacked the Saracens in Spain in 1033 invoked the aid of God through Mary, St Peter, and the saints and promised to give any booty to St Peter at Cluny, and after their victory they sent the spoils to Cluny, where Odilo used some of it to make a ciborium for the altar of St Peter and distributed the remainder to the poor.³⁴ The story may be untrue, but it shows that Glaber believed that Cluny was not only held in high esteem by the Christian fighters in Spain but also profited materially from their victories. Abbot Hugh took a particular interest in the conversion of the Saracens. When Anastasius visited Spain in 1073 or 1074 he was instructed by pope Gregory VII and urged by abbot Hugh to preach to the Saracens,³⁵ and Hugh wrote to the newly elected Cluniac archbishop Bernard of Toledo in 1087 that he should ‘preach the word of God fearlessly and constantly to those who hitherto, owing to our sins, have not shown due honor to their Creator’ and should ‘dispense faithfully the word of God by arguing, beseeching, rebuking in all patience and learning to the learned and the unlearned, to Christians and unbelievers’. An exemplary life and good work, Hugh added, ‘will prevail more than all preaching to arouse and convert the infidels’.³⁶

³² *Cluny*, IV, 809-10, no. 3638; cf. IV, 551-5, 627-9, 697-8, nos. 3441, 3509, 3562. On the special relation between Alfonso VI and Cluny, see Bishko’s works cited n. 27; Segl, *Königtum* (n. 16), 47-76, 196; Reilly, *Kingdom* (n. 27), 211-13.

³³ Bernold of St Blaise, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1093, in *MGH, SS*, V, 457. See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 68-9.

³⁴ Ralph Glaber, *Historiae*, IV, 7, 22, ed. John France (OMT; Oxford 1989), 206-8. See Maurice Chaume, ‘Les premières croisades bourguignonnes au-delà des Pyrénées’, *Annales de Bourgogne* 18 (1946), 163.

³⁵ Walter, *Vita Anastasii*, 5, in *PL*, CXLIX, 429A. See Allan Cutler, ‘Who was the “Monk of France” and When did he write? A note on D. M. Dunlap’s “A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain in the 11th Century”’, *Al-Andalus* 28 (1963), 249-69; idem, ‘The First Crusade and the Idea of “Conversion”’, *The Muslim World* 58 (1968), 57-71, 155-64; Hunt, *Cluny* (n. 23), 48, 87, 149; Kedar, *Crusade* (n. 3), 44-6; Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 94.

³⁶ This letter was discovered and published by Marius Férotin, ‘Une lettre inédite de saint Hugues abbé de Cluny à Bernard d’Agen, archevêque de Tolède (1087)’, *Bibliothèque*

Some time between 1093 and 1107 – the date is disputed – the cousins Raymond and Henry of Burgundy, who were respectively counts of Galicia and Portugal, wrote to Hugh and ‘to the entire congregation of St Peter’ saying that they had seen Hugh’s legate Dalmatius Geret, promised to respect each other’s life and safety, and agreed on a division of Alfonso’s kingdom and treasure. Raymond further swore in the hand of Dalmatius to give Toledo or Galicia to Henry in return for his help in the acquisition of ‘the whole land of León and Castile’.³⁷ Hugh’s intervention in this matter is explained in part, no doubt, by his concern for the Cluniac monasteries in León and Castile, of which several were near the border and may, indeed, have served as regional centers of royal power,³⁸ and also by his close personal ties to many of the Burgundian nobles who played such a large role in the Reconquista. Maurice Chaume towards the end of his life wrote two short articles on what he called the Burgundian crusades or ‘croisades d’outremont’ in Spain,³⁹ starting with the expedition of 1033 and including the so-called crusade of Barbastro in 1064-5, which was led by count Theobald I of Chalon,⁴⁰ and the expeditions against Muniones in 1078-9, which was led by Hugh

de l'École des Chartes 61 (1900), 329-45, with a ‘Complément’, *ibid.* 63 (1902), 682-6, and was reedited in Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Two Studies in Cluniac History’ (offprint from *Studi Gregoriani* 11; Rome 1978), 145-9 (cited passages 146-7). On Bernard and this letter, see Fechter, *Volk* (n. 3), 111-13, who said that in practice war and mission were often closely connected; Cowdrey, *Cluniacs* (n. 27), 240-5; Kedar, *Crusade* (n. 3), 46; Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), II, 360; Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 38-9, 94-5, 227-9, 275, no. 42.

³⁷ PL, CLIX, 944-6, and *Documentos medievais portugueses. Documentos régios*, I.1 (Lisbon 1958), 3-4, no. 2 (dated 1095-1107); cf. the commentary in I.2 (Lisbon 1962), 547-53. On this letter see esp. Charles J. Bishko, ‘Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny, and the Antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório’ (1971), repr. with an additional note in *idem*, *Spanish and Portuguese History* (n. 27), who dated it 1105; Bernard Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109-1126* (Princeton 1982), 27; *idem*, *Kingdom* (n. 27), 251-2, who called the pact ‘an act of treason’ and dated it before 1095. See also Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 231-3, 284, no. 95, with a discussion of the date.

³⁸ Segl, *Königtum* (n. 16), 209-10.

³⁹ Maurice Chaume, ‘En marge des croisades bourguignonnes d’Espagne’, *Annales de Bourgogne* 9 (1937), 68-72, and *idem*, ‘Croisades’ (n. 34).

⁴⁰ Pierre Boissonade, ‘Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale contre les Sarrasins d’Espagne – Barbastro (1064-1065)’, *Revue des questions historiques* 117 (1932), 257-301; David, ‘Grégoire VII’ (n. 28), 380-1; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 98 (‘The real “crusades” of the French knights against the Iberian Muslims began in 1064.’), 136-40, 288-90; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London-Basingstoke 1977), 74-5; Albert Ferreiro, ‘The Siege of Barbastro, 1064-65: A Reassessment’, *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 129-44; Richard A. Fletcher, ‘Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5S 37 (1987), 42-3, who said that the ‘Barbastro crusade’ was not a crusade and that the Reconquest was not regarded as a crusade before 1123; Philippe Sénac, ‘Un château en Espagne. Notes sur la prise de Barbastro (1064)’, in *Liber largitorius. Etudes d’histoire médiévale offerts à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves* (Ecole pratique des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques V.

I of Burgundy and Hugh II of Chalon, and against Saragossa in 1087, which was led by Odo I of Burgundy and in which Henry of Portugal and Raymond of Galicia took part. Chaume remarked both on the close family relationships of many of the participants in these expeditions, which accounted for the interventions of the dukes and counts of Burgundy in Spanish affairs, and on the appearance in Burgundy after the middle of the eleventh century of names like Raymond and Pontius, which were previously unknown in the region and were probably the result of marriages between Burgundian nobles and women from southwestern France and Spain.⁴¹ Abbot Hugh himself belonged to the family of the counts of Chalon, and Theobald I and Hugh II of Chalon were respectively his uncle and cousin.⁴² His position was probably a factor, according to Noreen Hunt, 'in the marriages of some of his nephews and nieces through whom family connections were established with the royal houses of France and Spain'.⁴³

Hugh's interests were undoubtedly known to, and perhaps shared by, the future pope Urban II, who was prior of Cluny from about 1070 to 1080 and maintained his connections with Cluny after he became a cardinal and, later, pope.⁴⁴ This suggestion leads into the area of speculation and raises the larger question of the extent to which Cluny may have contributed to the prehistory of the crusade. Here there are three themes upon which scholars have concentrated: pilgrimage, holy war, and the movement known as the peace and truce of God. I shall not discuss at length the idea of pilgrimage, which underlay much of the ideology of the crusade, as the charters cited above show. There is no question that Cluny and its dependencies, especially those located along the pilgrimage routes, received the offerings of pilgrims and may for this reason have encouraged pilgrimages, like many other monasteries, but it is hard to discern any special contribution made by Cluny and the Cluniacs.⁴⁵ The situation is less clear with regard to holy war, and several scholars have pointed to the justification of fighting in the *Vita* of Gerald

Hautes études médiévales et modernes 84; Geneva 2003), 246-62. On the larger question of the reconquest in Spain, see p. 189 above.

⁴¹ Chaume, 'En marge' (n. 39), 72; idem, 'Croisades' (n. 34), 165. See De Valous, 'Monastères' (n. 18), 82; Fechter, *Volk* (n. 3), 106-7; Becker, *Urban II.* (n. 1), II, 289.

⁴² There are genealogical charts in *Le cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire (1045-1144)*, ed. Jean Richard (Analecta Burgundica; Dijon 1957), between 240-1, and Kohnle, *Hugo* (n. 1), 390-1. See also Bull, *Knightly Piety* (n. 16), 107, 111.

⁴³ Hunt, *Cluny* (n. 23), 26.

⁴⁴ Becker, *Urban II.* (n. 1), I, 212, II, 288-9.

⁴⁵ Paolo Lamma, *Momenti di storiografia cluniacense* (Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo. Studi storici 42-4; Rome 1961), 139-46; Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 290-2; Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 16), 13; Piazzoni, "'Militia Christi'" (n. 15), 256-7; Magnien, 'Cluny' (n. 27), 85, who called Cluny 'l'âme de ce prodigieux engouement pour le pèlerinage de Galice'; Jacomet, 'Pèlerinage' (n. 27), 120 n.133, however, denied that Cluny promoted pilgrimage. Georg Schreiber, 'Cluny und die Eigenkirche' (1942), repr. in idem, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Münster 1948), 88, argued that the Cluniac 'culture of the cross' helped lay the spiritual preparation for the crusades.

of Aurillac by Odo of Cluny.⁴⁶ Gerald, who died in 909, was a lay noble who lived a semi-monastic life and fought to promote peace and justice. According to Odo, 'A layman placed in the order of fighters is permitted to carry a sword in order to defend the unarmed people, like an innocent flock from the evening wolves.' When Gerald wanted to take the religious habit, the bishop of Rodez 'studied the case with deeper counsel and finally advised that he should keep himself in the secular habit for the welfare of the people of the province'.⁴⁷ There is no reason to believe that this work, which was addressed primarily to monks, exercised a wide influence on lay society, but it represented the first step, as Erdmann put it, 'in the incorporation of the profession of arms into the ethical program of the church'.⁴⁸ Gregory VII in his letter to Hugh of Cluny criticizing the admission to Cluny of duke Hugh of Burgundy wrote that 'You have taken or received the duke into the peace of Cluny, so that a hundred thousand Christians will be without a protector'.⁴⁹ Abbot Hugh himself recognized the need for Christian rulers and fighters. He was said to have dissuaded Alfonso VI from becoming a monk at Cluny, presumably because he was needed in the world of active affairs, and in 1100 he personally put the cross on the shoulder of Stephen of Neublens, who although a *miles*, as he said, wanted to pay his debt to Christ by going to Jerusalem.⁵⁰

This spirit was institutionalized in the peace and truce of God, to which Cluny also made a significant contribution in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.⁵¹ Odilo

⁴⁶ Odo of Cluny, *Vita Geraldii Auriliacensis*, in *PL*, CXXXIII, 639-704. See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 87-9; Lamma, *Momenti* (n. 45), 147-8; Paul Rousset, 'L'idéal chevaleresque dans deux *Vitae* clunisiennes', in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX^e – XII^e siècles)*. *Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers 1974), 624-8, who said (628) that Odo presented 'une forme de sainteté nouvelle, une vie de laïc consacrée à la justice et à la charité'; Delaruelle, *Idée* (n. 3), 57-8; Bull, *Knightly Piety* (n. 16), 226-7.

⁴⁷ Odo, *Vita Geraldii*, I, 8 (citing Habacuc 1.8), II, 1, in *PL*, CXXXIII, 647C, 670C.

⁴⁸ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 88. On the influence of the *Vita*, of which there were eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts in Italy and Spain, and various epitomes, see Paolo Faccioto, 'La "Vita Geraldii" di Oddone di Cluny, un problema aperto', *Studi medievali* 3S 33 (1992), 243-63, esp. 261-2. Delaruelle, 'Idée de croisade' (n. 3), 98, warned that the idea of a *militia secularis* did not lead to holy war but accepted that 'Cluny a puissamment contribué à la formation du type du *miles* chrétien, ce personnage nouveau dans l'histoire, héros des prochaines croisades.'

⁴⁹ Gregory VII, *Register*, VI, 17, ed. Erich Caspar, 2 vols (*MGH*, *Epistolae selectae* 2; Berlin 1920-3), II, 423, and tr. Herbert E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford 2002), 298-9. See Delaruelle, *Idée* (n. 3), 82; Cowdrey, *Cluniacs* (n. 27), 144-5; idem, 'Count Simon of Crépy's Monastic Conversion', in *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques. Mélanges Marcel Pacaut* (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales 1; Lyons 1994), 260-2.

⁵⁰ See nn. 5 and 33.

⁵¹ See Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (*MGH*, *Schriften* 20; Stuttgart 1964), 45-7; Fechter, *Volk* (n. 3), 94-101; Cowdrey, 'Cluny' (n. 1), 395-6; Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale (879-1166)* (Paris 1976), 191; Piazzoni, 'Militia Christi' (n. 16), 252-3; the articles by Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, Richard Landes, and

participated in the two councils of Anse, of which the first, in 994, guaranteed the possessions of Cluny, and the second, in 1025, witnessed the oath of the count of Savoy and the renunciation by Archimbert and his sons of their claims to Valensole.⁵² In 1037/41 he joined the archbishop of Arles and the bishops of Avignon and Nice in promulgating the truce of God in the archdiocese of Arles,⁵³ and he appeared with several unnamed bishops and clerics in a decree concerning the *pax firma pro treuga Dei* in southern Italy.⁵⁴ The chronicler Hugh of Flavigny, writing at the end of the eleventh century, associated Odilo with the peace and truce of God,⁵⁵ and Jacques Hourlier, his modern biographer, said that 'Tradition ... gives him a capital role in the establishment of the truce of God, though it is difficult to follow his personal role in the councils and assemblies which proclaimed the peace.'⁵⁶

Whether or not the peace and truce of God were connected with the crusades is a subject upon which scholars are disagreed,⁵⁷ but the perception of Cluniac involvement may in the long run have been more important than any actual influence, and contemporaries might have disregarded some of the distinctions made here. For them Cluny represented 'the perfection of the monastic profession' and 'the head of the entire monastic religion'. The ciborium on the altar of St Peter at Cluny, whether or not it was made out of the booty from the expedition in 1033, was a reminder of the power of St Peter and of the prayers of his monks

Hans-Werner Goetz in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head, Richard Landes (Ithaca-London 1992), 105, 125 (describing Cluny as 'at the front lines of the Peace movement'), 204-5, 273-5 (warning that 'the link between Cluny and the Peace of God should not be overestimated'); Bull, *Knightly Piety* (n. 16), 21-69.

⁵² Cluny, III, 266-7, 384-8, nos. 2066, 2255. See Jacques Hourlier, *Saint Odilon abbé de Cluny* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 40; Louvain 1964), 52-3, 92; Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede* (n. 51), 45, 85, 132; and, on the date of no. 2066, Maurice Chaume, 'Observations sur la chronologie des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny (suite)', *Revue Mabillon* 31 (1941), 70.

⁵³ MGH, *Constitutiones*, I, 596, no. 419. See Hourlier, *Odilon* (n. 52), 109; Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail A 23, 29; Toulouse 1975), II, 657.

⁵⁴ Roger E. Reynolds, 'Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 450-62.

⁵⁵ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 2, in PL, CLIX, 262B. This passage is in part based on Ralph Glaber, *Historiae*, V, 1, 15-16, s.a. 1041, ed. France (n. 34), 236-8, who did not mention Odilo.

⁵⁶ Hourlier, *Odilon* (n. 52), 184, cf. 108-9.

⁵⁷ Étienne Delaruelle, who was cautious in such matters, said that 'On le sent, paix de Dieu et croisade sont deux institutions apparentées,' in his article on 'Paix de Dieu et croisade dans la chrétienté du XII^e siècle,' in *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIII^e siècle* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 4; Toulouse 1969), 57, repr. in idem, *Idée* (n. 3), 239, whereas Bull, *Knightly Piety* (n. 16), 61, referred to 'the absence of any coherent theoretical link between the Peace and the crusade'. See also Becker, *Urban II*. (n. 1), II, 275-81.

in the ongoing struggle against the Saracens, as was the relic of the cross which the Byzantine emperor permitted to go to Cluny. The rising walls of the great third church at Cluny, which was largely paid for by funds from Spain, were tied to the military success of Alfonso VI. The names of the great abbots of Cluny were linked to various threads that led, directly or indirectly, to the crusades: Odo with the idea of holy warfare; Maiolus with the expulsion of the Saracens; Odilo with the peace and truce of God; and Hugh with the effort to convert the Muslims and to extend the boundaries of Christianity in Spain.⁵⁸ Considerations like these are on another level than the comparatively small direct participation made by financing a few individual crusaders, but they suggest that in the minds of some contemporaries Cluny played a significant role in laying the groundwork for the first crusade.

Note

Revised from 'Cluny and the First Crusade', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil régional d'Auvergne* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 236; Rome 1997), 179-93.

⁵⁸ Cowdrey, *Cluny* (n. 1), 304-9, stressed Hugh's friendship with Anselm of Canterbury and Hugh of Lyons, both of whom supported the crusade.

Chapter 8

Early Crusading in Eastern Germany: The Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8

Some valuable light is thrown on the spread of crusading ideas and the knowledge of the first crusade, and on early crusading in eastern Germany, by the so called Magdeburg charter of 1107/8, which clearly associates spiritual welfare and material gain with the defense of Christianity and warfare against pagans and infidels. The charter was first published by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand in 1724 from a twelfth-century manuscript in the library of the abbey of Grafschaft in the present diocese of Paderborn.¹ The manuscript is ‘very carefully, clearly, and correctly written’, according to Wilhelm Wattenbach, who said that the Magdeburg charter is in ‘a somewhat later hand and without rubrication but very correct and clearly written and punctuated’.² The edition of Martène and Durand (including its omissions) was reprinted several times, beginning in 1733, when Johannes Gottlob Horn published an edition of the text, calling it ‘maxime memorabilem’, with a series of remarkable notes, which are still of scholarly value.³ In 1882 two new editions, based on the rediscovered manuscript, were produced at the same time by Wattenbach and by Alexander Brückner. Critical annotated editions subsequently appeared in the *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Merseburg*, the *Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, and in the collection of sources concerning the medieval German settlements in the east by Herbert Hilbig and Lorenz Weinrich.⁴ There are

¹ Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek 749, ff. 86^v-8^v. *Veterum scriptorum ... amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmond Martène, Ursin Durand, 9 vols (Paris 1724-33), I, 625-7. This edition is marked by three small lacunae (‘Christumque nostrum suggillantes’, ‘crateras tenent humano sanguine plenas’, and ‘nostre’ after Jerusalem), which were probably accidental but may have been deliberate, as suggested by Henri Pirenne, ‘Un appel à une croisade contre les Slaves adressé à l’évêque de Liège, au duc de Lotharingie et au comte de Flandre au commencement du XII^me siècle’, in *Mélanges Camille de Borman. Recueil de mémoires relatifs à l’histoire, à l’archéologie et à la philologie offert au Baron de Borman et publié par ses amis et admirateurs* (Liège 1919), 86 n.1. There is also a one-word lacuna in the manuscript (see n. 96 in the accompanying translation).

² Wilhelm Wattenbach, ‘Handschriftliches’, *Neues Archiv* 7 (1882), 622-3.

³ Johannes Gottlob Horn, *Commentationes nonnullae in epistolam maxime memorabilem, quam Adelgotus, archiep. Magdeb. caeterique praesules ac procures Saxoniae orientalis in causa religionis a Slavis paganis vindicandae ad alios Christi socios in Germania circa an. MCVIII miserunt* (Dresden-Leipzig 1733).

⁴ Wattenbach, ‘Handschriftliches’ (n. 2), 624-6; Alexander Brückner, ‘Pripegala’, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 6 (1882), 220-2, both with references to previous editions;

several partial editions, and at least two translations into German.⁵ The translation into English published as an appendix to this article is, so far as I know, the only complete translation into any other language.⁶

The charter is composed in accordance with the rules of the medieval epistolary art or *dictamen*. Although it has no *arenga* or *captatio benevolentiae*, the body of the text, following the address and salutation, is divided into two parts, each of which is subdivided into a *narratio* and a *petitio* or request.⁷ The narrative of the first part goes, in the accompanying translation, from 'We have been for a long time oppressed ...' to '... have good success in all things'. It deals primarily with the misdeeds, cruelty, and impiety of the heathen Slavs and sets the scene for the following request or exhortation, which goes from 'Therefore, beloved brothers ...' to '... may not depart from your mouth', and is a mosaic of biblical citations. Here the author urged the recipients to rouse themselves, defeat the heathens, and rebuild the church, symbolized by Jerusalem. The second part is concerned with

Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Merseburg. Erster Theil (962-1357), ed. Paul Kehr (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen 36; Halle 1899), 75-7, no. 91; *Urkundenbuch der Erzsifts Magdeburg. Teil I (937-1192)*, ed. Friedrich Israël, Walter Möllenberg (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen NR 18; Magdeburg 1937), 249-52, no. 193; *Urkundenbuch und erzählende Quellen zur deutschen Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, ed. Herbert Helbig, Lorenz Weinrich (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 26a: Diplomata et chronica historiarum locationis Teutonicorum illustrantia; Darmstadt 1984), 96-102, no. 19. These also include references to previous editions. There is a partial edition, also with references to previous editions, in *Diplomatarium Danorum*, I.2: 1083-1169 (Copenhagen 1963), 83-4, no. 89.

⁵ The most widely cited partial edition is in *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rudolf Kötzschke (Leipzig-Berlin 1931), 9-10, no. 3. There are full translations in Peter Knoch, 'Kreuzzug und Siedlung. Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche vom 1108', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 23 (1974), 4-6, and in *Urkunden*, ed. Helbig/Weinrich (n. 4), 97-103, and partial translations in Gerald Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, 7 vols (Leipzig 1890-1909), VI, 80; Hermann Krabbo, 'Eine Schilderung der Elbislaven aus dem Jahre 1108', in *Papsttum und Kaisertum. Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters. Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, ed. Albert Brackmann (Munich 1926), 251; Margret Bünding-Naujoks, 'Das Imperium christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert' (1940), repr. in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Wege der Forschung 7; Darmstadt 1963), 87-9; Karl Quirin, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter* (Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte 2; Göttingen-Frankfurt-Berlin 1954), 60-1, no. 9a.

⁶ The translation (without the list of writers and addresses and identification of biblical sources) in Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality* (Documents of Medieval History 4; London 1981), 74-7, came to my attention after the original publication of this article.

⁷ Helmut Beumann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter' (1953), repr. in *Heidenmission* (n. 5), 130-1.

the planning and execution of the campaign. It consists of a narrative ('The king of the Danes ... in eastern Saxony'), which deals with the participation of the kings of Denmark and Germany and the dates and places of meeting, and an exhortation ('Most holy fathers ... have good success'), again marked by many quotations from the bible. It begins with an appeal addressed to monks, hermits, and recluses, goes on in more general terms to offer participants the opportunity for spiritual and material rewards, and ends with an appeal to God to give them the will and strength to subdue the heathens.

The charter is in the form of a general letter addressed by archbishop Adelgot of Magdeburg (1107-19), bishop Albuin of Merseburg (1097-1112), bishop Walram of Naumburg (1090/1-1111), bishop Herwig of Meissen (1108?-1118), bishop Hezilo of Havelberg (1096-1108/10), bishop Hartbrecht of Brandenburg (1102?-24?), count Otto 'der Reiche' of Ballenstedt (d.1123), count (later markgraf) Wicbert (Wiprecht) of Groitzsch (d.1124), count (later landgraf) Louis 'der Springer' of Thuringia (d.1123), 'and all the greater and lesser men of eastern Saxony' to bishop Reginhart of Halberstadt (1107-23), abbot Erchanbert of Corvey (1106-28), bishop Henry of Paderborn (1084-1127), N. of Minden (where the see was disputed between two candidates in the early twelfth century), archbishop Frederick of Cologne (1100-30), N. (probably the provost) of Aachen, bishop Otbert of Liège (1091-1119), duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine (1106-39), count Robert II of Flanders (1093-1111), archdeacon Lambert, probably of Tournai (1100-13), later bishop of Noyon-Tournai, the provost Berichdoldus, perhaps Bertulf (Berchtold) of St Donatian in Bruges (1101-27), and the philosopher Tanchrad, who may have been the Tancradus (Tangradus) who witnessed documents dated from Tournai and Ypres in 1101 (together with provost Bertulf on a charter of Robert of Flanders) and others in 1106, 1112 (at Cambrai), and (as *Thancrannus decanus* of Noyon-Tournai) in 1122.⁸ These last three identifications are not certain, but they suggest, as does the description of count Robert as *gloriosissimus*,

⁸ On these persons, in addition to the notes in the editions cited in n. 4, see Horn, *Commentationes* (n. 3), 8-17 nn. b-w; Michael Tangl, 'Der Aufruf der Bischöfe der Magdeburger Kirchenprovinz zur Hilfe gegen die Slaven aus dem Anfang des 12. Jh.', *Neues Archiv* 30 (1905), 183-91; Lutz Fenske, *Adelsopposition und kirchliche Reformbewegung im östlichen Sachsen* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 47; Göttingen 1977), whose dates are followed here. On archbishop Adelgot, see Dietrich Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, I. *Die Geschichte der Erzbischöfe bis auf Ruotger (1124)* (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen 67.1; Cologne-Vienna 1972), 391-411 (401-4 on this document), and on Adelgot's nephew Wicbert of Groitzsch, Benjamin Arnold, *Power and Property in Medieval Germany* (Oxford 2004), 65, 67, 97-8, with further references. The identifications of Lambert, Berichdoldus, and Tanchrad were proposed by Horn, *Commentationes*, 16-17 nn. u-v, who was followed by Tangl, 'Aufruf', 186-7, on the basis of charters principally published in Aubert Le Mire (Miraeus), *Opera diplomatica et historica*, ed. Jean François Foppens, 2 ed., 4 vols (Louvain-Brussels 1723-48). These identifications were questioned by Pirenne, 'Appel' (n. 1), 89, who said that Lambert was a common name, that 'Berichdoldus' was not the same as Bertulf, and that

that the author came from Flanders. He may have been a Flemish cleric living in eastern Saxony, perhaps in the entourage of the archbishop of Magdeburg. The names of the addressees are listed not in order of dignity, as might be expected, with the archbishop of Cologne first, but in geographical order, indicating that the bearer of the letter traveled westwards to Halberstadt, Corvey, Paderborn, Minden (which would have required a jog to the north), Cologne, Aachen, Liège, and so into Lower Lorraine and Flanders. This itinerary is confirmed by the preservation of the charter at the abbey of Grafschaft, where it may have been sent either by the archbishop of Cologne or by the bishop of Paderborn.⁹

The dates of the senders and recipients of the charter show that it was written between 1107-1110, most probably in late 1107 or 1108. Henry V, who is referred to as *rex noster*, is known to have been in eastern Saxony, especially Goslar and Merseburg, between the spring and autumn of 1108, when he led an expedition against the Hungarians. In September he was at Tulln with, among others, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Halberstadt and Naumburg, Wicbert of Groitzsch, and Louis of Thuringia, all of whom are mentioned in the Magdeburg charter.¹⁰ According to the charter, the army against the Slavs was to meet at Merseburg on Saturday in the week of rogations, which in 1108 fell on 16 May. This would date the charter in early 1108 or, more probably, late 1107, since several months would have been necessary to carry the letter and assemble the forces. So far as is known, however, the planned campaign never took place, though it is possible that the army, if it met, was used against the Hungarians.

For this and other reasons the authenticity of the charter has been questioned, though it is doubtful exactly what authenticity means in relation to a document of this sort. Was it official in the sense that it was seen and authorized by the alleged senders? Was it ever sent to the alleged addressees? Was it a contemporary draft, a trial balloon, a private letter, or a stylistic exercise? Or was it a later forgery? These and other points have been discussed by scholars since the time it was first published. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the charter was widely

there is no evidence that Tanchrad was an *insignis philosophus*, but they have been accepted by most scholars. See Knock, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 6), 22 n.45, 30.

⁹ This point was made by Ernst Gottself Gersdorf in a note to the edition of the charter in the *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Meissen (Cod. Dip. Saxoniae Regiae II, 1-3)*, 3 vols (Leipzig 1864-7), I, 45; Wattenbach, 'Handschriftliches' (n. 2), 622; Alexander Cartellieri, *Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte*, IV. *Der Vorrang des Papsttums zur Zeit der ersten Kreuzzüge, 1095-1150* (Munich 1941; repr. 1972), 104, who compared it to the alleged letter of the emperor Alexius as a piece of crusade propaganda.

¹⁰ Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 2-5 ed., 6 vols in 7 (Leipzig-Brunswick 1877-95), III.2, 793; Tangl, 'Aufzug' (n. 8), 189-90; Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher* (n. 5), VI, 84; Claude, *Geschichte* (n. 8), 403-4; Knoch, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 5), 21-2.

regarded as a forgery or fiction, in spite of Horn's arguments in its favor.¹¹ Ernst Gersdorf was among the first to defend its authenticity, pointing out that all the known people named in the charter were alive in 1107-1110, and that a later fiction would almost certainly have included a mistake.¹² The authenticity of the charter was defended by Wattenbach both in his edition of 1882 and in his influential book on the sources of the history of Germany in the middle ages,¹³ and later by Michael Tangl, who called it, however, a private work rather than an official appeal for a crusade against the Slavs.¹⁴ Albert Hauck rejected the charter in the first edition of his *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* but later changed his mind on the basis of the work of Wattenbach and Tangl, though he still questioned how, if it was never officially authorized, it differed from a stylistic exercise.¹⁵ Georg Artler in 1913 followed Tangl in arguing for the authenticity of the letter, saying that the author came from the diocese of Tournai, 'if not Bruges itself'.¹⁶ Not all scholars were convinced, however. Paul Kehr, while citing the work of Wattenbach, said that the charter still needed a detailed critical examination, and Brückner, who accepted its authenticity in 1882, described it as 'supposed (*angebliche*)' and apocryphal, 'that is a contemporary school epistolary exercise (*Schuldictamen*)' in 1925.¹⁷ The most serious voice raised against its authenticity since the appearance of Tangl's article was that of Henri Pirenne, who, writing while he was prisoner of war at Jena in 1916 – and perhaps influenced by anti-German sentiments – called the charter 'a

¹¹ Horn, *Commentationes* (n. 3), 32. See Carl Peter Lepsius, *Geschichte der Bischöfe des Hochstifts Naumburg vor der Reformation* (Naumburg 1846), 33 ('dieser Fiction'); Ludwig Giesebrecht, *Wendische Geschichten aus den Jahren 780 bis 1182*, 3 vols (Berlin 1843), II, 241 n.1; Erwin Weineke, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslawen* (Forschungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1; Leipzig 1940), 77-8.

¹² Gersdorf, in *UB Meissen* (n. 9), III.1, 45.

¹³ Wattenbach, 'Handschriftliches' (n. 2), 622; idem, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 6 ed., 2 vols (Berlin 1893-4), II, 88 (cf. n. 19 below). Wattenbach and Brückner were cited by Harry Bresslau, 'Zur Chronologie und Geschichte der ältesten Bischöfe von Brandenburg', *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte* 1 (1888), 395.

¹⁴ Tangl, 'Aufruf' (n. 8), citing among others Fritz Curschmann, *Die Diözese Brandenburg* (Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg 2; Leipzig 1906), 64 n.2 and Nachtrag (488), who suggested that the charter may have originated in the diocese of Merseburg.

¹⁵ Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 8 ed., 5 vols in 6 (Berlin 1954), IV, 619 n.9. Cf. Tangl, 'Aufruf' (n. 8), 184; Krabbo, 'Schilderung' (n. 6), 250 n.2.

¹⁶ Georg Artler, 'Die Zusammensetzung der deutschen Streitkräfte in den Kämpfen mit den Slaven von Heinrich I. bis auf Friedrich I.', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 29 (1913), 332-7 (quote on 335).

¹⁷ *UB Merseburg* (n. 4), 75; Brückner, 'Pripegala' (n. 4), 217 ('Die Urk. ist völlig grundlos verdächtigt worden'); idem, 'Mythologische Thesen', *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 40 (1925), 7 ('Der angebliche Brief Adalgots vom J. 1108 mit Pripegala ist nur Apokryph, d.h. gleichzeitiges Schuldictamen.').

formal forgery', 'a literary fraud', and 'an epistolary exercise without historical significance'.¹⁸

Most scholars have accepted that the charter is authentic in the sense that it was written in 1107/8 and reflects knowledge of the situation in eastern Saxony, but they disagree over whether it was a private letter, a stylistic exercise, or an official summons. It was a private work for Krabbo (who also said it was 'diplomatically a forgery') and Beumann, and 'not an official document ... but the work of a Flemish cleric living in the Altmark' for Brüske.¹⁹ Schultze called it 'a fictional summons' but later said that its preservation at Grafschaft suggests that it was not only 'a learned stylistic exercise'.²⁰ Klocke and Knoch also stressed that its text history shows that the charter reached the west and was copied there.²¹ Knoch went further, saying that the charter, although it still presented a riddle, could not be regarded as a purely private work because it corresponded so closely to the political plans of Henry V and the principal ecclesiastical and secular powers of eastern Saxony,²² and Lotter, writing in 1987, wrote that 'The proclamation is no longer disputed as an authentic source of the time', though possibly a draft.²³ Even

¹⁸ Pirenne, 'Appel' (n. 1), 87, 90.

¹⁹ Krabbo, 'Schilderung' (n. 6), 250; Beumann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke' (n. 7), 131; Wolfgang Brüske, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Lutizenbundes. Deutsch-wendische Beziehungen des 10-12 Jahrhunderts* (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen 3; Münster 1955), 90, who said that 'Die Echtheit des Aufrufs wird heute nicht mehr bestritten.' Adolf Hofmeister, in an historiographical survey of work on 'Deutsche Geschichte von 911-1254', *Jahresberichte für deutsche Geschichte* 2 (1926), 275, saw no reason (against Tangl and Krabbo) to question its authenticity, and Michael Siedlmayer, 'Das mittelalterliche Kaisertum und die deutsche Ostkolonisation', *Römische Quartalschrift* 43 (1935), 202, accepted the evidence of the 'manifesto', avoiding the controversy over its origins, but Robert Holtzmann in the new edition of Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, 3 ed. (Tübingen 1948), 594-6, 639 n.18 followed Tangl in calling it a 'Privatarbeit', not a forgery or stylistic exercise.

²⁰ Johannes Schultze, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, 5 vols (Berlin 1961-9), I, 59, 61.

²¹ Friedrich von Klocke, *Westfalen und Nordosteuropa* (Wiesbaden 1964), 2; Knoch, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 5), 3.

²² Ibid. 23 ('Offenbar stand also der Slawenkreuzzug im Zusammenhang mit den politischen Plänen des Königs.'). 32 ('Dennoch wird man das Ganze [Aufruf] nicht als Privatarbeit eines untergeordneten Geistlichen der Magdeburger Kirche einordnen dürfen.') The same point was made by Albert Brackmann, *Magdeburg als Hauptstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1937), 43. Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Crusades* (n. 6), 74-5, regarded the charter as 'not a true crusading document' because Henry was called 'the originator (*auctor*) of this war'.

²³ Friedrich Lotter, 'The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett, Angus MacKay (Oxford 1989), 275. See also *Diplomatarium Dan.*, I, 2 (n. 4), 84 ('Det herforeliggende brev har ingen officiel karakter.'). Inge Skovgaard Petersen, 'Wendenzüge-Kreuzzüge', in *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts*,

if it had no direct military result, therefore, the charter must be taken seriously as evidence of the attitude towards the Slavs on the eastern frontier of the empire in the early twelfth century.

The significance and interest of the charter have also been debated. Down to about 1940 most scholars saw it primarily in terms of the German *Drang nach Osten* as a call to conquer and colonize the east. The emphasis both in anthologies of sources and in secondary works was not on the account of the heathens' atrocities or the appeal to assist and rebuild the church in the east but on the description of the richness of the land, where 'You can both save your souls and, if it so pleases you, acquire the best land to live on.' Citing this passage, Tangl said that 'Our charter is the earliest witness for the beginnings of Flemish colonization in the Mark,'²⁴ and this view has been echoed by many historians not only in Germany but also in America and England. James W. Thompson, who cited the charter in the abbreviated version published by Köttschke, called it 'a joint circular petition' urging those to whom it was addressed 'to encourage the emigration of their surplus and hungry population into Lower Germany, which was represented, not unlike land-promotion schemes today, as a land flowing with milk and honey'.²⁵ And Vlasto, also citing Köttschke, said that 'The appeal which launched the campaign of 1108, in the name of the archbishop of Magdeburg and other Saxon bishops and leaders, had been couched in similar rhetorical expressions scarcely masking the plain cupidity of their intentions.'²⁶ This could have been written only by someone who had never read the entire charter. There is no evidence that the alleged writers had any personal ambitions, nor, indeed, that any 'colonizer' either joined the expedition or settled in the east as a result of the appeal. It was in reaction to exaggerated views of this kind, condemning the eastern settlements as avaricious and racist, that Walter Schlesinger described the charter as fictitious (*fingierte*) and denied that it was an appeal to colonize in the east.²⁷

Albert Brackmann was one of the first modern scholars to see the charter not in an exclusively German setting but as the first application to the Slavic world of the idea of crusading (*Kreuzzugsgedanke*). It was marked, he said, by the idea not of an imperial military expedition (*Reichsheerfahrt*) but of war against the heathen. 'The crusade against the Slavs, which was preached here, showed many

ed. Michael Müller-Wille, I (Abh. Mainz: Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1997, 3, I; Stuttgart 1997), 280, who apparently accepted the authenticity of the charter.

²⁴ Tangl, 'Aufruf' (n. 8), 191.

²⁵ James W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago 1928), 559.

²⁶ Alexis Peter Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge 1970), 152. Cf. the less extreme expression of this view in *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, ed. Joachim Herrmann (Berlin 1985), 411.

²⁷ Walter Schlesinger, 'Die geistliche Stellung der mittelalterlichen deutschen Ostbewegung', *Historische Zeitschrift* 183 (1957), 529. There is no reference to the charter in idem, *Kirchengeschichte Sachsens im Mittelalter*, 2 ed., 2 vols (Cologne-Vienna 1983).

of the typical elements that characterized the crusade.²⁸ In his notes Brackmann cited the recently published work on the origins of the idea of crusade by Carl Erdmann, who studied the background of crusading ideas in the eleventh century and the development in eastern Germany of 'an idea of religious war that embraced aggression as well as defense'.²⁹ For Margret Bünding-Naujoks the charter was 'a document of a new tide of events, the crusading movement'. It was marked 'sentence by sentence' by all the characteristics of a crusading appeal and must be seen not as an outgrowth of the distinctive history of east Germany but in association with the development of the idea of crusade and the events of 1095.³⁰ Beumann likewise saw the charter as a summons to a crusade designed to free the church and Christians from the oppression of the heathens, not to convert them or to colonize their lands. The author was familiar with the ideas of pilgrimage and Jerusalem that were central to the first crusade, and although he offered no indulgence or remission of sins, which were papal prerogatives, he held out a promise of salvation, adding, as a further inducement, the opportunity to acquire land.³¹ The term *subiugare* used in the final words of the charter meant to subdue or subject rather than to convert or exterminate and implied at most an inherent rather than explicit mission.³² 'The war itself', according to Lotter, 'was presented exclusively as a war of defense.'³³

Other scholars were less willing to give up the elements of conversion and colonization. Brüske saw the charter in the tradition of holy war against enemies of

²⁸ Brackmann, *Magdeburg* (n. 22), 43, 83 n.246, describing the charter as 'ein Dokument der Übergangszeit' in the development of the war against the Slavs. Already before Brackman, Horn, *Commentationes* (n. 3), 26 n. cc, pointed out the association of the Magdeburg charter with the crusade to the east, and Siedlemayer, 'Ostkolonisation' (n. 19), 202 remarked briefly on the mixture of economic considerations with 'the religious motives of the crusade movement'.

²⁹ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 104-5, cf. 105-8, where he studied the association of war against the pagans with missionary work. Erdmann did not go beyond the eleventh century and made no reference to the Magdeburg charter.

³⁰ Bünding-Naujoks, 'Imperium' (n. 5), 90-2 (quotation on 90). See also Cartellieri, *Weltgeschichte*, IV (n. 9), 104.

³¹ Beumann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke' (n. 7), 132-4: 'Die Bemerkung über die Siedlungsmöglichkeit taucht lediglich im Lohnversprechen neben dem Seelenheil auf, ist also nicht Exhortatio, sondern Promissio.' (132)

³² On *subjugare*, see Hans-Dietrich Kahl, 'Compellere intrare. Die Wendenpolitik Brunos von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts' (1955), repr. in *Heidenmission* (n. 5), 224, 236, 238; Knock, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 5), 16 n.34, comparing it to the use of *subjicere* by Robert the Monk. Earlier, Hans-Dieter Kahl, 'Zum geist der deutschen Slawenmission des Hochmittelalters', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 2 (1953), 7 described the charter as 'ein bekannter Aufruf zum Kreuzzug' without a positive missionary purpose.

³³ Friedrich Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs* (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 23; Sigmaringen 1977), 60.

the empire, to which a missionary purpose was added. 'Now there rose the call for a crusade for the subjection and conversion of the heathen.'³⁴ Schlesinger likewise saw the 'fictitious' charter as a summons to a missionary war, but not to forcible conversion or a crusade in the later sense, which he regarded as an importation into Germany from the west. 'The preacher of the crusade against the Wends was Bernard of Clairvaux. Crusading ideas were always a concern especially of western peoples.'³⁵ Knock, on the other hand, maintained that the idea of settlement was closely associated with that of crusade not only in eastern Germany but also in the Holy Land. He found the motive of material gain in some of the primary sources for the first crusade, especially the work of Robert the Monk, who said that pope Urban II at Clermont held out the prospect of winning land as well as remission of sins.³⁶ The presence of this element in the Magdeburg charter therefore confirmed that it was 'a summons to a crusade', but a crusade in the distinctive context of the political and military policy of Henry V in eastern Germany.³⁷

Recent scholars, whether they see the purpose of the planned campaign as primarily defense, conquest, conversion, or colonization, have agreed that the charter must be seen in the light of crusading ideas and the first crusade. In view of the allusions to Jerusalem and to the victory of the Franks in the remote east Bartlett described it as 'a direct appeal to the memory of the first crusade and an attempt to harness that memory to a quite new purpose, war against the pagan Slavs east of the Elbe'.³⁸ Knock, arguing that the author of the charter actually knew the work of Robert the Monk, drew specific parallels with the motive of material gain and with the themes of Jerusalem, the brutality of the infidels, the sufferings of the oppressed Christians, and the final victory of the crusaders.³⁹ It is surprising that there is no discussion of the charter in any work on the crusades, including those specifically concerned with crusading in northeastern Europe.⁴⁰ The remainder of

³⁴ Bröske, *Untersuchungen* (n. 19), 89.

³⁵ Schlesinger, 'Geschichtliche Stellung' (n. 27), 529, 535.

³⁶ Knock, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 5), 8-9, 12.

³⁷ Ibid. 7 ('Kreuzzugsaufruf'), 21 ('Kreuzzugsdokument'), cf. 27, where he argued that 'Die materiellen Aussichten eines Kreuzzugs eine ausserordentlich gewichtige Rolle für die Motivation der Kreuzfahrer spielte.'

³⁸ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (Princeton 1993), 262. There are brief references to the charter by Simon Lloyd, 'The Crusading Movement, 1096-1274', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford-New York 1995), 41, and by Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades 1095-1197* (Harlow 2002), 71, saying that it was 'not a crusade ... because the papacy did not authorize any preaching'.

³⁹ Knock, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 5), 15-19 and 19 n.34 on parallels with other historians of the first crusade. See also Lotter, *Konzeption* (n. 33), 60-1 on the motive of material gain both in the Magdeburg charter and in accounts of the first crusade, and idem, 'Crusading Idea' (n. 23), 275-7.

⁴⁰ Such as Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525* (London-Minneapolis 1980), 2 ed. (London 1997); William Urban, *The*

this chapter will therefore be devoted to a study of some of the crusading themes in the charter, not in order to show its dependence on any specific sources, but to help to place it in a broader context of the concept of crusading and the spread of crusading ideas in the years immediately following the first crusade.

Among the most interesting, though least specific, of these parallels is the description of the Slavs, who are presented in the worst possible light, even worse than that in which the Muslims were depicted in contemporary sources concerning the first crusade. Although some of the Slavs may in fact have been Christians,⁴¹ they are called *pagani* (once) and *gentiles* (four times). The phrase *se christianos mentientes* suggests, indeed, that they claimed to be Christians, though probably in the sense that they falsely presented themselves as Christians by wearing the scalps taken from their enemies. 'If this is to be believed,' Wattenbach wrote, 'it is to be explained by the long hair by which the Saxons were still distinguished from the Wends in the illustrations to the *Sachsenspiegel*.'⁴² Scholars of Slavic religion have taken a particular interest in Pripegala, who is mentioned four times in the charter, and in no other source, and who on this basis, as Weineke put it, 'was incorporated into the Slavic Olympus'.⁴³ Opinions differ over the character of Pripegala and the origin of the name. It may be an epithet meaning protector⁴⁴ or a regional or dialectical name for a god known elsewhere by another name, either Trigłow or the storm- and thunder-god Perun, as different scholars have proposed.⁴⁵ Pripegala

Baltic Crusade, 2 ed. (Chicago 1994).

⁴¹ On the survival of Christianity among the Slavs east of the Elbe, see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 15), IV, 619; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 103; Kahl, 'Geist' (n. 32), 10; idem, 'Compellere' (n. 32), 224.

⁴² Wattenbach, 'Handschriftliches' (n. 2), 625 n.2, repeated almost verbatim in *UB Magdeburg* (n. 4), 252 n.18. See also Pirenne, 'Appel' (n. 1), 86 n.7; Krabbo, 'Schilderung' (n. 6), 261-2.

⁴³ Weineke, *Untersuchungen* (n. 11), 78 (bibliography in n. 186). On Weineke and his work see Schlesinger, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 27), I, 330-1 (and relevant notes); Alois Schmaus, 'Zur altslawischen Religionsgeschichte', *Saeculum* 4 (1953), 208, citing the unfavorable opinion of Roman Jakobson. On Pripegala, see in addition to the two works of Brückner, 'Pripegala' (n. 4) and 'Thesen' (n. 17), Weineke, *Untersuchungen*, 79-80 on Brückner's change of mind; Leszek Moszyński, *Die vorchristliche Religion der Slaven im Lichte der slavischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 1992), 80-2, with further bibliography. See also Robert Bartlett, 'Reflections on Paganism and Christianity in Medieval Europe', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 101 (1998), 55-76, esp. 62-4 on pagan sacrifices.

⁴⁴ Moszyński, *Religion* (n. 43), 80-2, who concluded (82) that 'Vermutlich ist pripegala ein nomen agentis mit dem späterslavischen Suffix -ala.'

⁴⁵ Brückner, 'Thesen' (n. 17), 14; Roman Jakobson, 'Slavic mythology', in *Funk und Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, 2 vols (New York 1950), II, 1026; Marija Gimbutas, 'Perkūnas/Perun: The Thunder God of the Balts and the Slavs', *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 1 (1973), 470. On Perun (Perunū), see also Louis Leger, *La mythologie slave* (Paris 1901), 54-76, calling him one of the two great

may also have been a god of fertility or procreation, as the association of the name with Priapus in the Magdeburg charter suggests, or a purely local god or idol.⁴⁶ Be this as it may, Pripegala was depicted in the charter as a blood-thirsty god, whose cult included the sacrifice of human heads and offerings of human blood. The author of the charter doubtless exaggerated these practices, as he did the atrocities and sacrilegious practices of the Slavs, in order to arouse the wrath of the Christians against the pagans.

The Christians, on the other hand, were depicted as devout and brave. They were 'lovers of Christ and the church', 'soldiers of Christ' hastening to His war, and 'most famous men and conquerors of the world'. The four groups to whom the appeal was directed were divided, corresponding to the four regions from which they came, into the Saxons, Franconians, Lotharingians, and Flemings. There are also three references to *Galli*, which is translated here as Franks, who were commonly associated with the first crusade. The author praised their courage and attributed their triumph 'in the most remote east' to the favor of God. He called on the other groups to imitate them and to prepare to free Jerusalem 'like the Franks'. The same God who made the Franks victorious will give them the will and strength to subdue the Slavs.

The charter was not addressed only to fighting men, however. One of its most striking features is that in addition to the named recipients it was addressed 'to all the faithful of Christ, bishops, abbots, monks, hermits, recluses, provosts, canons, clerics, princes, knights, ministerials, followers, and all greater and lesser men'. This list is divided into clerics and laymen, each arranged hierarchically. Among the clergy, the regular precede the secular clerics, and the ranking of the laymen suggests that the *milites*, who precede the ministerials, were knights rather than simply soldiers and that the *clientes*, who follow the ministerials, were followers or dependents rather than vassals. The 'most holy fathers, monks, hermits, and recluses' appear again later in the charter, where the author says that they have chosen 'the best part' of contemplation with Mary but must now rise up like Martha because their brothers in the east need Mary as well as Martha.⁴⁷ 'We speak to you, Christ indeed speaks to you through us: "Arise, make haste my dove, and come."' It is not clear precisely how they were expected to help, presumably by their prayers and exhortations rather than by themselves bearing arms, but all these

gods of the Russians and Baltic Slavs (but not identifying him with Pripegala); Schmaus, 'Religionsgeschichte' (n. 43), 212, 220; Brückner, 'Thesen' (n. 17), 16-17. According to Weineke, *Untersuchungen* (n. 11), 79 n.191, Brückner denied that Pripegala existed and identified him with Trigłow in *Mitologia Slowianska* (Cracow 1918, tr. Bologna 1932), 195 (not seen).

⁴⁶ Gersdorf in *UB Meissen* (n. 9), I, 43 n. a; Weineke, 'Untersuchungen' (n. 11), 77-81, 143-4, who said (79-80) that Pripegala may be an *interpretatio romana* of Priapus.

⁴⁷ See Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge 1995), 89. This unusual application of the biblical story of Mary and Martha first drew my attention to the Magdeburg charter.

categories of people were called upon to join in the undertaking.⁴⁸ Among other participants were the king of the Danes and regional princes who had offered their support,⁴⁹ and ‘our king himself’, Henry V, ‘the originator (*auctor*) of this war’ and ‘a most ready supporter’, who would come with as many men as he could.⁵⁰ If these references are accurate, they throw some light on the background of the letter and on the planning of the campaign, which must have started in 1107 at the latest.

The author summoned ‘all you lovers of Christ and church’ to prepare themselves ‘like the Franks for the liberation of Jerusalem’. He then continued:

Our Jerusalem, which from the beginning *was free, is made a slave* by the cruelty of the heathens. Its *walls fell down* owing to our sins. But *let this ruin be under thy hand*, so that *all the costly stones of its walls and the towers of our Jerusalem may be built up with gems*.

The double insertion of ‘our’ before Jerusalem in this passage underlines the parallel between the historical Jerusalem, which was central to the ideology of the first crusade,⁵¹ and the Jerusalem in the land of the Slavs, which had once been free and was now enslaved, owing, he said, – another crusading theme – to ‘our sins’. The author drew here on the ancient identification of Jerusalem with the church, wherever it was located.⁵² He may also have had in mind the concept

⁴⁸ The charter reflects the traditional division of society into monks, clerics, and laymen rather than the later functional tripartition into prayers, fighters, and workers: see Constable, *Studies* (n. 47), esp. 289–323. The omission of workers is further evidence that it was not primarily an appeal for settlement.

⁴⁹ Bünding–Naujoks, ‘Imperium’ (n. 5), 92; Knock, ‘Kreuzzug’ (n. 5), 23. Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Houndmills–London 1998), 31, said that the Danish court was introduced to crusading in 1188.

⁵⁰ On the significance of the reference in the charter to Henry V after the Danish king, see Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher* (n. 5), VI, 81 n.14.

⁵¹ See especially Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 328; Peter Raedts, ‘Jerusalem: Purpose of History or Gateway to Heaven? Apocalypticism in the First Crusade’, in *Church, Change and Revolution: Transactions of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch Church History Colloquium (Exeter, 30 August – 3 September, 1988)*, ed. Johannes Van den Berg, P. G. Hoftijzer (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden NS 12; Leiden 1991), 31–40; Norman Housley, ‘Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099–1128’, in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2–6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem–London 1992), 27–40.

⁵² Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l’Ecriture*, 2 vols in 4 (Théologie 41–42, 59; Paris 1959–64), I.2, 645–8; Sibylle Mahl, ‘Jerusalem in mittelalterlicher Sicht’, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 22 (1962), 11; Adriaan Bredero, ‘Jérusalem dans l’Occident médiévale’, in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. Pierre Gallais, Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers 1965), I, 263; Franco Cardini, *Gerusalemme d’oro, di rame, di luce. Pellegrini, crociati,*

of the transferred or displaced Jerusalem, which was based on the idea that the real and essential Jerusalem was of the spirit rather than on earth.⁵³ Rome and Constantinople were both regarded as second Jerusalems, and for Bernard of Clairvaux Jerusalem was, 'associated with that which is in heaven by the total devotion of mind, and by the imitation of way of life, and by a certain affinity of spirit'.⁵⁴

Pope Urban II equated the spiritual rewards of those who went 'in a spirit of penance or devotion either to Jerusalem or in other places' in his letter of 1089 to the count of Barcelona and other notables of the province of Barcelona and Tarragona urging them to assist the church and city of Tarragona against the Saracens.⁵⁵ More specifically, in his letter of 1096/99 to the counts of Besalú, Empurias, Roussillon, and Cerdaña and their knights Urban wrote that:

If the knights of other provinces have unanimously resolved to assist the church in Asia and to free their brothers from the tyranny of the Saracens, let you also unanimously labor more firmly at our exhortations to assist the neighboring church against the attack of the Saracens ... And if one of you should have decided to go to Asia, let him strive to fulfill the desire of his devotion here. For it is of no use to free Christians from the Saracens in one place [and] to expose Christians to the tyranny and oppression of the Saracens in another.⁵⁶

The patriarch of Jerusalem wrote in April 1100 to the archbishop, bishops, princes, and all the catholics of Germany summoning them to come 'for the salvation of you all' to assist Jerusalem, which was 'oppressed by pagan peoples and unbelievers'.⁵⁷ There is no reason to believe that the author of the Magdeburg charter knew these letters, but he used several of the same ideas, including the parallel of Jerusalem

segnatori d'Oriente fra XI e XV secolo (Milan 1991); the articles in *L'idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale in collaborazione con l'Istituto della Görres-Gesellschaft di Gerusalemme* (Vatican City 2003).

⁵³ Stephen G. Nichols, *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (London-New Haven 1983), 23-6; Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1995), 304.

⁵⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 64.2, ed. Leclercq, II, 157-8.

⁵⁵ *PL*, CLI, 303B; *JL* 5401. See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 315; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford 1993), 2-3, 207, citing the edition in *La documentación pontificia hasta Innocencio III (965-1216)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Sección Registros, I; Rome 1955), 46-7, no. 29.

⁵⁶ Paul Kehr, *PU in Spanien, I. Katalanien* (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. NF 18; Berlin 1926), 287-8, no. 23 (dated 1089/91). See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 317 (with a translation) and n. 37 on the date; Bull, *Piety* (n. 55), 97.

⁵⁷ Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck 1901), 130-6, no. 1.

with the church in other places, the need to rescue it from the tyranny of the pagans, and the spiritual reward of those who participated in the campaign.

He made use, finally, of an extraordinary number of biblical citations, especially in the two exhortations, and even in the passages concerning the Slavs, who mocked the Christians in words taken from the Psalms and Tobias, whose priests gave themselves to revelling like the rebellious and stubborn son in Deuteronomy, and who had the good success prayed for by the psalmist. The first exhortation is a patchwork of Old Testament texts, principally from Psalms, Isaiah, and Joel, but also from Joshua, Tobias, and Maccabees, designed to rouse the crusaders to rescue and rebuild Jerusalem. The second exhortation, aside from one citation from Daniel, draws on texts from the Song of Songs and from Matthew and Luke, which are suited to its more persuasive tone. The warlike Jehovah speaks in the first exhortation and the gentle Christ in the second. The importance of biblical citations in contemporary histories of the first crusade was studied by Paul Alphandéry, who said that ‘These citations *ad probandum*, these almost constant searches for analogies, this biblical atmosphere are characteristic of the historiography of the first crusade.’ He described this as ‘the outcropping of a subconscious work assimilating contemporary events to the biblical events, to biblical traditions. The citation is perhaps the “symbol” of a collective representation of the crusade.’⁵⁸ It would be interesting to gather and analyze all the biblical texts cited by the historians of the first crusade, but a quick survey suggests that aside from a certain predilection for the Psalms and Isaiah, there was very little overlap with the texts used by the author of the Magdeburg charter.⁵⁹ This is not surprising, since the historians were for the most part describing past events, whereas the charter looked to the future. They share a concern, however, to see the undertaking in biblical terms and in relation to biblical events brought into the present, in the same way that Jerusalem was transferred to the land of the Slavs.

Whatever its precise character, therefore, the charter needs to be studied in relation to contemporary crusading ideology. The reference to the possibility of acquiring land was only part of a larger inducement to participate in the campaign. It was God’s will, according to the author, to rescue and rebuild the church in Slavic lands – ‘our Jerusalem’ – and in this way to enable participants, as lovers of Christ and the church and as soldiers of Christ, to save their souls and also, if they wished, to acquire good land. It is evidence of the rapid spread of crusading ideas and their application on the frontiers of Christianity in the aftermath of the

⁵⁸ Paul Alphandéry, ‘Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade’, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 90 (1929), 154 and n. 4, cf. 139: ‘Unanimement les historiens de la première Croisade ont affirmé qu’elle tenait sa place préfixe dans le plan divin, qu’elle marquait une heure décisive dans l’histoire de la foi révélée.’

⁵⁹ Robert the Monk especially used Exodus and Proverbs, which are not cited in the Magdeburg charter. Joel 3.17 is the only overlap with Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, II, 4, in CC:CM, CXXVIII, 112.

first crusade. As such it deserves a place not only in the history of the eastward expansion of Germany but also in accounts of the crusades.

Note

Revised from 'The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/8 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades', in *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz Felten, Nikolas Jaspert (Berliner historische Studien 31. Ordensstudien 13; Berlin 1999), 283-99.

Appendix

*Translation of the Magdeburg Charter*⁶⁰

Adelgot by the grace of God archbishop of Magdeburg, Albuin of Merseburg, Walram of Naumburg, Herwig of Meissen, Hezilo of Havelberg, Hartbrecht of Brandenburg, count Otto, Wicbert, Louis, and all the greater and lesser men of eastern Saxony [send] love, prayer, and in itself greeting⁶¹ to Reginhart the venerable bishop of Halberstadt, Erchanbert abbot of Corvey, Henry of Paderborn, N. of Minden, Frederick archbishop of Cologne, N. of Aachen, O. of Liège, G. duke of the Lotharingians, Robert the most glorious count of the Flemings, archdeacon Lambert, the most esteemed provost Berichdoldus, and the outstanding philosopher Tanchrad, and to all the faithful of Christ, bishops, abbots, monks, hermits, recluses, provosts, canons, clerics, princes, knights (*milites*), ministerials, followers,⁶² and all greater and lesser men. We have for a long time been oppressed in many ways by the oppressions and injuries of the pagans and appeal to your mercy to join us in relieving the ruin of your mother church. The most cruel heathens, men without mercy, have *risen up against*⁶³ us and *have prevailed*,⁶⁴ and glorying in the evil of their inhumanity they have profaned the churches of Christ with idolatry; they have destroyed the altars; and they do not hesitate to perpetrate upon us things that the human mind shrinks from hearing. They very often rage against our region and, sparing no one, they seize, kill, vanquish, and afflict with exquisite torments. Some they behead and sacrifice their heads to their evil gods. Of others, after their entrails have been removed, they bind together the cut-off

⁶⁰ Except when stated, and aside from a few grammatical adjustments, the bible is cited in the Douai translation.

⁶¹ *in id ipsum salutem*: may refer to a blessing conveyed by the prayer.

⁶² *clientes*: perhaps vassals or dependents.

⁶³ Ps 26.12.

⁶⁴ Ps 64.4.

hands and feet, and mocking our Christ they say: *Where is their God?*⁶⁵ Some who have been raised on a gibbet, in order to increase their suffering, they allow to prolong a life that is more miserable than any death, since while still alive they perceive their own suffering as each limb is cut off, and they are finally miserably eviscerated after the stomach is cut open. They skin many men alive, and disguised by the skin cut off from the head they invade the boundaries of the Christians, and falsely presenting themselves as Christians they carry away plunder with impunity. Their priests, moreover, whenever they *giveth themselves to revelling*⁶⁶ on the appointed days, say: *Our Pripegala wants heads. It is fitting to make sacrifices of this sort.* Pripegala, as they say, is Priapus and shameless Beelphegar.⁶⁷ Then, when the Christians have been beheaded before the altars of their desecration, they hold basins full of human blood and say, yelling with horrible voices: Let us *keep the day of joy*.⁶⁸ *Christ is vanquished; our most victorious Pripegala has won.* In this way, we ceaselessly either suffer or fear afflictions, since we grieve that they always advance and have *good success*⁶⁹ in all things. Therefore, beloved brothers, bishops, clerics, and monks of all of Saxony, Franconia, Lorraine, and Flanders, follow the example of good men and likewise *be ye followers of*⁷⁰ the Franks in this: *Proclaim ye this* in the churches, *sanctify ye a fast, call an assembly, call together the people*,⁷¹ *declare this and make it to be heard*⁷² in all the limits of your authority. *Declare a holy war, rouse up the strong*.⁷³ *Arise, ye princes, against the enemies of Christ, take up the shield*,⁷⁴ *gird yourselves, valiant men*⁷⁵ and *let all the men of war come*.⁷⁶ *Let the weak say, I am strong*,⁷⁷ *since the Lord is the strength of His people, and the protector of the salvation of His annointed*.⁷⁸ *Break forth and come all ye*⁷⁹ lovers of Christ and the church, and prepare yourselves like the Franks for the liberation of Jerusalem. Our Jerusalem, which from the beginning

⁶⁵ Ps 78.10; Joel 2.17.

⁶⁶ Deut 21.20.

⁶⁷ Num 25.3, 5.

⁶⁸ Tob 13.10.

⁶⁹ Ps 117. 25.

⁷⁰ Cf. 1 Cor. 4.16, 11.1, etc.

⁷¹ Joel 1.14, 2.15-16, 3.9.

⁷² Is 48.20.

⁷³ Joel 3.9 (New English Bible for the first three words, where the Douai and King James versions have 'prepare').

⁷⁴ Is 21.5.

⁷⁵ 1 Macc 3.58.

⁷⁶ Joel 3.9.

⁷⁷ Joel 3.10.

⁷⁸ Ps 27.8.

⁷⁹ Joel 3.11.

was free, is made a slave⁸⁰ by the cruelty of the heathens. Its walls fell down⁸¹ owing to our sins. But let this ruin be under thy hand,⁸² so that all the costly stones of its walls and the towers of our Jerusalem may be built up with gems.⁸³ Its streets shall be paved with clean gold,⁸⁴ and in place of the horrible sound of the heathens before Pripegala a song of joy may be sung there, and in place of the sacrifice from the spilling of Christian blood *the poor shall eat the flesh and the blood and shall be filled*, so that you shall praise the Lord that seek Him, and your hearts shall live for ever and ever;⁸⁵ so that alleluia, alleluia may not depart from your mouth.⁸⁶ The king of the Danes and his people and other princes through the region offer their devout hands for this war. Our own king himself, the originator of this war, will also be a most ready supporter, with all the men whom he can bring. Our meeting will be on Saturday in rogation week at Merseburg, and we have suitable places everywhere in eastern Saxony. Most holy fathers, monks, hermits, and recluses, you have chosen *the best part* with Mary,⁸⁷ but the times now require you to rise with Martha from the quiet of contemplation, since your deeply troubled brothers greatly need Mary with Martha. We speak to you, Christ indeed speaks to you through us;⁸⁸ *Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, and come.*⁸⁹ *The flowers of good works have appeared in the land of our princes; the time of pruning of idolatry is come; the voice of the turtle is heard,*⁹⁰ because the chaste mother church groans in the filth of idolatry. *No man lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel but upon a candlestick, that they that come in may see the light.*⁹¹ *So let your light shine before men that they may see your good works.*⁹² *Arise* therefore bride of Christ *and come.*⁹³ *Let thy voice sound in the ears*⁹⁴ of the faithful of Christ, so that all may hasten to the war of Christ and *come to help*⁹⁵ the soldiers of Christ. These heathens are very bad, but their land is very good for meat, honey, grain,⁹⁶ birds, and, if it

⁸⁰ 1 Macc 2.11.

⁸¹ Jos 6.20; Heb 11.30.

⁸² Is 3.6.

⁸³ Resp. in tertio nocturno, in *PL*, LXXVIII, 830C, and Ant. in matutinis laudibus, *ibid.* 831A; cf. 3 Reg 7.11; Tob 13.21; Ps 50.20.

⁸⁴ Tob 13.22; cf. Resp. in tertio nocturno cit. n. 83.

⁸⁵ Ps 21.27.

⁸⁶ Cf. 1 Reg 2.3.

⁸⁷ Lk 10.42.

⁸⁸ Cf. Matt 10.20; 2 Cor 13.3.

⁸⁹ Cant 2.10.

⁹⁰ Cant 2.12.

⁹¹ Lk 11.33; cf. Matt 5.15.

⁹² Matt 5.16.

⁹³ Cant 2.10; cf. Cant 4.8, 4.16.

⁹⁴ Cant 2.14.

⁹⁵ Dan 10.13.

⁹⁶ Lacuna of one word in MS

is cultivated, [it could be filled] with all the produce of the richness of the land, so that nothing can be compared with it. So say those who know it. Here, therefore, o Saxons, Franconians, Lotharingians, Flemings, most famous men and conquerors of the world, you can both save your souls and, if it so pleases you, acquire the best land to live on. He who *with the arm of His strength*⁹⁷ gave victory to the Franks who went from the farthest west against His enemies in the most remote east, let Him give you the will and the power to subdue these nearby and utterly inhuman heathens and in all things *have good success*.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ps 88.11.

⁹⁸ Ps 117.25.

Chapter 9

The Three Lives of Odo Arpinus: Viscount of Bourges, Crusader, Monk of Cluny

Odo Arpinus of Bourges is known to scholars in three different roles: to institutional historians, as a viscount who sold his viscounty to the king of France; to historians of the crusades and of medieval French literature, as a crusader and the only historical figure among the captives in the Old French crusade cycle; and to monastic historians, as a monk of Cluny and prior of La Charité-sur-Loire. These activities were chronologically distinct, and so different that scholars have tended to study each episode, according to their interests, apart from the others. It is the purpose of this chapter to look at his entire career, which was not uncharacteristic of the age in which he lived, though many aspects of his life, including the dates of his birth and death, are unknown.

Odo Arpinus or Odo, as he will be called here, was lord of Dun by descent from his father and viscount of Bourges through his marriage to Mathilda of Sully. Mathilda's father Gilo of Sully married the sister of the viscount Stephen of Bourges, and her sister Agnes married William, the eldest son of Stephen of Blois, the well-known crusader, and his wife Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror.¹ While not of great importance himself, therefore, Odo was connected

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 11, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford, 1969-80), III, 116; see also V, 324 n.3. See Guy Devailly, *Le Berry du X^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e* (Ecole pratique des hautes études-Sorbonne. VI^e section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Civilisations et sociétés 19; Paris-The Hague 1973), 173-4, 264, 382-4, with a genealogical chart on 383; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La prise en charge du Berry par le roi Philippe I et les antécédents de cette politique de Hugues le Grand à Robert le Pieux', in *Media in Francia. Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire* (Paris 1989), 31-59, esp. 42-58. On Gilo, see Gaspard Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry*, 4 vols (1689, repr. Bourges 1863-71), II, 298-9; on Stephen of Blois, James Brundage, 'An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois', *Traditio* 16 (1960), 380-95, and the genealogical chart in Ralph H. C. Davis, *King Stephen, 1135-1154* (London 1967), showing William and his wife Agnes; and on William (who was excluded from the inheritance due to him as eldest son apparently owing of his personal failings) see Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, 6 vols in 7 (Paris 1859-65), II, 169-72; Bautier, 'Prise en charge du Berry', 55. According to the anonymous seventeenth-century *Histoire chronologique du prieuré de La Charité sur Loyre, ordre de Cluny*, published at La Charité in 1991, 34-5, Odo was also lord of Montfaucon in Berry. This work is without notes but is clearly based on documentary sources.

by marriage to some of the greatest families of France. His position as viscount of Bourges is unclear, especially since he seems for at least a time to have shared it with his father-in-law Gilo, whose rights to the viscounty also came through marriage. There were many types of viscount in medieval France, ranging from comparatively minor lords to great nobles, especially in the south. Although the authority of the viscount of Bourges, according to Devailly, 'did not exceed that of the small lordships that surrounded the town of Bourges', it was hereditary, involved some dependent barons, and was apparently held directly from the king.²

Odo appeared with Gilo on a charter for St Sulpice at Bourges in 1085, where they were described as *domni* and *principes*, and with his wife Mathilda, who was called 'a most noble and prudent lady', in another charter for St Sulpice dated June 1097, which he later (*postea*) confirmed with Gilo and his wife.³ In both these charters his name appeared before that of Gilo. In a charter for the abbey of Vierzon dated 29 May 1092, viscount Stephen of Bourges and his sister Eldenburgis, together with her husband Gilo of Sully, granted to Vierzon his allod the abbey of St Gondon-sur-Loire, which had been given as an allod to his great-grandfather Geoffrey Papabos, the first known viscount of Bourges, by king Louis (either IV or V, who ruled respectively from 936-54 and 979-87) and had descended to Stephen by hereditary succession through the second, third, and fourth viscounts, Geoffrey Bosberaes, Geoffrey *nobilis*, and Geoffrey *meschinus*. In this charter Stephen specifically asked 'the lord Odo named Arpinus, the laudable and honorable husband of our niece and therefore our successor', and his wife to respect this grant, which was approved in an undated charter granted by 'Odo named Arpinus by the grace of God viscount of Bourges, who took in marriage the niece of my lord viscount Stephen and therefore deserved to be his heir' and

² See, generally, Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises* (Paris 1890), 282-5; specifically, Devailly, *Berry* (n. 1), 134-5. See the references below to Gilo's being lord of Bourges (with Odo) *sub rege Francorum* and to the king's holding Bourges and Dun immediate after the sale.

³ Louis de Kersers, *Essai de reconstitution du cartulaire A de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges* (Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires du Centre 35; Bourges 1913), 34, 37, nos. 3, 4. Odo and Gilo appeared together on an undated charter cited by Thaumassière, *Berry* (n. 1), II, 299, and (from him) Devailly, *Berry* (n. 1), 264. Odo alone is mentioned in two charters of 1127 and 1132 in Achille Luchaire, *Louis VI le gros. Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081-1137)* (Paris 1890), 183-4, 231-2, nos. 394, 501, and in *Recueil des actes de Louis VI (1108-1137)*, ed. Jean Dufour, 4 vols (Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France; Paris 1992-4), II, 44, 196, nos. 253, 328, and in two later charters in *Cartulaire A de Saint-Sulpice*, 173-5, 232-6, nos. 80, 131, dated there ca. 1100 but in fact 1130/40, according to Jacques de Font-Réaulx, 'Les droits de tonlieu de l'abbaye Saint-Sulpice de Bourges', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1922, 1923), 197 n.2.

his wife and confirmed 'by the hand of myself and my wife and my barons'.⁴ Although these charters are of questionable authenticity, some of the information they contain may be accurate, including the succession of the viscounts of Bourges and the fact that Odo became viscount in his own name (even if he still exercised some of the powers jointly with his father-in-law) between 1092 and 1095 and that he had a group of followers to whom he referred as 'my barons'.

Even more puzzling is an undated charter for the canons of St Ambrose at Bourges issued by 'Gilo knight and lord of the castle of Sully and of Aix and under the king of the Franks with Odo Arpinus lord of Bourges'. After describing the reestablishment of the monastery by viscount Geoffrey, Gilo and Odo, together with their wives 'that is, mother and daughter', granted 'to the same canons, just as the monastery was rebuilt by our ancestors, that they may by our authority rebuild the bridge over the water and the roadway up to the vineyards' and that anyone who built a dwelling along the road on the canons' land would be free from customs 'like those who live in the town'. This charter, together with that of viscount Geoffrey, was appended to a privilege of king Philip I for St Ambrose dated 16 October 1102, and this has been used as evidence that Gilo and Odo were still in charge of Bourges, and their wives still living, at that time, but it must have been issued earlier, probably while Odo was still acting in concert with Gilo before he became viscount in his own name. It confirms that they acted as lords of Bourges *sub rege Francorum* and that they patronized the canons of St Ambrose.⁵ Odo is also said to have been among the principal founders and benefactors of the monastery of Chezal-Benoît, which was established in 1093 by

⁴ *Le cartulaire de Vierzon*, ed. Guy Devailly (Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Rennes; Paris 1963), 185-91, nos. 64-5; cf. Thaumassière, *Berry* (n. 1), III, 49-50. Devailly raised no questions here concerning the authenticity of these charters, but in *idem*, *Berry* (n. 1), 181, 245, 259, he called either or both of them forgeries made in the twelfth century to support the claims of Vierzon to St Gondon. Among several suspicious signs are the references to St Gondon as an allod and to Odo as *Dei gratia Bituricensis vicecomes*. Their authenticity was apparently accepted, however, by Bautier, 'Prise en charge du Berry' (n. 1), 52-3 and n. 61, where he revised the dating of no. 65 from 'avant 1101' to 'avant 1095', presumably because it may antedate no. 66 (191-4), which is dated 23 Feb. 1095. Further documents concerning the dispute over St Gondon between Vierzon and St Florent at Saumur are printed in *Cart. de Vierzon*, 257-62.

⁵ *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er} roi de France*, ed. Maurice Prou (Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France 1; Paris 1908), 366-7, no. 145. See Thaumassière, *Berry* (n. 1), II, 299; Bautier, 'Prise en charge du Berry' (n. 1), 36 (on Geoffrey's grant), 53-4 (on this charter). The original of Philip's charter is lost, and as published by Prou it is followed by the charters of Geoffrey and of Gilo and Odo, but in Duchesne's copy and Labbe's edition of the seventeenth century Geoffrey's charter came first and was followed by those of Gilo and Odo and of Philip (*Actes de Philippe I^{er}*, 359 n.3, 360 n.3), showing that the charter of Gilo and Odo had an independent transmission. In October 1102 Odo was still in the east, probably in prison in Cairo (see n. 19 below).

a monk of Vallombrosa who 'taught his followers to serve God in great poverty and continence' and which in 1099 received a privilege from Urban II decreeing that the monks should follow the customs of Vallombrosa.⁶

Odo's career so far resembles those of many nobles in the eleventh century, but he stepped onto the broader stage of history when he sold his rights at Bourges, and in all likelihood also at Dun, to the king for 60,000 pounds or, more probably, shillings.⁷ The date of this transaction is uncertain,⁸ but it must have taken place between 1097, when Odo witnessed the charter for St Sulpice that he later confirmed and expanded, and either 1100, when Philip was apparently in possession of Bourges,⁹ or at the latest 1101, when Ordericus Vitalis recorded that

⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, VIII, 27, ed. Chibnall (n. 1), IV, 327; *Analecta iuris pontificii* 10 (1869), 567-8 (JL 5789). See *GC*, II, 162D, and *Actes de Philippe I^{er}* (n. 5), ccxxxvi nn. 4 and 5, citing the unpublished notes by Dom Estiennot saying that Odo gave his goods to Chezal-Benoît. According to information from Dr Hervé Oudart, Odo is associated with bringing Andrew of Vallombrosa to Berry in the material on Chezal-Benoît in MS Paris, Archives nationales, L985, no. 1.

⁷ *Annales Vizeliacenses* s.a. 1065, in *CC:CM*, XLII, 222 (60,000 shillings); Hugh of Fleury, *Fragmentum chronici*, in *RHGF*, XI, 157 (60,000 shillings); *Chronicon regum Francorum*, *ibid.* XI, 394 (60,000 pounds and calling Odo 'Cyprone'); and the French version in *Les grandes chroniques des France*, ed. Jules Viard, 9 vols (Société de l'histoire de France, 395, 401, 404, 415, 418, 423, 429, 438, 457; Paris 1920-53), V, 73, which gives the price as 'LX^m livres' or (in a variant) 'xxx^m souls'. The later sources cited by James Lea Cate, 'The Crusade of 1101', in *Wisconsin History*, I (2 ed.), 352, are not relevant. See Augustin Fliche, *La règne de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris 1912), 150-1; Devailly, *Berry* (n. 1), 382-4; Bautier, 'Prise en charge du Berry' (n. 1), 48, 54, 57, who argued on the basis of the analogy with other transactions made to finance the crusades that this was a gage ('engagement') rather than a sale. Against this view are the facts that unlike other such arrangements it was universally referred to a sale, that the sum involved was greater than would have been required for a crusade, and that there is no evidence Odo tried to recover the viscounty after his return.

⁸ It is dated 1095 in *GC*, XII, 405B; 1098 in William M. Newman, *Le domaine royal sous les premiers capétiens (987-1180)* (Paris 1937), 92; 'the extreme end' of the eleventh century by De Font-Réaulx, 'Droits de tonlieu' (n. 3), 197; 1100 in Thaumassière, *Berry* (n. 1), I, 74, 83 ('environ l'an 1100'); Paul Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, 3 vols (Paris 1890-1903), II, 145, 269; Prou, *Actes de Philippe I^{er}* (n. 5), 369 n.1 ('avec vraisemblance'); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 76; 1101 in Achille Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers capétiens (987-1180)*, 2 ed., 2 vols (Paris 1891), II, 248; Fliche, *Philippe I^{er}* (n. 7), 151; Devailly, *Berry* (n. 1), 382; 1106 (perhaps an error for 1100) in Ferdinand Lot, Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, II: *Institutions royales* (Paris 1958), 109.

⁹ Bautier, 'Prise en charge du Berry' (n. 1), 44-6, published a charter (58-9) of between 23 Dec. 1099 (or 25 March or 1 April 1100) and 7 April 1100 showing that Philip came with an army to Bourges, to which he referred 'adepta hac prefata urbe, jura nostri imperii adeo dilatata cognoscimus'.

‘at that time Arpinus sold the town of Bourges to king Philip of the Franks and took the road to Jerusalem with Joscelin of Courtenay and Gilo of Bray’.¹⁰ The sale has generally been associated with Odo’s departure for the crusade, though 60,000 shillings would have been more than he needed for the purpose.¹¹ He may have disposed of his estate with the idea of remaining in the Holy Land or have wanted to add to the endowment of Chezal-Benoît or another religious house, but his precise motives are unknown. In the *Chanson d’Antioche* he was said to have sold his land and his county to the king because he had no children,¹² but it is unclear how his wife’s claims to the viscounty, if she was still living, and those of her sister and William of Sully, and of their children, were satisfied. Be this as it may, the acquisition of direct rights over Bourges and Dun was an important step in the growth of royal power south of the Loire, and their sale assured Odo a small but secure place in the history of the French monarchy.¹³

Odo’s career as a crusader can be traced in the works of Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen, Ordericus Vitalis, and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines.¹⁴ He probably left in 1101 and went by way of Constantinople, since he was referred to as a *miles* and *servus* of the emperor Alexius, to whom he appears to have given an oath of loyalty.¹⁵ According to Albert, Odo was left in charge of Jaffa when king Baldwin

¹⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 20, ed. Chibnall (n. 1), V, 322. According to the *Chronicon regum Francorum* and *Grandes chroniques* Odo went with Peter the Hermit, but Ordericus is almost certainly correct in his dating.

¹¹ See in addition to several of the works cited above Ronald Grossman, *The Financing of the Crusades* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1965), 40; Fred A. Cazel, ‘Financing the Crusades’, in Wisconsin *History*, VI, 119, both of whom believed that Odo sold the viscounty to finance the crusade. Achard of Montmerle mortgaged some property to Cluny for 2,000 shillings in 1096 when he went on the crusade. and many departing crusaders received much smaller amounts: see chapter 4.

¹² *La chanson d’Antioche*, XVII, lines 352-5, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioç, 2 vols (Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 11; Paris 1976-8), I, 35. See Thaumás de la Thaumassière, *Berry* (n. 1), II, 299; Devailly, *Berry* (n. 1), 282 and n. 2.

¹³ The sale was mentioned by Jean Bodin in his *Les six livres de la république*, according to Thaumás de la Thaumassière, *Berry* (n. 1), I, 79, but his reference (‘67, ch. 2’, possibly for bk. 6, ch. 2) is untraceable in the edition of Paris 1583.

¹⁴ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 132; idem, *First Crusaders* (n. 8), 204. See Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, VII, 24, in CC:CM, CXXVIIA, 316; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, VII, 57, IX, 1, 5, 6, 8, in RHC, *Hist. occ.*, IV, 544, 591, 593-5; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 20, 22-3, ed. Chibnall (n. 1), V, 324, 344-8, 350-2; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* s.a. 1096, 1097, in MGH, SS, XXIII, 804, 807. These sources will be cited below without further reference unless necessary.

¹⁵ See John H. Pryor, ‘The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, Homage – *πίστις, δουλία*’, *Parergon* NS 2 (1984), 111-41, who concluded that ‘As non-Byzantines, the crusaders became regarded by their oaths on

left in 1101, and he and Conrad the constable of Henry IV of Germany were with the king at Jerusalem in 1102 and went with him to the defense of Ramla, which was besieged by the Turks in May 1102. Ordericus said that Odo joined Stephen of Blois (his wife's sister's father-in-law), William *Sine-habere* of Poissy,¹⁶ and others in urging the king to escape while it was still possible and that the king went to Jaffa, where he appealed for help, saying that 'the glorious hero count palatine Stephen of Blois, Gilo of Bray, and Arpinus of Bourges, William *Sine-habere* and his brother Simon and other valiant lords are made martyrs of Christ at Ramla'. After the fall of Ramla, most of the knights who were captured, including Stephen of Blois, were put to death.¹⁷ 'Arpinus was likewise captured,' still according to Albert, 'and his life was saved because it was known from truthful witnesses that he was a knight of the emperor of the Greeks', and he and Conrad the constable were imprisoned at Ascalon. Guibert of Nogent said that after the fall of Ramla 'the magnificent man' Arpinus was taken captive, and 'after being freed from captivity he then returned to France and became a monk.'

The most circumstantial account of Odo's captivity and release is given by Ordericus Vitalis, whose source is unknown but was surely someone close to Odo if not Odo himself.¹⁸ Speaking of the prisoners taken at Ramla, some of whom were rescued by the king, Ordericus said that 'the more prominent, however, who had been sent ahead to Ascalon, were lost, and the bearers of news (*rumigeruli*) told us nothing certain about [any of] them except for Arpinus'. He was taken to Babylon, that is Cairo, where he was kept in prison 'for many days', sustained

πῖρις as having entered into relations of service and loyalty to the empire in general terms' (124) and that a few, including Bohemund, went further and became vassals (131); Hannes Möhring, 'Kreuzzug und Dschihad in der mediaevistischen und orientalischen Forschung 1965-1985', *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 10/11 (1988), 367-8; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, tr. J. Colin Morris, Jean E. Ridings (Oxford 1993), 8-28, who concluded that the precise nature of the oaths and the resulting obligations is unclear. Odo's position vis-à-vis the emperor entitled him to special treatment, as will be seen. He may have planned not to return to the west and therefore taken a different oath from his co-crusaders.

¹⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, IX, 4, 22, ed. Chibnall (n. 1), V, 28, 346. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders* (n. 8), 222, 226.

¹⁷ On the capture of Ramla and death of Stephen of Blois, see Heinrich Hagenmeyer, 'Chronologie du royaume de Jérusalem', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 11 (1905-8), 168-71, citing the sources and secondary literature; Brundage, 'Errant Crusader' (n. 1), 394-5.

¹⁸ The monastery of St Evroul, where Ordericus was a monk, had close connections with Cluny: see Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (1984; repr. Oxford 1994), 85, 165 n.64, but the description of his work as Cluniac history by Hans Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis. Ein Beitrag zur kluniazensischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden 1955), was called 'going too far' by Chibnall, *World*, 216. Ordericus was present at the great assembly of Cluniac priors in 1132 (*Hist. ecc.*, XIII, 13, ed. Chibnall [n. 1], VI, 424-7), which took place probably after Odo's death but was attended by many who must have known him.

by the memory of the Christian martyrs and comforted by Christ. He was found there by some Byzantine merchants, whom he asked to give the emperor Alexius a message that:

your servant Arpinus of Bourges is greatly afflicted and has groaned now for a long time in the prison of Cairo, and he humbly requests the splendor of your imperial majesty to pity and help him and by an order sent on your behalf to the emir to remove him from the tribulations of prison.

Alexius secured his release by threatening to arrest all the Egyptian agents and mercenaries in his empire, and Odo, laden with gifts from the emir, went to Constantinople, where he thanked the emperor and was rewarded by him, presumably for his faithful service. Anna Comnena also gave a somewhat confused account of this event, without mentioning Odo by name, saying that Alexius sent an envoy to Cairo with money to ransom the counts and a letter to the emir, who released the prisoners without any payment. They then went to Constantinople and were given great sums of money by the emperor before they returned home.¹⁹

This is the stuff of which legends are made, and made they were at an early date. Odo is the only identifiable crusader among the captives in the Old French crusade epic known as *Les Chétifs*, which was first written as an independent work, either at Fécamp or perhaps in the east, in the middle of the twelfth century, and was revised and incorporated into the crusade cycle by Graindor of Douai in 1180/90.²⁰ Odo is mentioned by name over 50 times as Harpinus *li quens* and

¹⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XI, 7, 3, cf. XII, 1, 3, ed. Bernard Leib, 3 vols (Paris 1937-45), III, 33, 54-5, 250. On this event (which Anna apparently turned into two, with different envoys) and her other confusions, see Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1108-1118)* (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes 4; Paris 1900), xvii; Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev, et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris 1924), 220; Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, II: *Regesten von 1025-1204* (Munich-Berlin 1925), 48, no. 1216; Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Oxford 1929), 231 n.8, 254. According to Cate, 'Crusade of 1101' (n. 7), 365, Odo and Conrad were in prison for three years, and for Bautier, 'Prise en charge du Berry' (n. 1), 54, 56-7, Odo was back in France by the spring of 1103 or earlier, which suggests that he spent at most a few months in prison, but the only evidence is Ordericus's *multis diebus* and *diu*.

²⁰ There is a large literature on *Les Chétifs*, of which the origins, date, and character are disputed: see in particular Anouar Hatem, *Les poèmes épiques des croisades. Genèse-historicité-localisation. Essai sur l'activité littéraire dans les colonies franques de Syrie au moyen âge* (Paris 1932), esp. 248-51 on the episode of Harpins, 383-8 on reflections of Frankish life in Syria in *Les Chétifs*, which gives 'un tableau assez fidèle de la vie des Croisés en Syrie' (388); Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940), 569-78, saying that *Les Chétifs* was written in the east and associated with the crusade of 1101 but that it presents 'à peu près aucune prétention historique'; idem, 'Le premier cycle de la croisade (Antioche-Jérusalem-

as Harpins or Harpin of Bohorges, Boorges, or Beorges, and he is the principal character in the third episode of the work, where he rescued the nephew of king Corbaran of Oliberthe from his successive captures by a wolf, a monkey, and a band of robbers, to whose cave Harpins was guided by three saints in the guise of white stags. The first two episodes concern Richard of Chaumont, who fought a duel on behalf of Corbaran, and Baldwin of Beauvais, who killed the dragon Sathanas with the help of a talisman given him by the abbot of Fécamp, one of the captives.²¹ The entire work is filled with magical beasts and mythical events that bear no relation to historical reality.

From *Les Chétifs* Odo (or Harpin, as he appears in this context) found his way into Graindor's revisions of *La chanson d'Antioche* and *La chanson de Jérusalem*. Graindor transferred the scene of his capture to Civitot, on the gulf of Izmit near Nicomedia, where the Turks attacked the troops of Peter the Hermit and took some of them prisoners in 1096.²² According to a variant found in five thirteenth-century manuscripts of the final lines of *La chanson de Jérusalem*, Harpin became a Templar, which may have served as a transition to a lost passage on the military orders, and in the London and Turin versions of the *Jérusalem* continuations he married the queen of Nubia and joined the order of the Temple after her death.²³

Chétifs)', *Le Moyen Age* 63 (1957), 317-28 on *Les Chétifs* (esp. 321-2 on Harpins), which he argues was based on the stories of crusader captives as they circulated in the west after 1101 and which 'manque totalement d'esprit de croisade' (327); *La chanson d'Antioche* (n. 12), II, 125-30, discussing in particular the use made of *Les Chétifs* by Graindor of Douai; Karl-Heinz Bender, Hermann Kleber, *Le premier cycle de la croisade. De Godefroy à Saladin: entre la chronique et le conte de fées (1100-1300)* (Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, III. Les épopées romanes 1/2:5; Heidelberg 1986), 52-6 (52 n. 3 on the disputed date); Geoffrey M. Myers, 'Le développement des *Chétifs*. La version fécampoise?', in *Les épopées de la croisade. Premier colloque international (Trèves, 6-11 août 1984)*, ed. Karl-Heinz Bender, Hermann Kleber (Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, Beihefte NF 11; Stuttgart 1987), 84-90, who said the first version was written at Fécamp about 1160 (87), though in the appendix by Hermann Kleber to the same volume (178) it is still dated c. 1149; see also Edmond A. Emplincourt, 'Etude des interpolations dans *La chanson du chevalier au cygne et de Godefroi de Bouillon*: état de la question', *ibid.* 126-7, on later uses of the story of Harpins. Jean Richard, 'L'arrière-plan historique des deux cycles de la croisade', *ibid.* 16, stressed 'la brièveté du délai qui sépare l'événement de sa déformation épique'.

²¹ *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, V: *Les Chétifs*, ed. Geoffrey M. Myers (Tuscaloosa, Ala. 1981), 356, with an analysis of the three episodes on pp. xi-xiii. See also Hatem, *Poèmes* (n. 20), 248-51.

²² *La chanson d'Antioche*, XVII, lines 352-5, ed. Duparc-Quioç (n. 12), I, 35; see also II, 101.

²³ *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, VI: *La chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. Nigel Thorp (Tuscaloosa-London 1992), 681; VIII: *The Jérusalem Continuations. The London-Turin Version*, ed. Peter R. Grillo (Tuscaloosa 1994), 400 n.642, with other references in the index. Cf. *La chanson d'Antioche* (n. 12), I, 51, 68, 80 n.30.

Harpin also appears in *La mort Godefroi*, *La chanson des rois Baudouin*, and *Godefroi de Bouillon*, and later in *Les enfances Renier*, *Baudouin de Sebourg*, *Le bâtard de Bouillon*, *Le chevalier au cygne* et *Godefroi de Bouillon* and *Saladin*.²⁴ He is indeed one of the best-known characters in the French *chansons de geste*, and an interesting study could be written on the development of his legend down to the fifteenth century.

The influence of *Les Chétifs* can also be found in the Latin sources, such as the chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century and may have known the work in its original form, before it was revised by Graindor. According to Alberic, 12 of the most noble crusaders, including Arpinus of Bourges and Richard of Chaumont, were captured between Antioch and Harim and sent to Persia, where Richard freed himself and his companions by fighting a duel on behalf of Corbaran. Returning to the world of reality, if not of fact, Alberic then continued, 'The aforesaid count Arpinus died at Rome on his return. The same count Arpinus when he was signed with the cross had sold his county and then the kings of France held Bourges and the castle of Dun without intermediary (*immediate*).'²⁵

A more detailed account of Odo's return to the west is given by Ordericus, who said that after seeing the emperor Alexius in Constantinople Odo visited pope Paschal II, who told him that:

You have been cleansed by confession and penance and have been redeemed by the marks of the virtues through your laborious pilgrimage and the pains of martyrdom. You have given satisfaction to God for your sins by your tribulations in prison; you have learned patience and charity and the other virtues in your suffering.

The pope therefore urged Odo to avoid secular life and warfare for fear of losing the crown of his sufferings and to renounce his own will and imitate the footsteps of Christ. He then blessed Odo, who returned to France 'and was honorably received there by his men but did not stay with them for long. For in accordance with the advice of the pope, or rather of Christ', he left the world and became a monk at Cluny.²⁶ Paschal's words, as reported by Ordericus, give a good idea of the spiritual advantages won by a crusader through his sufferings rather than his fighting, to which Paschal made no reference. Odo returned home with a clean spiritual slate, as it were, which could be kept clean only by avoiding contact with the secular world. Odo's patronage of the monasteries of St Sulpice and St Ambrose at Bourges and of Chezal-Benoît suggests that he already had some

²⁴ André Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises et les oeuvres étrangères dérivées*, 2 vols in 5 (Publications romanes et françaises 173; Geneva 1986), I, 560, IV, 269.

²⁵ See n. 14 above and *La chanson d'Antioche* (n. 12), II, 101.

²⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, X, 23, ed. Chibnall (n. 1), V, 352.

sympathy for monastic life. He may also, having sold the viscounty of Bourges and lordship of Dun, have found himself at loose ends when he returned to France and possibly short of funds, though it is improbable that he spent the entire proceeds of the sale on his crusade, and he was said to have received gifts from both the emir and the emperor.²⁷

It is not known why Odo decided to enter Cluny, aside from Paschal's alleged advice and a family connection through his wife with the famous Cluniac bishop Henry of Winchester. He first appears as a monk on a Cluniac charter of 1108 witnessed by 'Odo Arpinus qui dicebatur Bituricensis', which establishes his identity with the former viscount of Bourges.²⁸ He is called Odo Arpinus on three documents of 1110, 1110/15 (when he accompanied abbot Pontius to Limoges), and 1110/16 and 'Arpinus clericus', who may be a different person, on a charter of 1109/20.²⁹ The name Arpinus (Aripinus, Erpinus) was unusual but not unknown at Cluny and is found five times in the Cluniac necrologies, though never in combination with Odo: three times at Marcigny (January 15 and 16 and December 4) and once each at St Martin-des-Champs (October 30) and Longpont (September 28); but it is impossible to identify any of these, or 'Arpinus clericus', with certainty. Odo could also be the 'Otto com' who is listed in the necrologies of Moissac, St Martin-des-Champs, Longpont, and (as a *familiaris*) St Martial on August 15, but who was apparently a layman.³⁰

The most probable identification is with the prior of La Charité-sur-Loire who appears as Odo Arpinus and as Odo and Arpinus alone from 1107 until the late 1120s.³¹ On 9 March 1107 Paschal II dedicated the church of La Charité 'at

²⁷ Cahen, 'Premier cycle' (n. 21), 321, for instance, said that Odo became a monk because he had sold his fief.

²⁸ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1876-1903), V, 229, no. 3874. See Elsa Maria Wischermann, *Marcigny-sur-Loire. Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte des ersten Cluniacenserinnen-priorates (1055-1150)* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 42; Munich 1980), 98-9.

²⁹ Cluny (n. 28), V, 235, 237, 247, nos. 3883, 3886, 3896. A grant of before 3 August 1108 was issued 'per manum Bernardi Cluniacensis camerarii et Arpini monachi': *ibid.* V, 226, no. 3872. Jean-Loup Lemaître, 'Les campagnons de route de l'abbé de Cluny au XII^e siècle', in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente 1123-1215. Atti della settima settimana internazionale di studi medioevali. Mendola, 23 agosto - 3 settembre 1977* (Publicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 9; Milan 1980), 701, 698, said (probably in error) that Odo was *camerarius abbatis* in 1114.

³⁰ Joachim Wollasch, *Synopse der cluniacensischen Necrologien*, 2 vols (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 39.1-2; Munich 1982), II, 140, 340.

³¹ In addition to the charters cited below see Cluny (n. 28), V, 237, no. 3886 (1110), 247, no. 3896 (1110/16), 435-6, no. 4082 (1115/25); *Histoire de La Charité* (n. 1), 36-7 (1111); Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Mourir à Saint-Martial. La commémoration des morts et les obituaires à Saint-Martial de Limoges du XI^e au XIII^e siècles* (Paris 1989), 532 (1114, at

the request of the lord prior Arpinus, a most illustrious man, and the *seniores* of La Charité' and a week later, on March 16, issued a general confirmation of the possessions of La Charité addressed to his 'beloved son in Christ Odo prior of the monastery of St Mary that is called La Charité'.³² The phrases *vir illustrissimus* and *dilectus in Christo filius* were not unusual but take on a special significance if Odo was in fact the same man whom Paschal had shortly before met on his return from the east and advised to become a monk. Late in 1107 'the lord prior Odo Arpinus' and Adam *meschinus* made an agreement 'publicly at St Mary of La Charité in the hand of the lord prior Odo surnamed Arpinus', and in 1111 prior Odo returned part of a grant to La Charité for a youth who decided not to become a monk and would otherwise have been without an inheritance.³³ Paschal II in

St Martial with abbot Pontius); *Cartulaire du prieuré de La Charité-sur-Loire*, ed. René de Lespinasse (Nevers-Paris 1887), 79, no. 24 (1115/20), 125-6, no. 49 (1121), which may be the same as *Histoire*, 37. According to the *GC*, XII, 405B, he was present at the consecration of the church of St Julian of Sézanne in 1114. Among other works see *Histoire de La Charité* (n. 1), 34-9; *RHGF*, XIV, 120 n.6; *Cluny* (n. 28), V, 204 n.3, 229 n.2; Fliche, *Philippe I* (n. 7), 151, calling Odo's priorate a possibility but not a certainty; Devailly, *Berry* (n. 1), 384; Robert-Henri Bautier, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II (Munich-Zürich 1981-3), 1725; idem, 'Prise en charge du Berry' (n. 1), 44 (saying that 'chacun est d'accord' that Odo became prior of La Charité), 54-5; Joachim Wollasch, 'Das Schisma des Abtes Pontius von Cluny', *Francia* 23 (1996), 36. The most serious objection to the identification is that Odo Arpinus appeared on Cluniac charters as a monk of Cluny after he became prior of La Charité, though the position of his name among the witnesses suggests that he was a prominent member of the community. The appendix on the priors of the La Charité between 1122 and 1156 in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), II, 296-8, needs to be revised in the light of the work of Damien Van den Eynde, 'Remarques sur la chronologie du cartulaire de Cluny au temps de Pierre le Vénérable', *Antonianum* 43 (1968), 242-3. Lemaître, 'Compagnons' (n. 29), 698-9 said that Odo was prior from 1107-1130 and retired to Cluny after leaving La Charité.

³² *Dedicatio ecclesiae B. Mariae de Caritate a Paschali II papa peracta*, in *RHGF*, XIV, 120C (JL, I, 729, with other references) and *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, ed. Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 3 vols (Tübingen-Stuttgart 1880-8), I, 89-90, no. 98 = *La Charité* (n. 31), 361, no. 167 = *Cluny* (n. 28), V, 204-6, no. 3854 (JL 6127). I have not seen the edition of the *Dedicatio* in Jean Lebeuf, *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d'éclaircissements à l'histoire de France*, 2 vols (Paris 1738), I, 404. According to Shepard, '“Muddy Road”' (see n. on p. 228), 19, it was written a considerable time after the event. Paschal's bull of the same date in *La Charité* (n. 31), 4-6, no. 2 (JL 6127a) is described by Löwenfeld as 'ex 6127 fabricatum', but its authenticity was apparently accepted by Wilhelm Wiederhold, *PU in Frankreich*, V. Berry, *Bourbonnais, Nivernais und Auxerrois*, in *Nachr. Göttingen: Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1910), 14. Suger mentioned Paschal's dedication of La Charité in his *Vita Ludovici Grossi regis*, 10, ed. Henri Waquet (*Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age* 11; Paris 1929), 52.

³³ *La Charité* (n. 31), 118-19, 119-24, nos. 47-8. Adam *meschinus* (Le Meschins) was the son of Adam of Cresne, who also appears on the charter of 1088, *ibid.* 97, no. 34,

1114 issued a privilege for La Charité addressed to 'our beloved son prior Odo' and granting the requests presented through 'our most dear son Pontius abbot of Cluny', and king Louis VI in 1119 confirmed a grant 'at the wish and request of the lord prior Odo of the church of St Mary of La Charité'.³⁴ The last known reference to Odo is in a charter of the prior Adelelmus of Cluny of 1126/9.³⁵ Since the next known priors, Theodard and Peter, were in office in the 1130s and certainly before August 1137, Odo probably died or retired in the late 1120s.³⁶

Finally, something should be said about the letter to 'the lord N. prior of La Charité' from a canon who had been told that a brother of the church of St John at Sens had secretly left his church and been received and professed 'in your church' and 'furthermore that you replied with some harsh and improper words to the abbot and other members of the aforesaid church who sought their sheep' saying that 'Every man is allowed to choose a better life and stronger *conversatio* however he wishes and wherever he wishes.' The author then refuted the claim that either canons or monks are better than the other, since 'where all are bad, no one is better'. At the end he warned the prior that he will incur God's displeasure if he fails to correct what his monks had unwisely done and run the risk of ecclesiastical punishment 'if the brothers who have been harmed by you seek an audience with the Roman pontiff'.³⁷ There is no evidence in the letter with regard either to the

cf. n. 3; cf. *Histoire de La Charité* (n. 1), 35. It is uncertain whether *meschinus* was a family name or a nickname. It occurs in charters of 1111 (Robert *meschinus*) and 1151 (Gilo *meschinus* of Sancerre), in *La Charité*, 122, 141, nos. 48, 58, and as the name of the fourth viscount of Bourges, the grandfather of Odo's wife Mathilda.

³⁴ *Cluny* (n. 28), V, 260, no. 3910 (JL 6400), 288-90, no. 3936 = Luchaire, *Louis VI* (n. 3), 335, no. 275; idem, *Actes de Louis VI* (n. 3), I, 307, no. 148. Paschal's bull has not been published, but a twelfth-century copy exists in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. 31 in scrin., Frgm. 4: see Johann M. Lappenberg, 'Handschriften der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek', *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 9 (1847), 507, and *Katalog der Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, VII. *Die Codices in scrinio 1-110* (Hamburg 1972), 78-9, where it is dated 1114. Paschal referred to his consecration of La Charité 'when we made a journey through your region' and confirmed (without listing) its present and future possessions. Abbot Pontius was in Rome at the end of 1114 and the beginning of 1115 and obtained two important privileges for Cluny (JL 6405, 6406) confirming the possessions acquired during his abbacy and his use of the miter, dalmatic, gloves, and sandals: see Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'Two Studies in Cluniac History 1049-1126', *Studi Gregoriani* 11 (1978), 195, 273.

³⁵ *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Joseph Depoin, 5 vols (Archives de la France monastique 13, 16, 18, 20, 21; Ligugé-Paris 1912-21), II, 23-4, no. 207, which Van den Eynde, 'Remarques' (n. 31), 243 n.2, dated '1126-1129 (plutôt 1128-1129)'.

³⁶ *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 31), II, 297-8; Van den Eynde, 'Remarques' (n. 31), 243. *Histoire de La Charité* (n. 1), 40, dated his death in 1130.

³⁷ *PL*, CCXIII, 717C-20D. On this letter see Kurt Fina, '“Ovem suam requirere”. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Ordenswechsels im 12. Jahrhunderts', *Augustiniana* 7 (1957),

date (except that St John at Sens was founded in 1111) or to the recipient, who is identified only as the prior of La Charité, but it may have been Odo.

Aside from the charters, nothing definite is known about Odo's activities as prior of La Charité. A comparison of the property lists in the privileges granted to La Charité by Paschal II in 1107 and Lucius II in 1144 shows that the number of dependent priories, churches, chapels, and villas grew from 56 to 80, but how many of the new possessions, which included Daventry in England, Sta Croce on the Giudecca in Venice, and St Peter at Rates in Portugal, were acquired while Odo was prior is unknown.³⁸ An interesting possibility is referred to in two letters written some time between 1122 and 1143, probably about 1138/9, by Peter the Venerable to the emperor John Comnenos and the patriarch of Constantinople concerning, among other things, the gift to Cluny and La Charité by the emperor's father Alexius of the monastery of Civitot, where, he told the emperor, 'our monks have either died or left or been expelled and foreign monks have invaded and taken over now already, we hear, for almost three years', and of which he requested the return to Cluny and La Charité.³⁹ Civitot had been founded by Alexius, according to Ordericus Vitalis under the year 1096, for the English who had fled from William the Conqueror, but it was not completed owing to the attacks of the Turks.⁴⁰ It is unknown when the monastery was established there, or when Alexius gave it to Cluny and La Charité, but it is tempting – indeed hard not – to associate his gift with the fact that from at least 1107 the prior of La Charité was his erstwhile *miles* and *servus* Odo Arpinus. If so, Odo was responsible for the addition to the Cluniac order of its first and only house in the Byzantine Empire.

Presuming that Odo was born about 1060, since he was already a *dominus* and *princeps* in 1085, he was in his seventies at the time of his death. He could look back, not perhaps without satisfaction, on a remarkable career that fell into three distinct, but not unconnected, phases. The sale of his viscounty prepared the way for the crusade and possibly necessitated his entry into religious life after his return; his experiences as a crusader and a captive not only cleansed his soul, as Paschal said, and established his link with Alexius, which may have borne later fruit for his priory, but were also the source of the legends that started almost during his lifetime and of some good stories to tell his monks; and by becoming a

33-56, esp. 38-51.

³⁸ *Cluny* (n. 28), V, 204-6, no. 3854 (JL 6127), 432-5, no. 4081 (JL 8572) = *La Charité* (n. 31), 361-7, nos. 157-8.

³⁹ *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 31), I, 208-10, nos. 75-6, notes in II, 148-9.

⁴⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. ecc.*, IV; IX, 4, ed. Chibnall (n. 1), II, 202, 203 n.4, V, 38. See Jonathan Shepard, 'The English and Byzantium: A Study of Their Role in the Byzantine Army in the Later Eleventh Century', *Traditio* 29 (1973), 76-7; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* (n. 19), II, 210 n.; *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 31), II, 292. There are several references to Civitot in crusader sources, but none of them mention a monastery there. Graindor of Douai in his revision of *La chanson de Jérusalem* transferred the scene of Harpin's capture to Civitot, with which Odo was thus associated in legend as well, perhaps, as in fact.

monk in the third stage of his career he prepared the way for his fourth and final life in the next world.

Note

First published in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe: Essays in honor of J. N. Hillgarth*, ed. Thomas E. Burman, Mark D. Meyerson, Leah Shopkow (Papers in medieval studies 16; Toronto 2002), 183-99. It appeared at about the same time as Jonathan Shepard, 'The "muddy road" of Odo Arpin from Bourges to La Charité-sur-Loire' in *The Experience of Crusading, II: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. Peter Edbury, Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge 2003), 11-28. The two articles cover much of the same ground, and there is naturally some overlap between them, but less than might be expected, and they are in many respects complementary. Shepard devotes more attention to the eastern aspects of Odo's career, both his crusade (aside from his appearance in the Old French epic *Les Chétifs*) and his relations with Alexius Comnenos, especially the monastery of Kibotos (Civitot). More attention is given here to the French side of Odo's career. Except in one small respect, no effort has been made here to combine the two articles, each of which sheds light on the life of this remarkable figure.

Chapter 10

The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries

Introduction¹

The years between 1146 and 1148 were signalized in the annals and chronicles of medieval Europe by Christian campaigns on all fronts against the surrounding pagans and Muslims.² The most important of these was directed towards the Holy Land, against the Muslims, who had recently seized Edessa. It consisted of no less than five expeditions. The two largest armies, commanded by the emperor³ Conrad III and king Louis VII of France, followed the same route overland across the Balkans to Constantinople; both met with crushing defeats in Asia Minor and finally reached the Holy Land, as best they could, by land and sea. A third force, under Amadeus III of Savoy, moved down Italy, crossed from Brindisi to Durazzo, and joined the army of Louis at Constantinople late in 1147. In August of the same year a naval expedition led by Alfonso of Toulouse left the south of France and arrived in Palestine probably in the spring of 1148. At the same time, a joint Anglo-Flemish naval force sailed along the north coast of Europe, assisted the king of Portugal in the capture of Lisbon, proceeded around the peninsula early in 1148, attacked Faro, and presumably reached the Holy Land later that year.

¹ The most complete account of the second crusade, in spite of its age, is still that of Bernhard Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges* (Stuttgart 1866), but for the German aspects of the crusade, that of Wilhelm Bernharti, *Konrad III.*, 2 vols paged consecutively (*Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*; Leipzig 1883), 512-684, is fuller and more accurate. The best narratives in English are those of Steven Runciman in the second volume of his *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1951-4), II, 247-88 and Virginia Berry in the Wisconsin *History*, II, 463-512. See also n. on pp. 299-300.

² For all references on the campaigns mentioned in this introduction, see the individual sections below. The twelfth-century sources draw no clear line between the Muslims and the heathens: they were both *pagani*. The heathen Slavs were even, on occasion, referred to as *Saraceni*, see *PL*, CLXXX, 1385 (JL 9325); Vincent of Prague, *Ann. seu chron. Boemorum*, in *MGH*, SS, XVII, 664.

³ Conrad III is known as Holy Roman Emperor only by courtesy, since he was never crowned as such. The popes always referred to him as 'king'. Alfonso VII of Castile (see below) was both crowned and recognized by the papacy as King of Kings and was commonly called 'emperor' by contemporaries. On the imperial title in Spain, see Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Das kastilische Königtum und Kaisertum während der Reconquista', in *Festschrift für Gerhard Ritter* (Tübingen 1950), 90f.

Meanwhile, in the northeast, four armies co-operated in a campaign against the pagan Wends across the river Elbe: a Danish army joined the Saxons under Henry the Lion and archbishop Adalbero of Bremen in an attack on Dubin; another, larger, army led by Albert the Bear of Brandenburg and many other temporal and spiritual lords advanced against Demmin and Stettin; a fourth expedition, finally, under a brother of the duke of Poland attacked from the southeast. In 1148, on the south shore of the Mediterranean, a powerful fleet under George of Antioch extended the control of Roger II of Sicily over the entire littoral from Tripoli to Tunis. In the west, four campaigns were directed against the crumbling power of the Almoravides. The Genoese in 1146 sacked Minorca and besieged Almeria. During the following year, the emperor Alfonso VII of Castile advanced south through Andalusia and captured Almeria with the aid of a strong Genoese fleet, which in 1148 sailed north and joined the count of Barcelona in his campaign against Tortosa. In the previous year, Alfonso Henriques of Portugal had captured Santarem and secured the assistance of the Anglo-Flemish fleet for an attack on Lisbon, which fell late in 1147.

The magnitude and scope of these campaigns was without precedent in the early middle ages. Their permanent result was, however, inconsiderable. Ten years later, only Lisbon and Tortosa remained in Christian hands as the substantial gains of those tremendous efforts, which elsewhere met with miserable defeat or but ephemeral success. They raise, nevertheless, many interesting problems for the historian of the middle ages and of the crusades in particular. Were these campaigns interrelated? By what were they moved and how were they organized? Such questions provoke an inquiry into the attitude of contemporaries towards the expeditions and the reaction to, and explanation of, the incredible lack of Christian success. Finally, the whole subject has a bearing on the definition and development of crusading theory.

The answers to these problems must be sought in the contemporary western sources: contemporary, because later writers saw and interpreted the events in a different light; western, because these alone reveal the Latin point of view.⁴ The evidence found in such material, however, leaves much to be desired. It would be hopeless to expect that in the twelfth century, any more than in the twentieth, contemporary writers could express completely the motives of the men whose actions they describe. Many factors other than those they mention must have played an essential part in the genesis and development of the campaigns of 1146-

⁴ I shall not consider here either William of Tyre, who was thoroughly non-western in his attitude and also not fully contemporary, or the Greek historians Cinnamus and Nicetas, on whom see Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 36-43; idem, *Neue Analekten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges* (Tübingen 1883), 29-50; Runciman, *History* (n. 1), II, 475-7. The *Gesta Ludovici VII* is now believed to have been written after 1274: see Bernhard Kugler, *Analekten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges* (Tübingen 1878), 1-13; Auguste Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, II. *Époque féodale, les Capétiens jusqu'en 1180* (Paris 1902), 300-1.

8. Moreover, like all medieval sources, these must be studied in the light both of the information available to the writer and of 'the sense of responsibility' with which he approached his task.⁵

In neither of these respects are the sources considered in this chapter fully satisfactory. The defect is not in their numbers, for the contemporary sources in print alone must add up to well over a hundred. But the events which they record occurred thousands of miles apart, on the outermost edges of Christendom, and it is therefore not surprising that no one writer mentions all these expeditions. Each source was limited by its environment, both in space and in time; their writers could record only what came to their attention and this depended on where and when they lived and wrote and whom and what they saw and heard. They included, moreover, in their works only what they considered worthy or significant; and many, seeing the sad defeats of these Christian armies, agreed with Robert of Torigny that 'almost nothing successful and nothing worthy of mention was done on that expedition'.⁶ Many jotted down merely the most outstanding facts, or copied them from a neighbor, with the result that several accounts of the events are virtually identical.⁷ Here a seeming relation between the recorded events is evidence not of any connection in the mind of the author but merely of his adherence to strict chronology. Many writers did more than this, however, and their accounts suggest certain answers to the problems raised by a consideration of the campaigns of 1146-8. In accordance with their knowledge and position, from the humblest annalist to the pope and emperor, most of these writers found some connecting features in these expeditions. In their attitudes towards the events themselves, their genesis and their failure, may be found some idea of the medieval concept of crusade.⁸

Military Scope and Popular Motives

It has long been customary for historians of the second crusade to deal with only two expeditions, those headed by Conrad III and Louis VII. Occasionally, also, they devote some attention to the capture of Lisbon and to the campaign across the Elbe. They almost universally omit any mention of the concurrent expeditions to the east of Amadeus of Savoy and Alfonso of Toulouse. Yet both of these involved

⁵ Vivian H. Galbraith, *Historical Research in Medieval England* (The Creighton Lecture in History 1949; London 1951), 3-4.

⁶ Robert of Torigny (Robertus de Monte), *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I.*, ed. Richard Howlett, 4 vols (RS 82; London 1884-9), IV, 154.

⁷ Bernhardi, *Konrad* (n. 1), 560 n.61: 'Es scheint, dass derselbe Bericht über den Kreuzzug an mehrere Klöster versendet wurde.'

⁸ In certain respects the approach of this article is paralleled for the first crusade by Paul Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la première Croisade* (Neuchâtel 1945).

considerable armies led by powerful princes, were directed towards the Holy Land, and should therefore be considered parts of the second crusade in its most restricted definition.⁹ The reason for this narrowness in the prevalent modern view of the crusade is easily found in the original sources, where these omissions are no less striking than in more recent works. The authors of the most widely known contemporary accounts accompanied in person the French or German armies and therefore concentrated their attention on these.

It is at once the great advantage and the great danger of an eyewitness source that it records certain events very fully. The author knows his facts, but he seldom knows all the facts, and his point of view is consequently often more limited than that of someone viewing the events from a distance. This applies preeminently to the writers on the second crusade. The *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* by Odo of Deuil¹⁰ is without question the most important single work on this campaign and at the same time a remarkable historical document. It is an authoritative account of the adventures of the troops under Louis VII until they reached Antioch early in 1148. Odo was an educated and observant author, who, as chaplain to the king, was in an excellent position to gather accurate information. It

⁹ On the expedition of Alfonso of Toulouse, see the *Continuatio Praemonstratensis* (Sigeberti), in *MGH, SS*, VI, 454; *Chron. de Nîmes*, in Claude De Vic, Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, new ed., 16 vols (Toulouse 1872-92), V, Chroniques 5.27-31; Richard of Poitiers, *Chron.*, in *RHGF*, XII, 416; Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chron.*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum*, ed. Philip Labbe, 2 vols (Paris 1657), II, 306; *Chron. anonymi ad annum 1160*, in *RHGF*, XII, 120; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, X, 25, ed. Diana Greenway (OMT; Oxford 1996), 750; *Chron. Turonense*, in *RHGF*, XII, 473. Among secondary works see Reinhold Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols (Berlin 1874-8), II, 94; Pierre Boissonnade, 'Les personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France, et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-50)', *Romania* 48 (1922), 228-9; Runciman, *History* (n. 1), II, 280; De Vic/Vaissette, *Histoire*, III, 752f., IV, 223-4. On the expedition of Amadeus of Savoy, see Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and tr. Virginia Berry (Columbia Records of Civilization 42; New York 1948), 24, 66-8; *Chron. anonymi ad annum 1160*, in *RHGF*, XII, 120; *Ann. Mediolanenses minores*, in *MGH, SS*, XVIII, 393. Among later works see Carlo Guarmani, *Gl'Italiani in Terra Santa* (Bologna 1872), 169; Charles W. Previté Orton, *The Early History of the House of Savoy* (Cambridge 1912), 309-13. Odo of Deuil refers to Amadeus as the count of Maurienne, an alternative title of the counts of Savoy that appears frequently in contemporary sources. *L'art de vérifier des dates*, 3 ed., 3 vols (Paris 1783-7), III, 614; Auguste Molinier, *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger* (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire; Paris 1887), 159 n.20, err in calling him Amadeus II of Savoy, as do Berry, in Odo, *De profectione*, 78 n.37; Henri Waquet, in Odo of Deuil, *La croisade de Louis VII, roi de France* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 3; Paris 1949), 51 n.1, in calling him Amadeus II of Maurienne.

¹⁰ The two editions of this work by Virginia Berry and by Henri Waquet (n. 9) were reviewed in *Speculum*, respectively, by John LaMonte, 23 (1948), 502-4, and Peter Topping, 26 (1951), 385-7. On Odo, and especially his anti-Greek views, see the references in chapter 13, n.73.

is, nevertheless, regrettable that he never continued the work beyond the spring of 1148, and, above all, that he approached his subject from a very narrow viewpoint. Far from being, 'an ecclesiastic of real stature', as he has been called,¹¹ there is no evidence that he was outstanding either for his intellect or for his practical ability. His account of the second crusade is frankly devoted to the two aims of praising the king of France and of serving as a guide for future crusaders.¹² He is therefore at all times prone to exculpate the king and to dwell upon the difficulties besetting his soldiers. Odo blamed the failure of the expedition largely on the Greeks and their emperor Manuel, whose alleged perfidy is almost a secondary theme of this work.¹³ He eagerly hoped for revenge and in no way condemned the devastating attacks of the Sicilian fleet in 1147-8 on the Byzantine empire at Corfu and on the Greek mainland.¹⁴ He does not mention any of the other contemporaneous Christian campaigns.¹⁵ Even the army of Conrad III, which preceded the French across the Balkans by a few months, is only casually mentioned, and then, as a rule, in a strongly anti-German tone.

Odo, to do him justice, was not altogether unaware of his own narrow attitude and of the gaps in his information. In several places he makes an effort to present a point of view different from his own; and once, with exceptional perspicuity, he remarks that 'He who knows a matter partially, judges partially; but he who knows not a case as a whole is unable to make a correct judgement.'¹⁶ It is therefore particularly unfortunate that in spite of its expressly limited purpose Odo's account has been pressed into service by modern writers as if it embraced the history of the entire second crusade.¹⁷

¹¹ Topping (n. 10), 386; cf. Odo, *La croisade*, ed. Waquet (n. 9), introduction. It is, on the contrary, perhaps surprising that later, as abbot of St Denis, Odo did not play a more prominent part in the political and intellectual life of his time, cf. Odo, *De profectone*, ed. Berry (n. 9), intro. xvi.

¹² Ibid. xvii.

¹³ Odo even attributes the aid given by the Greeks at Constantinople to their desire to lull the French into a sense of security in order to deceive them later: *ibid.* 68; see Richard Hirsch, *Studien zur Geschichte König Ludwigs VII. von Frankreich* (Leipzig 1892), 55-6.

¹⁴ Odo, *De profectone*, ed. Berry (n. 9), 98; cf. 58, 82.

¹⁵ One cryptic passage says that 'parant naves maritimi cum rege navigio processuri', *ibid.* 12; but it is not clear whether this refers to the Anglo-Flemish crusaders (as Charles David assumes: *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* [Columbia Records of Civilization 24; New York 1936; repr. with intro. by Jonathan Phillips, New York 2000], 12), to the fleet of Alfonso of Toulouse, or to the ships that carried the soldiers of the count of Savoy from Brindisi to Durazzo.

¹⁶ Odo, *De profectone*, ed. Berry (n. 9), 72.

¹⁷ Runciman, *History* (n. 1), II, 478, says, for instance, that 'The history of the Second Crusade is fully treated in the *De Ludovici VII profectone in Orientum* [sic] of Odo de Deuil ...'

A useful corrective to Odo's attitude in the *De profectione* can be found in the letters of his royal master, Louis VII.¹⁸ The most important of these are three in number, written respectively 'at the gates of Hungary', at Constantinople, and at Antioch; and they are all addressed to the abbot Suger, the king's trusted adviser and regent, to whom he could express himself with complete frankness. Since Suger was critical of the entire undertaking,¹⁹ Louis might have been expected to conceal some of his troubles, though his chronic lack of funds, for which he urgently asks in each letter, might on the other hand have led him to exaggerate his difficulties. His account is in fact remarkably moderate. In spite, he says, of 'many dangers and almost unbearable labors',²⁰ he arrived safely at Constantinople, where he was well received by the emperor Manuel²¹ and everything was 'joyful and prosperous with us'.²² In Asia Minor, however, 'both on account of the fraud of the emperor and on account of our own guilt, we suffered many hardships'.²³ He tells of the raids of brigands, the difficulties of the terrain, the attacks of the Turks, and the lack of food. But throughout his account of the eventual arrival at Antalia on the south coast of Asia Minor and of the embarkation for Antioch, Louis makes no reference to the Greeks, whereas Odo of Deuil throughout blames the crusaders' misfortunes on the treachery of Manuel. Louis's account, moreover, though very brief, is accurate and specific, and its viewpoint, though limited, is sane and unprejudiced.²⁴

The same can be said of the three letters written by the emperor Conrad III to his regent and adviser, abbot Wibald of Stavelot.²⁵ The first announces his safe arrival in the lands of the Byzantine emperor, about July 1147. The second was written early in 1148 from Constantinople, where Conrad had returned after his disastrous defeat near Dorylaeum in central Anatolia. Of the emperor Manuel, he says that 'he showed us such honor as, we have heard, was never shown to any of our ancestors'.²⁶ Soon afterwards Conrad and part of his army went by sea

¹⁸ *RHGF*, XV, 487, 488, 495-6; cf. Achille Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris 1885), 171-3, nos. 224, 225, 229. It should be remembered that as the king's chaplain, Odo may have seen and even have written Louis's letters.

¹⁹ Bernhardi, *Konrad* (n. 1), 518.

²⁰ *RHGF*, XV, 488.

²¹ *Ibid.* 495-6.

²² *Ibid.* 488.

²³ *Ibid.* 495-6.

²⁴ Writing to Manuel in the 1160s, Louis mentioned that 'honor quem nobis in Domino peregrinantibus apud vos exhibuistis, Deo auctore, a memoria nostra nunquam excidet,' *Lettres de rois, reines, et autres personnages ... tirées des Archives de Londres par Bréquigny*, I, ed. Jacques Joseph Champollion-Figeac (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1839), 1.

²⁵ *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. Philipp Jaffé (Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 1; Berlin 1864), 126, 152-3, 225-6, nos. 48, 78, 144.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 153.

to Palestine, whence he wrote again to Wibald to say that he planned to return in September 1148, 'when all has been done in that region that God desires or the inhabitants permit'.²⁷ For, he goes on to explain, the siege of Damascus by the combined French, German, and Jerusalemite armies failed on account of the treason 'of those whom we least feared', and the crusaders were forced to return 'equally in anger and in grief'. The Germans then proceeded to Ascalon, where, Conrad says, they were 'again cheated by those men'.²⁸ Just who these traitors were is not clear. Both the Templars and the king of Jerusalem were prominently mentioned.²⁹ But Conrad certainly attributed the crusaders' failure in Palestine to treachery, and his crushing defeat in Asia Minor to adverse circumstances and the attacks of the Turks, rather than to the hostility of the Greeks.

More important than these letters, both for its factual content and for its concept of the plan and failure of the crusade, is the report given by bishop Otto of Freising in his *Chronica* and in his *Gesta Friderici primi*.³⁰ Otto was a personage of high importance, both secular and ecclesiastical: a half-brother of Conrad III and uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, a member of the Cistercian order, and a scholar and thinker of exceptional learning, intellectual power, and piety. He was in addition among the leaders of the German army on the second crusade³¹ and had therefore access to all sorts of information. But Otto was one of those writers whose high hopes in the crusade were sadly dashed by its failure, and he could never bring himself to write a connected account of its disasters.³² Only in isolated passages does he refer to the crusade and display his powerful and original point of view.³³ His first-hand knowledge was indeed no less restricted than that of Odo of Deuil and concerned primarily the preaching of the crusade by St Bernard, its origins in Germany, and the movements of the German army. His *Gesta Friderici*, moreover, was written for the specific purpose of eulogizing Frederick Barbarossa. But Otto

²⁷ Ibid. 225-6.

²⁸ Ibid. 225-6.

²⁹ See below, p. 289.

³⁰ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, 2 ed. Adolf Hofmeister (MGH, SS. r.g.; Hanover-Leipzig 1912); idem, *Gesta Friderici primi imperatoris*, 3 ed. Georg Waitz, Bernhard von Simson (MGH, SS. r.g.; Hanover-Leipzig 1912). On Otto, see Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 7-10; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III, ed. Paul Lehmann (Munich 1931), 376-88; intro., Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, tr. Charles Mierow (Records of Civilization 9; New York 1928).

³¹ On Otto's part in the crusade, see Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 158-60; Eberhard Pfeiffer, 'Die Cistercienser und der zweite Kreuzzug', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 47 (1935), 107f.

³² *Gesta*, I, 47, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 65: 'Verum quia peccatis nostris exigentibus, quem finem predicta expeditio sortita fuerit, omnibus notum est, nos, qui non hac vice tragediam, sed iocundam scribere proposuimus hystoriam, aliis vel alias hoc dicendum relinquimus.'

³³ Principally in the *Chronica*, I, 26; IV, 18; V, 18, ed. Hofmeister (n. 30), 59, 207, 247; cf. intro. xiii; and in the *Gesta*, I, 35-47, 62-6; II, 16, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 54-67, 88-95, 119.

had a broader approach than Odo and in his works included references to the contemporary expeditions against the Wends and against Lisbon and Almeria. Above all, he viewed his material with a breadth of human experience and an integrated point of view altogether at variance with the petty reporting and ready prejudices of Odo of Deuil.

In Otto's works can be seen something of a wider conception behind the crusade, of a plan which included not only the expeditions to the Levant, but also the campaign against the heathen Slavs³⁴ and perhaps also the expedition which captured Lisbon – which was, he says, 'recently seized from the Saracens by our men'.³⁵ This broad concept of the crusade as a whole required a broad explanation for the failure of the major armies. Otto does not dwell on the treachery of the Greeks, the hardships of the route, or the enemy attacks. On the contrary, he integrates this disaster into his belief in human sinfulness and his attitude of Christian resignation combined with optimistic trust in God, Whose ways are hidden but Whose purpose is always good. Otto never doubts that there is a valid reason for the failure of this enterprise. 'If our expedition,' he says, 'was not good for the extension of boundaries or the comfort of our bodies, it was good, however, for the salvation of many souls.'³⁶

The exploits and outcome of the naval expedition that assisted king Alfonso of Portugal at the siege of Lisbon are described by at least two eyewitnesses. Of these the more important is the author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, a priest named Raol, who wrote probably at Lisbon during the winter of 1147-8.³⁷ His remarkable and vivid narrative is perhaps the most detailed surviving record of

³⁴ *Gesta*, I, 42, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 61. 'Saxones vero, quia quasdam gentes spurciciis idolorum deditas vicinas habent, ad orientem proficisci abnuentes cruces itidem easdem gentes bello attemptaturi assumpserunt, a nostris in hoc distantes, quod non simpliciter vestibis assutae, sed a rota subterposita in altum protendebantur.'

³⁵ *Chronica*, I, 26, ed. Hofmeister (n. 30), 59: '... a nostris nuper Sarracenis ablata est'. Since these crusaders were mostly Flemings and Englishmen, and therefore not subjects of Conrad III, the *nostris* presumably refers to them as brother-crusaders.

³⁶ *Gesta*, I, 65, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 91-4, where he says (93): 'Quamvis, si dicamus sanctum illum abbatem [Bernardum] spiritu Dei ad excitandos nos afflatum fuisse, sed nos ob superbiam lasciviamque nostram salubria mandata non observantes merito rerum personarumve dispendium reportasse, non sit a rationibus vel antiquis exemplis dissonum.'

³⁷ *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15). On this crusade, besides the works of Cosack, Röhrich, Bernhardt, Kurth, Herculano, and De Castilho cited by David in his intro., see Hamilton A. R. Gibb, 'English Crusaders in Portugal', *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, ed. Edgar Prestage (Watford 1935), 9-16; Alexander Cartellieri, *Der Vorrang des Papsttums zur Zeit der ersten Kreuzzüge 1095-1150* (Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte; Munich-Berlin 1941), 370-3; Harold V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge 1947), 74-80; and below, chapter 11.

any military expedition in the twelfth century.³⁸ Although few personal opinions are expressed, it is an entertaining and valuable description of the attitude of an individual crusader. There are in addition three letters written by participants in this expedition, which may be grouped together as the 'Teutonic Source', since they present the German and Flemish as against the more English viewpoint of the author of the *De expugnatione*.³⁹ These two accounts show on the whole a remarkable agreement. Neither, however, clearly states what were the origins of the expedition or whether it was inspired by the preaching of the second crusade. Charles David has shown that among these crusaders the motive of personal profit was not unconsidered and that theirs was one of a series of semi-piratical Anglo-Flemish expeditions along the coast of Spain.⁴⁰ It appears, furthermore, in the *Annales Elmarenses* that these sailors pillaged the coastal towns and shipping in much the same way as the crusading armies pillaged the countryside.⁴¹ On the other hand, the sources reveal that their aims were not entirely selfish and that this expedition should also be regarded as part of the broader crusading effort. When before the siege the Christians urged the Muslims to give up Lisbon in peace, a spokesman for the city replied that 'Verily, it is not the want of possessions but ambition of the mind which drives you on. ... By calling your ambition zeal for righteousness, you misrepresent vices as virtues.'⁴² These men felt strongly that the hand of God was with them in their attack on Lisbon. Those who were killed were regarded as miracle-working martyrs.⁴³ The harangue to the troops, just before the final assault, was made by one of their priests, perhaps Raol, and is an early example of a crusading sermon.⁴⁴ The stringent oath that was taken

³⁸ Cf. Paul Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte*, 2 vols (Paris 1865-9), I, 223, who here also overthrows the old idea that Scandinavians took part in this expedition.

³⁹ *De exp. Lxx.* (n. 15), intro. 49. See n. 43.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 12-26; Gibb 'English Crusaders' (n. 37), 8-9, 16.

⁴¹ *Ann. Elmarenses*, in *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. Philip Grierson (Commission Royale d'Histoire; Brussels 1937), 111.

⁴² *De exp. Lxx.* (n. 15), 120-1: 'Non enim vos rerum inopia, sed mentis cogit ambitio ... ambitionem vestram rectitudinis zelum dicentes, pro virtutibus vitia mentimini.'

⁴³ Letter of Duodechin of Lahnstein, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, 28. See also the letter of Winand, ed. Susan B. Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 69 (1996), 326-9, and the contemporary *Indiculum foundationis monasterii sancti Vincentii Ulixbone*, in *Portugaliae monumenta historica. Scriptores*, I (Lisbon 1856-61), 91-3, whose author, perhaps an eyewitness, says: 'Contemplor barones istos fortissimos de terris suis ad hoc egressos fuisse, et ad hoc venisse ut hic moriantur pro Christo, eius bella bellando, et contra hostes fidei dimicando viriliter.' The church of the cemetery where the English dead were buried was known as Santa Maria dos Mártiros. Many miracles were performed at their tombs. See *De exp. Lxx.* (n. 15), 132-4, 134 n.1, and below, chapter 11.

⁴⁴ *De exp. Lxx.* (n. 15), 146-58; see below chapter 11. The preacher may have been Raol, the author of the *De exp. Lxx.*: see ibid. 146 n.3; Valmar Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt und

by everyone to preserve the peace and regularly to attend divine service shows the influence of St Bernard and of the rule written by him for the Templars.⁴⁵ The oath, and the establishment of elected officials ('who were called judges and *coniurati*') to enforce its provisions, mark an important step in the organization of crusading armies.⁴⁶ Even more important is the fact that this oath included a vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, for, after the crusaders had wintered at Lisbon, Duodechin says, 'then they sailed through many perils and arrived, just as they had sworn, at the sepulcher of the Lord.'⁴⁷ On their way they attacked Faro, and some may have joined the siege of Tortosa,⁴⁸ but in any case these crusaders regarded their campaigns in Portugal as only a contribution to, or rather a stage in, the fulfillment of their vow against the enemies of Christendom.⁴⁹

This same attitude of participation in a larger undertaking is found in the references of many annalists and chroniclers not only to this expedition against Lisbon but also to many of the other campaigns of 1147-8. Most of these writers

Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans', in *Das heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Valmar Cramer, Gustav Meinertz (Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom heiligen Lande 17-20; Cologne 1939), 60-2.

⁴⁵ See Hermann Conrad, 'Gottesfrieden und Heeresverfassung in der Zeit der Kreuzzüge', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 61 (1941), 98-9; Peter Rassow, 'Die Kanzlei St. Bernhards von Clairvaux', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, NF 3 (1913), 270.

⁴⁶ *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 56. David suggests (57 n.5) a possible connection between this oath and the *leges pacis* in certain municipal charters in Flanders. Cf. Conrad, 'Gottesfrieden' (n. 45), 90-1, 98-9, 115.

⁴⁷ *MGH, SS*, XVII, 28, and Edgington, 'Lisbon Letter' (n. 43), 331.

⁴⁸ See chapter 11.

⁴⁹ Cf. the same point of view from the Portuguese side in the speech of the bishop of Porto, *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 68-84; see below, p. 262 and n. 178; Cramer 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 55-60. See also the 'Translatio sancti Vincentii', *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), 273, whose author says, '... visum est illis non contra Saracenos Syriae progrediendum, cum illi in Hispania sibi essent in offendiculum'. I can find no justification for Erdmann's sceptical view of the Portuguese crusades as purely economic and political enterprises into which the natives, in order to promote their own selfish ends, tried to draw crusaders destined for the Holy Land: Carl Erdmann, 'Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal', *Historische Zeitschrift* 141 (1929-30), 23-53. Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt', 56 n.21, points out that 'Erdmann spricht zu Unrecht davon, dass "die Predigt des Bischofs [von Porto] gerade eine Rede zur Abhaltung vom Kreuzzug" sei.' The English, German, and Portuguese sources show that on neither side was the campaign in Portugal ever considered more than a temporary break in the achievement of the ultimate purpose of the crusaders in the Holy Land, although the bishop emphasized that it is sinful for a Christian to neglect an opportunity to assist a brother and that the campaign in Portugal is in itself a righteous war. As Cramer, 59, says: 'Wenn Bischof Peter alsdann den Kampf gegen die Mauren als gleichwertig mit der Jerusalemfahrt hinstellt, so befindet er sich keineswegs im Gegensatz zu den Urhebern der Kreuzzüge.' See below, pp. 274-6.

were not present at the events they describe, although they may frequently have had access to eyewitness material. Their accounts are seldom factually correct or complete and therefore have been perhaps unduly neglected by some historians. They often consider their subject, however, from a broader point of view and a wider scope of knowledge than do the eyewitnesses.

One of the most interesting of these secondary original sources is the *Chronica Slavorum*, written about 1167/8 in Schleswig-Holstein, by Helmold of Bosau, an important authority on the early history of the Slavs.⁵⁰ Helmold discusses the origins of the second crusade at some length. 'To the initiators of the expedition, however,' he remarks, 'it seemed [advisable] that one part of the army be devoted to the eastern regions, another to Spain, and a third against the Slavs who live next to us.' And in the following pages he devotes a chapter to each of these campaigns. Of the capture of Lisbon he says that 'This alone was successful of the entire work which the pilgrim army achieved.'⁵¹

It is worth remarking that Helmold speaks here of the 'entire work' and the 'pilgrim army' both in the singular: each of these three campaigns was to him part of a broader enterprise undertaken by a single Christian army.⁵² This point of view was not uncommon among annalists and chroniclers in Germany and the Low Countries. The annalist of Rolduc, writing probably in the 1170s, writes after describing the preaching of the crusade that 'the expedition [note the singular] was divided into three [parts] to fight against the pagans everywhere' and goes on to mention the campaigns against Lisbon and the Wends and 'the universal multitude' which went to Jerusalem.⁵³ The Teutonic source on the capture of Lisbon seems to have circulated widely and to have been incorporated, to a greater or lesser degree, into the accounts of the more widely known expeditions to the Holy Land and against the Slavs. The three-fold concept of the crusade is found in several

⁵⁰ Helmold of Bosau, *Chron. Slavorum*, ed. Johann Lappenberg, Bernhard Schmeidler (MGH, SS. r.g; Hanover-Leipzig 1909). On Helmold and his work, see Manitius, *Geschichte* (n. 30), 493-8.

⁵¹ Helmold, *Chron.* (n. 50), 115; cf. 118: 'Hoc solum prospere cessit de universo opere, quod peregrinus patrarat exercitus.' Of the Wendish crusade he says (123): 'Statim enim postmodum in deterius coaluerunt; nam neque baptisma servaverunt nec cohibuerunt manus a depredatione Danorum.'

⁵² This point should be emphasized in opposition to those who consider each of these campaigns as a separate crusade, such as Riant, *Expéditions* (n. 38), I, 225 n.1; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2 ed. (Madison 1952), 419.

⁵³ *Ann. Rodenses*, ed. Petrus C. Boeren, Gerard W. A. Panhuysen (Assen 1968), 96.

German chronicles⁵⁴ and also, it will be remembered, in the works of Otto of Freising, who had certainly not seen the letters relating to the capture of Lisbon.⁵⁵

Several other writers, who do not mention Lisbon, linked together the eastern and the so-called Wendish crusades. Among these is Vincent of Prague, who wrote his important annals not long after 1167.⁵⁶ He tells how the crusade was preached in Bohemia and how the members of the ruling family there took the cross with the intention of going to the Holy Land and only at the last minute decided to direct their crusading energies against the Wends.⁵⁷ Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* gives a long description of the campaign of the Danish armies inspired by the crusading bull and sermons.⁵⁸ And an anonymous continuator of Sigebert's chronicle records that 'The Dacians, Westphalians, and leaders of the Saxons agreed that, while the others were going to Jerusalem against the Saracens, they would either altogether exterminate the neighboring people of the Slavs or would force them to become Christian.'⁵⁹

This passage emphasizes not only the connection between these campaigns but also the savage spirit that inspired the expeditions against the Wends.⁶⁰ Some historians have maintained that this spirit was altogether secular. They point out that this was but one of about 175 campaigns conducted by the Germans against

⁵⁴ *Chron. Montis Sereni*, in *MGH, SS*, XXIII, 147; *Ann. Palidenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 82-3 (cf. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 6 ed., 2 vols [Berlin 1893-4], II, 435-8); *Ann. Magdeburgenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 188-90 (cf. Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen*, II, 438-9); *Continuatio Gemblacensis* (Sigeberti), in *MGH, SS*, VI, 389-90 (cf. Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen*, II, 162); *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz (*MGH, SS*, r.g.; Hanover 1880), 82-6.

⁵⁵ See above, p. 237.

⁵⁶ *MGH, SS*, XVII, 654-710. Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen* (n. 54), II, 320 calls it 'eine unserer wichtigsten Quellen'.

⁵⁷ *MGH, SS*, XVII, 663. The three leading Bohemians on the crusade were prince Otto of Olmütz and his brothers Svatopluk and Wratislaw: see Bernhardi, *Konrad* (n. 1), 569. For Wratislaw, see p. 254 at n. 133.

⁵⁸ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XIV, 3, 5, ed. Jørgen Olrik, Hans H. Raeder, Franz Blatt, 2 vols (Copenhagen 1931-57), I, 376.

⁵⁹ *MGH, SS*, VI, 392; cf. the same idea in the *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis*, V, 27, ed. Otto Feger (Schwabische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 3; Lindau-Konstanz 1956), 224-6 (composed in 1156: Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen* [n. 54], II, 391).

⁶⁰ On this campaign see Bernhardi, *Konrad* (n. 1), 563-78; *Regesten der Markgrafen von Brandenburg*, ed. Hermann Krabbe, I (Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg; Leipzig 1910), 28-9; Georg Artler, 'Die Zusammensetzung der deutschen Streitkräfte in den Kämpfen mit den Slaven von Heinrich I. bis auf Friedrich I.', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 29 (NF 21; 1913), 313-19; Austin Lane Poole, 'Germany, 1125-52', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, 8 vols (Cambridge 1911-36), V, 354-6; Margret Bündung [-Naujoks], *Das Imperium Christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Historische Studien, ed. E. Ebering 366; Berlin 1940), 35-50; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 374-6.

their neighbors in the east between 789 and 1157⁶¹ and that it was part of the political and economic 'Drang nach Osten' of the Germans throughout the early middle ages.⁶² They imply that this campaign of 1147 should not be linked with that against the Muslims in the near east. Such a view is in no way supported by the sources. Economic and political ambitions played an important, and for many individuals perhaps a decisive, part in the genesis and outcome of this campaign against the Wends.⁶³ But the dichotomy between temporal and spiritual motives and between the interests of the secular and ecclesiastical leaders should not be overemphasized.⁶⁴ The sources show that this campaign was almost universally regarded as a pilgrimage and its army as a *peregrinus exercitus*. 'A religious motive,' Tancred Borenius once said, 'provided the whole conscious basis of the idea of Pilgrimage,' of which the cross worn by these soldiers, like the later pilgrims' badges, was the outward sign.⁶⁵ Of these crusaders more than others perhaps, the real motives were mixed and secular interests played a dominant part. Nevertheless, the fact that some appear to have joined this campaign because it seemed less arduous than the crusade to the east,⁶⁶ the connection, however obscure, of its origins with the diet called at Frankfort to consider the crusade of

⁶¹ Konrad Schünemann, 'Ostpolitik und Kriegführung im deutschen Mittelalter', *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 17 (1937), 32-3.

⁶² See, for instance, Bünding, 'Imperium' (n. 60), 50: 'Der Wendenzug ist im ganzen gesehen weniger ein ritterlicher Kreuzzug als ein Eroberungskrieg der deutschen Grenzfürsten geworden, der nur noch sehr beiläufig Spuren der Kreuzzugs-idee zeigt.' Cf. Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 376; James W. Thompson, 'The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs', *American Journal of Theology* 20 (1916), 205-30, 372-89, who called the crusade (381) a 'sinister mixture of bigotry and lust for land'.

⁶³ Vincent of Prague, for instance, says: 'Saxones potius pro auferenda eis terra, quam pro fide Christiana confirmanda tantam moverant militiam', in *MGH, SS, XVII*, 663. But Vincent was a Bohemian and not unprejudiced.

⁶⁴ Karl Jordan, 'Heinrich der Löwe und die ostdeutsche Kolonisation', *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung* 2 (1938), 789: 'Das Unternehmen war vor allem an der Diskrepanz gescheitert, welche sich zwischen Forderungen der Kirche und den politischen Zielen der sächsischen Fürsten im Wendenland auftrat.' Carl Erdmann, on the contrary, emphasizes in his *Idea of Crusade*, 101-7, that the early campaigns against the Slavs in the east were marked by 'the simultaneity of war against pagans with a mission among pagans' (105).

⁶⁵ Tancred Borenius, *Mediaeval Pilgrims' Badges* (Opuscula of Ye Sette of Odd Volumes 90; London 1930), 7-8; Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, I, 42, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 61. Theodor Mayer, 'Das Kaisertum und der Osten im Mittelalter', in *Deutsche Ostforschungen*, ed. Hermann Aubin, Otto Brunner, Wolfgang Kohte, Johannes Papritz, I (Deutschland und der Osten 20; Leipzig 1942), 291-309, says (295) with respect to the eastern policy of the empire: 'Ideell deckten sich also die Absichten und Ziele des Kaisertums und des Papsttums völlig.'

⁶⁶ *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis*, V, 27, ed. Feger (n. 59), 224-6.

Conrad III; the letters of pope Eugene III and of Bernard of Clairvaux;⁶⁷ and above all the almost unanimous agreement of the sources leave no doubt that in fact as well as in the minds of contemporaries the crusade against the Wends was closely connected with the campaign to protect the Holy Land.⁶⁸

The French and English annalists and chroniclers had on the whole only slight information about expeditions other than the principal crusade to the east. Often, however, they knew more than the Germans about events in Spain; and this is not surprising in view of their geographical proximity and especially of the popularity at this time of the pilgrimage route to Compostela.⁶⁹ At least four contemporary English writers, including the historian of Melrose in Scotland, and many of the minor French writers mention the attacks on Lisbon, Almeria, and Tortosa.⁷⁰ Most of these were simple annalists, who merely listed events as they came to their attention. Their entries, however, are occasionally joined by some connective, such as 'meanwhile' or 'moreover', in which can be seen the germ of a more fully integrated view of the crusade. More elaborate is the account of five of the campaigns given in the *Continuatio Praemonstratensis* of Sigebert's chronicle,⁷¹ where the references to the four less important expeditions are woven into the more complete description of the crusades of Conrad and Louis. This construction makes it clear that in the author's mind, although he nowhere says so, these campaigns were connected and directed towards one purpose.⁷²

⁶⁷ See pp. 260-2 and 270-2.

⁶⁸ Otto Volk, *Die abendländisch-hierarchische Kreuzzugs-idee* (Halle a. S. 1911), 41: 'Der Slavenkreuzzug von 1147 ist aber unmittelbar mit dem zweiten orientalischen in Zusammenhang zu bringen ...' See Mayer, 'Kaisertum' (n. 65), *passim*; Bündung, *Imperium* (n. 60), 41; Michel Villey, *La Croisade. Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (L'Église et l'État au Moyen Âge 6; Paris 1942), 210-12.

⁶⁹ Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Paris 1949), *passim*, esp. 69: 'La grande époque du pèlerinage, l' "âge d'or" de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, ne commencèrent cependant qu'avec les premières années du xii^e siècle.' Cf. Borenius, *Badges* (n. 65), 10, 18-19.

⁷⁰ Alexandre Herculano, *História de Portugal*, 4 ed., I (Lisbon 1875), 528-30, mentions in all 15 contemporary and later sources on the fall of Lisbon. To these may be added Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica de tempore regum Angliae Stephani, Henrici II, et Ricardi I*, in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (RS 73; London 1879-80), I, 137-8; *The Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Alan and Marjorie Anderson (Studies in Economics and Political Science 100; London 1936), 34; and several French chronicles, such as the *Chron. sancti Victoris Massiliensis*, in *RHGF*, XII, 349.

⁷¹ *MGH, SS*, VI, 454. It was composed, up to 1155, by an anonymous Premonstratensian monk in the diocese of Rheims or Lyons.

⁷² Robert of Torigny, who as abbot of Mont-St-Michel had exceptional sources of information in an endless supply of pilgrims' tales, mentions all but two (the Wendish crusade and the Genoese expedition of 1146) of the many Christian campaigns of these years: *Chron.* (n. 6), 152-5. But his notices are on the whole annalistic and unconnected.

The most important narrative of the capture of Almeria and Tortosa is that written by the Genoese historian Caffaro di Caschifellone in his *Ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose*.⁷³ Caffaro, who died in 1166, played a prominent part in public life in Genoa,⁷⁴ and this account, though probably not that of an eyewitness, was based on first-hand reports⁷⁵ and rivals in vividness and wealth of detail even

⁷³ Caffaro, *Ystoria Captionis Almarie et Turtuose*, in *Annali Genovesi*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano, Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 5 vols (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 11-14bis; Rome 1890-1929), I, 79-89. On this campaign see Friedrich W. Schirmacher, *Geschichte von Spanien*, IV. *Geschichte Castiliens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Gotha 1881), 143-53; Otto Langer, *Politische Geschichte Genuas und Pisas im 12. Jahrhundert* (Historische Studien, ed. W. Arndt 7; Leipzig 1882), 23-35; Camillo Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana (400-1261)* (Leghorn 1899), 207-15; Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte, Abt. III; Munich-Berlin 1906), 317-19; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 420-2. The principal objection to Caffaro's excellent account of the capture of Almeria and Tortosa is the impression it gives that this was one campaign, whereas it was in fact two campaigns, in both of which the Genoese co-operated. This is seen in the treaties preserved in the *Liber iuris* and printed in the *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 3 vols (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 77, 79, 89; Rome 1936-42). Here are found the agreements, made in September 1146, in which the Genoese promised to assist the emperor of Spain in an attack on Almeria in May of the following year and in which the emperor, in return, undertook to attack also and promised certain rights to the Genoese in the city if it fell (I, 204-9, nos. 166-7). The Genoese stipulated that they were bound to join in no enterprise other than that against Almeria, in case they wished to ally with the count of Barcelona. This they did by a treaty, concluded in 1146, in which the Genoese agreed to assist, after the capture of Almeria, in an attack on Tortosa; the count on his side granted property and privileges in Tortosa to the Genoese should the city be captured (I, 210-17, nos. 168-9). These treaties were separate and suggest that each of these campaigns was a distinct undertaking, as do the later dealings of the Genoese with Alfonso and Ramon Berenger: see *Codice dipl.*, I, 228-30 (nos. 182-3), 236-40 (nos. 190-1), 265-7 (nos. 214-6), 291-5 (nos. 243-4), III, 137-40 (nos. 52-3). On the other hand, it must be remembered that these campaigns were both part of the wider effort of the Spanish reconquest; and Alfonso's summons to join the campaign against Almeria may have stimulated in Ramon Berenger a desire to recapture Tortosa. Rudolf Hiestand, 'Reconquista, Kreuzzug und heiliges Grab. Die Eroberung von Tortosa 1148 im Lichte eines neuen Zeugnisses', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 31 (1984), 155-6; John Bryan Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: the Genoese anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146-1148', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 33 and nn. 16, 21, argue that the two attacks were planned together.

⁷⁴ On Caffaro, see Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Caffaro e i suoi tempi* (Turin-Rome 1894).

⁷⁵ The *Ann. Ianuenses*, in *Annali Genovesi* (n. 73), 1-75, apparently referring to the *Ystoria*, say (35) that it was made 'a sapientibus ..., qui viderunt et interfuerunt'. Belgrano, in *Ann. Ianuenses*, intro. xc-xci, and Imperiale, *Caffaro* (n. 74), 210-11, however, both believe that Caffaro did not accompany the expedition in 1147-8. In that case, the passage in the *Ann.* may mean that Caffaro wrote his work from eyewitness reports.

the longer *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. The Genoese fleet left in 1147, and co-operated with Alfonso VII of Castile, under the terms of a treaty concluded in 1146, in the siege and capture of Almeria. The Genoese then sailed to Barcelona, where they spent the winter before assisting count Ramon Berenger IV in his attack on Tortosa.

Economic and political interests certainly played a large part in the origins of this expedition. Both Almeria and Tortosa were centers of Muslim pirates who preyed on Italian and other Christian shipping,⁷⁶ and both were wealthy cities: facts which weighed heavily with the hard-headed Genoese,⁷⁷ who had probably planned an expedition against Almeria before the second crusade was even thought of.⁷⁸ They had, however, a tradition of co-operation with the crusaders against the Muslims in both the east and the west;⁷⁹ and in 1147 the preaching of the crusade and a papal summons did not leave them unmoved, for Caffaro says that 'the Genoese [were] instructed and summoned by God through the apostolic see [and] made an oath to raise an army against the Saracens of Almeria.'⁸⁰

⁷⁶ The anonymous chronicler of Alfonso VII says of the pirates at Almeria: 'qui circumeuntes diversa maria, nunc subito egressi terra Barense et terra Ascalonis et regionis Constantinopolitorum et Siciliae et Barchinonensis et nunc Genuae, nunc Pisae et Francorum aut Portugaliae et Galletiae vel Asturianorum, praedas captivos christianos navibus advertentes fugiebant ...,' *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*, 202, in *España sagrada*, XXI, 398, and ed. Luis Sanchez Belda (Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, Textos 14; Madrid 1950), 160-1.

⁷⁷ See the account of the capture of Almeria, under the year 1154, in the *Notae Pisanae*, in *MGH, SS*, XIX, 266, which are called 'sehr merkwürdig und lehrreich' by Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen* (n. 54), II, 326. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte* (n. 73), 317-19 emphasizes the economic aspects of this expedition, the expense of which produced a financial collapse in Genoa: see Imperiale, *Caffaro* (n. 74), 226f.; Hilmar C. Krueger, 'Post-War Collapse and Rehabilitation in Genoa, 1149-62', in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, 2 vols (Milan 1949), I, 117-28. Economic considerations often influenced the policy of the Genoese, who in 1137/8 had even allied with the king of Morocco: Manfroni, *Storia* (n. 73), 195.

⁷⁸ See below, p. 252.

⁷⁹ They had attacked Tortosa in 1093: see the *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, in *Annali Genovesi* (n. 73), I, 97-124; *Chron. Adefonsi imperatoris*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano, 'Frammento di poemmetto sincrono su la Conquista di Almeria nel MCXLVII', *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 19 (1887), 400. They had played an important part in the first crusade: see Manfroni, *Storia* (n. 73), 136-65; Runciman, *History* (n. 1), I, 112, 219.

⁸⁰ Caffaro, *Ystoria* (n. 73), 79; cf. Jacobus de Voragine: 'ad preces summi pontificis', in *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova*, ed. Giovanni Monleone, 3 vols (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 84-6; Rome 1941), II, 336; Carlo Sigonio, *De Regno Italiae*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Ludovico Muratori, 6 vols (Milan 1732-7), II, 698; Angelo Manrique, *Annales cistercienses*, 4 vols (Lyons 1642-59), II, 35-6 (1146, vi), 55-7 (1147, i, 11-12). On the crusading vow, see below p. 256. The Genoese appear to have taken oaths in connection with this expedition on at least three other occasions: before leaving Genoa, the consuls 'omnibus discordantibus pacem iurare preceperunt' (Caffaro, *Ystoria*, 80, I, 6, cf. II, 12-4); then twice before the walls of Tortosa, the Genoese swore not to join battle without the

This combination of spiritual and temporal motives, which characterized many of the campaigns of the Spanish reconquest, is strongly marked in the other sources. The Spanish sources in particular show more clearly than Caffaro's *Ystoria* that the attacks on Almería and Tortosa were not one campaign, but two separate expeditions, in both of which the Genoese co-operated.⁸¹

There is an exceptionally complete account of the campaign against Almería in the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*,⁸² whose author may well have seen the events he records. The greater part of the description of the expedition – 'the celebrated deeds of the sainted men'⁸³ – is in heavy leonine hexameters, but a short introduction in prose tells of the alliance between Genoa and the emperor Alfonso,⁸⁴ who then sent the bishop of Astorga as an envoy to summon the counts of Barcelona and Montpellier to join this army 'for the redemption of their souls'.⁸⁵ Within Alfonso's own territories, the bishops of Toledo and León summoned the faithful to battle: 'They absolve crimes; they raise their voices to the heavens; they promise to everyone the reward of both lives; they promise gifts of silver and [heavenly?] crowns; they promise also whatever gold the Muslims have.'⁸⁶ So, the author says, 'the trumpets of salvation sound throughout the regions of the world,'⁸⁷ and with

common counsel and permission of the consuls (ibid. 86) and not to leave Tortosa before the city fell (ibid. 87). To capture Tortosa, 'pro honore Dei et civitatis Ianuensis' (ibid. 85), they wintered at Barcelona.

⁸¹ See the views of Hiestand and Williams (n. 73), who associate the two expeditions.

⁸² For the two editions cited, see nn. 76 (Sanchez Belda) and 79 (Belgrano). There is another edition (not seen) in *Las Crónicas latinas de la Reconquista*, ed. Ambrósio Huici Miranda, 2 vols (Valencia 1913), II, 171-440. For the prose I use that of Sanchez Belda, for the verse, that of Belgrano. The poem is incomplete, breaking off at verse 387.

⁸³ *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), v. 4.

⁸⁴ See n. 73.

⁸⁵ *Chron. Ad. imp.*, 203, in *España sagrada*, XXI, 398, and ed. Sanchez Belda (n. 76), 161. On bishop Arnold of Astorga, 'cuius micat inclutus ensis' in this campaign (*Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano [n. 79], v. 376), see Belgrano, 404, 422 n.2; *España sagrada*, XVI, 207, where in 1150 Alfonso makes him a grant 'por el servicio que le hicieron en la guerra contra los Saracenos'.

⁸⁶ *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), vv. 44-7: 'Crimina persolvunt, voces ad sydera tollunt, Mercedem vite spondent cunctis utriusque, Argenti dona promittunt cumque corona, Quidquid habent Mauri rursus promittunt auri,' as had Urban II in the first crusade. On archbishop Raymond of Toledo, see Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. 1927), 52, 286.

⁸⁷ *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), v. 55.

pompous elaboration and eulogy he describes the gathering of the Spanish and French soldiers⁸⁸ under the emperor Alfonso, the new Charlemagne.⁸⁹

This reference to Charlemagne is interesting in view of the popular concept of the great Carolingian as the Christian champion against the Muslims and of his war in Spain as a crusade.⁹⁰ These ideas were especially current towards the middle of the twelfth century, when the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* was composed in France and when the cult of Charlemagne was at its height in Germany and was soon to culminate in his 'canonisation' (1165).⁹¹ Alfonso VII was, moreover, in his own right a celebrated crusader. In 1136 he had reestablished the Confradía de Belchite 'in order to defend the Christians and to oppress the Saracens and to free the holy church'.⁹² His crusading activity was extolled by the Provençal troubadour Alegret⁹³ and by Marcabru, who in his 'Emperaire, per mi mezeis', written probably in 1138,⁹⁴ called for a general crusade against the Almoravides and condemned the inactivity of Louis VII:

⁸⁸ Ibid. vv. 50f. For the most complete description of the Spanish forces listed in this poem, see Prudencio de Sandoval, *Chronica del inclito imperador ... Alonso VII* (Madrid 1600), 138-40; also Schirmmacher, *Geschichte* (n. 73), 147. The troops included men from León, Asturia, Castile, and Toledo, the count of Zamora and Salamanca, the count of Urgel, the king of Navarre, and many others.

⁸⁹ *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), vv. 20-1; see Ramon Menendez Pidal, *El Imperio Hispanico y los Cinco Reinos* (Madrid 1950), 167.

⁹⁰ On the development of the medieval legend of Charlemagne, see Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris 1865); Paul Lehmann, *Das literarische Bild Karls des Grossen* (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. 1934, IX), 34: 'Unter dem Einfluss der religiösen Erregung ... hatte sich immer mehr das fromm-heroische Bild von Karl als dem Bekämpfer und Besieger der Ungläubigen in den Vordergrund gedrängt'; Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Publications de l'Université de Dijon 7; Paris 1950), 137-8, 166-7, especially, with respect to the theme of Charlemagne as a crusader, and 159-237 more generally.

⁹¹ On the pseudo-Turpin, composed 1147/68, see Lehmann, *Bild* (n. 90), 30; Folz, *Souvenir* (n. 90), 223-5, 235-7; on the *Vita sancti Karoli*, composed 1170/80, see Lehmann, *Bild* (n. 90), 33; Folz, *Souvenir* (n. 90), 214-21; on the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* and its connection with the second crusade, see Alfred Adler, 'The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* in New Light on Saint-Denis', *Speculum* 22 (1947), 550-61.

⁹² See Schramm, 'Königtum' (n. 3), 110-1; Peter Rassow, 'La Confradía de Belchite', *Anuario de historia del derecho Español* 3 (1926), 220-6.

⁹³ In his 'Ara pareisson l'aubre sec': see Boissonnade, 'Personnages' (n. 9), 237-8, 239 n.3; Schramm, 'Königtum' (n. 3), 113.

⁹⁴ The date of this famous poem is much disputed: see *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, ed. Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne (Bibliothèque méridionale 1S 12; Toulouse 1909), 229, where Diez, Suchier, and Lewent are cited in favor of 1146-7 and Meyer in favor of before 1147. Boissonnade, 'Personnages' (n. 9), 222, 233-7, examines the poem in great detail with a view to dating it in 1138 or 1138-45 at the outside.

Mas Franssa Peitau e Beiriu
 Aclina un sol seignoriu,
 Venga sai Dieu son fieu servir!
 Qu'ieu non sai per que princes viu
 S'a Dieu no via son fieu servir!⁹⁵

In this poem Marcabru adumbrated the plan of a joint crusade by the combined forces of Castile, Navarre, and Barcelona together with troops from across the Pyrenees. This idea was realized on a yet larger scale in the campaign of 1147. But since the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris* breaks off sharply when the army was still at Baeza,⁹⁶ it throws no new light on the capture of Almeria itself. Its account of the origins of the expedition is, nevertheless, of great value. The character of the arguments in the speeches of the bishops of Toledo and León, the references to the redemption of souls and to *tuba salutaris*, the comparison of Alfonso VII with Charlemagne, and the characterization of the soldiers as 'sainted men' are all unmistakable signs of the crusading nature of this campaign. On the other hand, in case these spiritual blessings were insufficient inducement, the bishops also offered Muslim gold to participants in this enterprise. For there is a large measure of truth in Dozy's remark that 'a Spanish knight of the middle ages fought neither for his country nor for his religion; he fought, like the Cid, to get something to eat.'⁹⁷

No such complete description exists of the capture of Tortosa, Lerida, and Fraga by the count of Barcelona and his allies in 1148/9.⁹⁸ An idea, however, of

⁹⁵ Marcabru, *Poésies* (n. 94), 107-10, no. 22, strophes 10-11; see Schramm, 'Königtum' (n. 3), 113.

⁹⁶ This army first moved on Calatrava, which fell in January 1147 (Sandoval, *Chron.* [n. 88], 123-4, 126; Schirmacher, *Geschichte* [n. 73], 147 n.2) and was granted first to the Templars and later was defended by the Cistercians of the abbey of Fitero in Navarre. So was established the order of the knights of Calatrava, which Alexander III approved in 1164: A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Monastic Orders', in *Cambridge Medieval History* (n. 60), V, 682; see p. 175. Alfonso's army then took Anjudar and Baños before setting siege to Baeza: *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), v. 298 and 420 n.3, 421 n.1 (on Anjudar: Schirmacher, *Geschichte*, 149; on Baeza: Sandoval, *Chron.*, 124-5; *España sagrada*, XVI, 483, XXII, 272, XXXVI, xciv [see n. 229 below]; Schirmacher, *Geschichte*, 149). Here they encountered strong opposition, and many troops had already gone home (*Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano, vv. 334-7) by the time when, during the summer, envoys arrived at Baeza from the Catalanian, French, and Genoese forces that had meanwhile gathered at Almeria (ibid. vv. 340f.). The bishop of Astorga, however, rallied the remaining Spanish troops to go on to Almeria. The poem breaks off in the middle of his speech.

⁹⁷ Reinhart Dozy, *Recherches sur les Musulmans d'Espagne*, 3 ed., 2 vols (Paris 1881), II, 203, 233, quoted by Roger Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire, I: The Middle Ages* (New York 1918), 88; cf. Schramm, 'Königtum' (n. 3), 113.

⁹⁸ Excluding, that is, the very brief *Ann. Barcinonenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XIX, 501, written in a twelfth-century hand on the last leaf of a manuscript of Visigothic laws. Later

the character of this campaign may be gained from the records of Alfonso I of Aragon and of Ramon Berenger IV relating to these cities and to the Catalanian and Aragonese reconquest in general.⁹⁹ Most important among these is Ramon Berenger's huge grant in 1143 to the knights of the Temple in Jerusalem. The purpose of this great charter is explicit:

for the crushing, conquest, and expulsion of the Muslims, for the exaltation of the faith and religion of sacred Christianity, ... for the exercise of the office of a military order in the region of Spain against the Saracens, for the remission of my sins, for the honor of God, Who honors those honoring Him, [and] for the salvation of the soul of my father.¹⁰⁰

This statement of a conscious religious motive could hardly be clearer, and its form here is not purely conventional.¹⁰¹ No less specific, although perhaps not disinterested, was Marcabru, who in his 'Vers del lavador' contrasted the zeal against the Muslims of Ramon Berenger and the Templars with the inertia of the Christians living north of the Pyrenees.¹⁰² It has been said that Alfonso I of

Spanish chronicles, of which there are several, naturally viewed this campaign in a different light from contemporaries.

⁹⁹ *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragon*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascarò, IV (Barcelona 1849), 113-23, 126-9, 130-5, 136-40, 144-68, 193-6, 328, 347-55, nos. 51, 54, 56, 58, 61, 70, 139, 147. In 1131, Alfonso of Aragon willed that '... si Deus dederit michi Tortosam tota sit ospitalis iherosolomitani', *ibid.* 11, no. 2. Ramon Berenger in 1136, however, granted the entire city and diocese of Tortosa to William VI of Montpellier (*ibid.* 53-4, no. 22, in a mutilated form; *Liber instrumentorum memorialium. Cartulaire des Guillems de Montpellier*, ed. Alexandre Germain [Montpellier 1884-6], 284-5, no. 152), who in his will in 1146 bequeathed the city to his younger son William (Luc d'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. Etienne Baluze, Edmond Martène, 2 ed., 3 vols [Paris 1723], III, 498-500; *Liber instr. mem.*, 177-83, no. 95). Several of the charters listed above concern the problem of the division of Tortosa after the conquest. In spite of the grants to the Hospitallers and to William of Montpellier, one third of the city seems to have been given to William of Moncada and another to the Genoese (n. 73) and yet another portion to the Templars (presumably under Ramon Berenger's grant of 1143: n. 100 below). However, William, the son of William VI of Montpellier, still called himself 'William of Tortosa' as late as 1157 (D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, III, 526). The whole problem is confused, and the explanations advanced by De Vic/Vaissette, *Histoire* (n. 9), III, 739-40, and by Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 177, are not altogether satisfactory.

¹⁰⁰ *Colección* (n. 99), 93-9, no. 63; also Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, ed. Etienne Baluze (Paris 1688), 1291-4; *España sagrada*, XLIII, 241-5, 484-8 (fifth council of Gerona, 1143).

¹⁰¹ It is too specific for a conventional *arenga* and was clearly composed for this charter.

¹⁰² 'En Espagna, sai, lo Marques / E cill del temple Salamo / Sofron lo pes / E'l fais de l'orguoiil paganor ...' (Marcabru, *Poesies* [n. 94], 169-71, no. 35, strophe 7). The date of this poem is no less disputed than that of the 'Empeire': see *ibid.* 235. Milà

Aragon 'placed the idea of reconquest before his successors as a feasible policy. In his hands this policy assumes a definitely religious character.'¹⁰³ Both of these tendencies lived on in the policy of Ramon Berenger, to whom the recovery of Tortosa, Lerida, and Fraga was a source of both temporal and spiritual satisfaction. So, after these victories, in a charter of 1149, he thanks God, 'Who in His love, after the space of so many years, has deigned to restore in our times the church of Lerida, [which was] subjected to the perfidy of the pagans, to its former state of the Christian religion'.¹⁰⁴

The presence on the campaigns both against Almeria and against Tortosa of other than Spanish troops is not without importance. It has already been seen that the Genoese fleet co-operated in both these attacks. So, also, did the Templars and count William VI of Montpellier, who was summoned to assist 'for the salvation of his soul' by Alfonso VII and who came with two of his sons and probably a considerable force of men.¹⁰⁵ This William was a remarkable man; among other things he was a friend of St Bernard, and after his return from Spain, before July 1149, he became a Cistercian monk at the abbey of Grandeselve near Toulouse.¹⁰⁶

and Suchier date it 1146/7; Meyer argues from the reference to the death of the count of Poitou (1137) 'que le *vers del Lavador* n'est pas de beaucoup postérieur à cet événement'; Crescini and Lewent follow Meyer, as does Boissonnade, 'Personnages' (n. 9), 231. Linda Paterson, 'Syria, Poitou and the *Reconquista* (or Tales of the Undead): Who Was the Count in Marcabru's *Vers del lavador*?' in *The Second Crusade*, ed. Phillips (see n. on p. 299), 138-42, proposed 1148/9.

¹⁰³ Henry John Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London 1933), 55.

¹⁰⁴ *España sagrada*, XLVII, 255.

¹⁰⁵ Caffaro, *Ystoria* (n. 73), 86; *Codice diplomatico ... di Genova* (n. 73), I, 236-8; *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), v. 348: 'in ordine magnus'. It is not impossible that William came with the Genoese, as De Vic/Vaissete, *Histoire* (n. 9), III, 738-9, suggest, although Caffaro does not mention this. The counts of Montpellier had a tradition of co-operation with the Genoese, who with the pope had assisted William IV to reestablish his power in Montpellier in 1143: Alexandre Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, 3 vols (Montpellier 1851), I, 19-21; *Liber instr.* (n. 99), xi; Manfroni, *Storia* (n. 73), 195; Archibald R. Lewis, 'Seigneurial Administration in Twelfth Century Montpellier', *Speculum* 22 (1947), 568. 'Remarquons ... l'intervention génoise dans ces affaires Montpelliéraines et Aragonaises ...', says Germain, in *Liber instr.*, xii: 'Guillem VI attacha une si haute valeur à cette intervention, que, pour en reconnaître le bienfait, il concéda aux Gênois une maison à Montpellier, où ils eurent dès lors un centre commercial.'

¹⁰⁶ The new abbot of Grandeselve in 1149 was Alexander of Cologne, who had been converted to the monastic life by St Bernard during his preaching of the crusade in the Rhineland in 1146-7: Joseph Greven, 'Die Kölnfahrt Bernhards von Clairvaux', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 120 (1932), 10-12. On William of Montpellier, see Manrique, *Ann. cist.* (n. 80), II, 130-1 (1149, iii, 5); *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris 1733f.), XIII (1814), 324-6.; De Vic/Vaissete, *Histoire* (n. 37), III, 737-8, 778, 820, IV, 182-3 (n. 37, viii); *Liber instr.* (n. 99), vi-xii. The counts of Montpellier were vassals for part of their lands both of the king of Castile and of the counts of Barcelona and therefore had close relations with Spain in the twelfth century. William VI took a special interest in

Soldiers not only from all Christian Spain, therefore, with the exception of Portugal,¹⁰⁷ but also from France joined the army gathered against Almeria.¹⁰⁸ Campaigning with the count of Barcelona, moreover, were both French and English soldiers, probably some of the Anglo-Flemish crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, as well as other foreigners.¹⁰⁹ The viscount of Béarn, Peter of Gabarret, assisted at the capture of Lerida and Fraga.¹¹⁰ Nicholas, abbot of St Rufus, near Avignon, was with these troops at least some of the time.¹¹¹ Also present were Ermengarde, viscountess of Narbonne, her uncle Berenger, abbot of La Grasse, and the consuls of Narbonne, all of whom are mentioned in a charter dated during the siege, in September 1148. By this Ramon Berenger granted a market place and exemptions to the Narbonnais 'in gratitude for what the inhabitants of Narbonne

Catalonia, and as a monk he was present at the foundation of the abbey of Vaullure (Santa-Cruz) by William of Moncada: DeVic/ Vaissete, *Histoire*, III, 820; Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 177. See also his interesting will, cited n. 99.

¹⁰⁷ Schirmacher, *Geschichte* (n. 73), 147: '... man vereinigte sich zum erstenmal zu einer gemeinsamen kriegerischen Aktion.' See also Modesto Lafuente, *Historia general de España*, 30 vols (Madrid 1850-67), V, 68-9; Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 175-6; Menendez Pidal, *Imperio* (n. 89), 166-7.

¹⁰⁸ Menendez Pidal, *Imperio* (n. 89), 166-7; De Vic/Vaissete, *Histoire* (n. 37), III, 737: 'La guerre qu'Alphonse VII, Roi de Castile, avoit entreprise alors contre les infidèles d'Espagne, partagea la noblesse de la Province entre cette expédition et celle de la Terre Sainte.'

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 11. On the vexed problem of the participation of Pisans in the campaign, I do not agree with Belgrano in his belief (*Chron. Ad. imp.* [n. 79], 398) that they were present. There is no reference to them in Caffaro and the *Notae Pisanae*, nor the letter from the Pisans to Ramon Berenger in *Colección* (n. 99), 371-2, no. 154, nor a charter of Alfonso which mentions Genoese aid: Peter Rassow, 'Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfons VII. von Spanien', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 10 (1928), 444; 11 (1929), 99-100. The two sources where they are mentioned – Robert of Torigny, *Chron.* (n. 6), 155; *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 76), v. 347 – are not reliable. The confusion may have arisen, as Langer, *Geschichte* (n. 73), 31 n.2, suggests, out of the undoubted Pisan participation in the attack on Majorca in 1114-15: Chaytor, *History* (n. 103), 57; Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 155; or, perhaps more likely, out of the fact that one of the Genoese leaders was named Ansaldo Pizo: Caffaro, *Ystoria* (n. 73), *passim*; *Ann. Ianienses* (n. 75), 35; or possibly out of the presence at the siege of Lisbon of a Pisan engineer, who may have gone on to Tortosa: *De exp. Lix.* (n. 15), 142, 162; letter of Duodechin, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, 28; ed. Edgington (n. 43), 336-9. (But on Pisan participation see Hiestand, 'Reconquista' [n. 73], 148 n.61). Pisa was in any case throughout this period occupied by a war with Lucca. In point of fact, she objected to the Genoese attack in 1146 on Minorca, over which the Pisans asserted a claim on the grounds of their earlier expedition: Manfroni, *Storia* (n. 73), 208. Of the presence (which appears to have hitherto escaped notice) of Ventimiglians on this expedition, there can be no doubt: *Codice diplomatico* (n. 73), I, 242-3, no. 194.

¹¹⁰ Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 177-8.

¹¹¹ See below, pp. 277-8.

have expended of their goods and of their lives for the defense of the faith against the infidels'.¹¹²

The third campaign against the Muslims in 1147/8 was in Portugal, and was led by king Alfonso Henriques, whom an anonymous contemporary called 'the wonder-making destroyer of the enemies of the cross of Christ'¹¹³ and to whom Marcabru addressed a poem praising his victories over the Muslims.¹¹⁴ This campaign was by no means restricted to the attack on Lisbon, for which he secured the assistance of the Anglo-Flemish fleet. It opened in March 1147 with the capture of Santarem, of which there is an excellent account in the anonymous *De expugnatione Scalabis*,¹¹⁵ perhaps the work of an eyewitness. Though its main concern is a detailed description of the attack on the formidable stronghold on the river Tagus, the introduction is a paean in praise of the victory:

Gather all the people for the praise of Christ, clap your hands, sing well to Him in acclamation, and say: Hear, O ye Kings, give ear, O ye princes of all the earth! The Lord has chosen new wars in our days ... God through our king has captured Santarem, the mightiest of all the cities of Spain.¹¹⁶

On this expedition Alfonso was accompanied by the knights of the Temple, to whom all the ecclesiastical property in the city was granted after its capture.¹¹⁷ Only then did the king proceed, presumably with the Templars, to the attack on Lisbon. After the fall of that city, he completed his campaign of 1147 by the capture of several strongholds near Lisbon: Cintra, Almada, and Palmela.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Archives, Hôtel de Ville, Narbonne, caisson 5: cited in French translation by De Vic/Vaissete, *Histoire* (n. 37), III, 739. See Hiestand, 'Reconquista' (n. 73), 145 n.46. More generally on French participation in the reconquista, see Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), *passim*; Eloy Benito Ruana, 'España y las Cruzadas', *Anales de historia antigua y medieval* (1951-2), 103-11.

¹¹³ *Indiculum ... sancti Vincentii* (n. 43), 91: 'inimicorum crucis Christi mirificus extirpator'.

¹¹⁴ Boissonnade, 'Personnages' (n. 9), 229-30.

¹¹⁵ *De expugnatione Scalabis*, in *Portugaliae monumenta historica. Scriptores* (n. 43), I, 94-5. On this capture, see Herculano, *Historia* (n. 70), 360-1 and n. xxi, 526-8; Luiz Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, ed. Domingos Mauricio Gomes dos Santos, 6 vols (Lisbon 1935-42), IV, 46-55; Antonio Brandão, *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques*, ed. Arthur de Magalhães Basto (Lisbon 1945), 99-111; Livermore, *History* (n. 37), 73-4.

¹¹⁶ *De exp. Scal.* (n. 115), 33-5. See Ps. 46; Jud. 5.3, 8.

¹¹⁷ Grant of April 1147: *Documentos da chancelaria de Afonso Henriques*, ed. Abiah E. Reuter (Chancelarias medievais Portuguesas 1; Coimbra 1938), 209-10, no. 145. See Herculano, *Historia* (n. 70), 366 n.1, 367 n.1; Brandão, *Crónica* (n. 115), 109-10 (a document of 1154, showing that the Templars got the property). On the part played by the Templars in the Portuguese reconquest, see Livermore, *History* (n. 37), 80-1.

¹¹⁸ *De exp. Lxx.* (n. 15), 178; *Chron. Conimbricense*, in *Portugaliae monumenta historica. Scriptores* (n. 43), I, 2; *Chron. Lamecense*, *ibid.* 19-20; Herculano, *História* (n.

There remain to consider only two expeditions against the Muslims in the years 1146-8. To one of these, the Genoese attack on Minorca and Almeria in 1146, reference seems to be made only in the *Annales Ianuenses* of Caffaro.¹¹⁹ Here, in contrast with his account of the campaign in the following year, he makes no mention of a religious motive. Its purpose seems to have been largely strategic and economic, that is, piratical. The failure to take Almeria at this time led to the alliance of the Genoese with Alfonso VII.¹²⁰ But apart from this it is impossible to connect this expedition with the second crusade.

The same can be said of the attack on north Africa by Roger of Sicily in 1148.¹²¹ Of the contemporary western writers consulted for this chapter, only three refer to this campaign. Two of these, Robert of Torigny and the Premonstratensian continuator of Sigebert's chronicle, have already been mentioned. Both associate it with the second crusade and seem to have regarded it as at least partly religious in purpose.¹²² The third, abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, is more specific. His letter to Roger, written probably in 1148, urged him to make peace with Conrad III and to ally with him against the enemies of the church. 'For as we have often heard,' he says, 'many gains for the church of God have come from the lands of the enemies of God, that is, of the Saracens, through your military valor.'¹²³ Peter, however, had an axe to grind: he wanted to promote a catholic alliance against the Byzantine empire; and his evidence for the religious motive of Roger's campaign is not altogether convincing.

The facts can hardly bear the interpretation that the expedition was a part of the second crusade, or a crusade in itself. The conquest of north Africa was a well-

70), 404-6; Azevado, *História* (n. 115), 90-1; Gibb, 'English Crusaders' (n. 37), 16.

¹¹⁹ *Ann. Ianuenses* (n. 75), 33-5.

¹²⁰ Langer, *Geschichte* (n. 73), 25.

¹²¹ On this expedition see Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. Carlo Nallino, 3 vols (Catania 1933-9), III, 421, 441; Manfroni, *Storia* (n. 73), 198-201; Erich Caspar, *Roger II. und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck 1904), 419-21; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols (Paris 1907), II, 162-5; Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily* (New York-London 1912), 251-4; Francesco Cerone, *L'opera politica e militare di Ruggiero II in Africa ed in Oriente* (Catania 1913), 63-4.

¹²² Robert of Torigny, *Chron.* (n. 6), 153. The continuator of Sigebert, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 454, devotes five lines to this campaign and mentions that Roger restored the archbishop of Africa (Al Mahdia) to his see: cf. J. Mesnage, *Le Christianisme en Afrique. Déclin et extinction* (Algiers-Paris 1915), 219-20, 225. The fact that the bishops of Al Mahdia seem to have resided at Palermo (ibid. 219-20) suggests that Roger II may have used them as instruments of his dynastic policy.

¹²³ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 162, in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. (Harvard Historical Studies 78: Cambridge, Mass. 1967), I, 344-5 and nn. in II, 206-7. Peter here offers his sympathy to Roger on the death of his son, Roger, duke of Apulia (2 May 1148): Caspar, *Roger II.* (n. 121), 428; Curtis, *Roger* (n. 121), 294, 239-40.

established political goal of the Norman–Sicilian kings,¹²⁴ whose interest in the spread of Christianity was secondary to the extension of their own power. This is clearly shown by the fact that Roger's first reaction to the crusade in 1147 was to take advantage of the Byzantine emperor's preoccupation with the crusaders at Constantinople to attack Greece,¹²⁵ in return for which Manuel called him 'the common foe of all Christians'.¹²⁶ Cerone has shown that Roger's attack on Africa in 1148 was the result of an appeal for help from the rebel Jusûf at Gabes. Unable to maintain two naval campaigns at once, and at the same time unwilling to forego this opportunity to realize his ambitions on the south shore of the Mediterranean, Roger 'preferred the capture of Africa to that of Greece'.¹²⁷ He may indeed have also fostered the spread of Christianity there, but only in so far as this reinforced and established his political power.¹²⁸

This judgement on Roger II may be unjust or the result of a paucity of Christian sources. Decisions on mixed motives are always open to discussion. The other campaigns of 1146–8 were also inspired by a variety of interests, but none the less these differed from Roger's undertaking. John LaMonte defined a crusade as 'a war against the enemies of the Church, conducted under the auspices of the Church for ecclesiastical purposes, with spiritual privileges specially assured to participants'.¹²⁹ If allowance is made for other than ecclesiastical causes and leadership, this definition may fairly be applied to most of the campaigns of 1146–8. But it certainly does not fit the expedition to north Africa.

The campaigns against the Muslims in the east and in Spain and against the Wends were marked by a specifically religious character which distinguishes them from the normal dynastic warfare of the middle ages: the character of pilgrimage. The participants in these expeditions all expected to enjoy the benefits accruing to pilgrims, that is, remission of their repented sins or at least of the penance imposed

¹²⁴ See Caspar, *Roger II.* (n. 121), 397f.; Chalandon, *Histoire* (n. 121), II, 157–62; Curtis, *Roger* (n. 121), 242–63; Cerone, *Opera politica* (n. 121), *passim*.

¹²⁵ Caspar, *Roger II.* (n. 121), 377–84; Chalandon, *Histoire* (n. 121), II, 135–7; Curtis, *Roger* (n. 121), 227–8; Cerone, *Opera politica* (n. 121), 58–63; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 367–9; Konrad Heilig, 'Ostrom und das deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.* (Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 9; Leipzig 1944), 161–2: '... zweifellos hat er [Roger] damit auch dem Kreuzzugsunternehmen schwer geschadet.'

¹²⁶ Cerone, *Opera politica* (n. 121), 68.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 63–4.

¹²⁸ Amari (the only scholar whom I have found who discusses this aspect of Roger's campaign) thought otherwise: 'Assaltando l'Africa dunque nella state del 1148, il re de Sicilia compariva per la prima volta nel grande accordo cattolico,' *Storia* (n. 121), III, 421. Although Amari does not appear to have realized fully the connection of this campaign with Roger's withdrawal from Greece, he accepted Roger's aim, for he says of the crusade that Roger 'ne usava gli vantaggi'.

¹²⁹ John LaMonte, 'La papauté et les croisades', *Renaissance* 2–3 (1944–5), 155.

therefor. In nearly all the sources these expeditions have a marked salvatory or penitential character. It is a significant fact that contemporaries most frequently referred to these expeditions by the name of *peregrinatio* and to the participants as *peregrini* or *peregrinantes*, who were therefore only by context distinguished from the thousands of pilgrims who annually visited the Holy Land and other sacred places.¹³⁰ Several sources attributed a double purpose to the campaign: 'for pilgrimage and for the avenging of Christianity', says the author of the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*.¹³¹ Others seem even to have considered that pilgrimage was the primary purpose of these expeditions.¹³² The abbot of Tegernsee wrote a letter to Conrad III late in 1146 'at the time of your pilgrimage'; duke Wratislav of Bohemia, writing to Louis VII, expresses his wish to join 'the universal army on the way of Christ'; and cardinal Boso, the papal biographer, refers to the

¹³⁰ Other common names for the crusade include *iter*, *expeditio*, and *profectio*, sometimes with *Dei* or *Ierosolymitana*, and occasionally with some such phrase as *ad debellandos paganos* to indicate its military character. In no contemporary source is it called a crusade; the nearest equivalent is in the *Ann. sancti Iacobi Leodiensis*, in *MGH, SS, XVI*, 641, where the soldiers are referred to as 'crucizatur'. Among the sources using the terms 'pilgrimage' and 'pilgrims', see *Ann. Herbipolenses*, in *MGH, SS, XVI*, 3; *Ann. sancti Dionysii*, in *MGH, SS, XIII*, 720; *Continuatio Praemonstratensis*, in *MGH, SS, VI*, 453; *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis II*, in *MGH, SS, IX*, 614; Helmold of Bosau, *Chron. Slavorum* (n. 50), 115f.; Hildegard of Bingen, who referred to the pope as 'pater peregrinorum': Johann M. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum ... vitae ab aequalibus conscriptae*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1862), II, 302; William of Saint Denis, in both the *Vita Suger* (in *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche [Société de l'histoire de France; Paris 1867], 394-5) and André Wilmart, 'Le dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger', *Revue Mabillon*, 32 (1942), 103, 109. There is no clear line between a crusade and a pilgrimage. The crusaders were quite as much pilgrims as they were fighters: see Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi, *RIS*², VII, 1 (Città di Castello 1909-35), 229; Richard of Poitiers, *Chron.*, in *RHGF*, XII, 416, who says that king Louis '... in urbe Sancta, causa orationis, ut peregrinus remansit'; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione* ed. Berry (n. 9), 2; *Monumenta Boica*, 27 vols (Munich 1763-1829), XII, 329; *De glorioso rege Ludovico*, in *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger* (n. 9), 160-1; and nn. 131-2.

¹³¹ *MGH, SS, XXI*, 329. The *Chron. regia Coloniensis* (n. 54), 82-3 says, '... mota sunt omnia regna Occidentis et accensa desiderio eundi in Ierusalem et visitare sepulchrum Domini ac dimicare contra gentes quae ignorant Deum et dilatare terminos christiani imperii in Oriente.'

¹³² This is the case, for instance, with two crusaders who were not of highest rank. Lambert of Ardres says that his father joined the crusade 'ut dominicum venerari et ... sepulchrum videre mereretur', *Historia comitum Ghisnenium et Ardensium*, in *MGH, SS, XXIV*, 633. Abbot Herman of St Martin of Tournai went '... gloriosum Domini Jesu Christi sepulchrum invisere multo ardore sitiens...', in D'Achéry, *Spicilegium* (n. 99), II, 926. Cf. *Ann. Ratisponenses*, in *MGH, SS, XVII*, 586.

second crusade as 'a very great expedition from the western regions',¹³³ which distinguishes it in no way in character from smaller pilgrimages.

Like their predecessors half a century earlier, and as befitted the members of 'the army of the living God',¹³⁴ summoned by the 'the edict of the true King',¹³⁵ the participants in these expeditions marched or sailed under His banner, the *vexillum crucis*, and all bore the mark of a cross.¹³⁶ A bull of Calixtus II refers to the soldiers of the Spanish reconquest as those 'who have placed the sign of the cross on their clothes'.¹³⁷ Holding up the cross, and speaking in words strongly reminiscent of the motto of Constantine, a priest cried 'In hoc vexillo ... vincetis'¹³⁸ to the Anglo-Flemish sailors and signed them with a cross.¹³⁹ Otto of Freising records that the crusaders against the Wends wore a cross with a circle underneath, a *globus cruciger*, to distinguish it from the simple cross of the crusaders in the Holy Land.¹⁴⁰ Those gathered at the great council of Vézelay, in 1146, according to an anonymous chronicler, 'received from Bernard [of Clairvaux] the sign of pilgrimage, as is the custom, that is, the cross'.¹⁴¹ There is no reason to believe that this cross was restricted to the fighting members of these armies; it was the usual pilgrims' badge.¹⁴² Here then is further evidence that the special religious nature of these crusaders, in the root meaning of the term, was that of pilgrimage.

The crusaders' cross in the middle of the twelfth century had many meanings, including that of a battle standard against the pagans. It also had a significance for the organization of the crusading armies, as did various oaths taken by the

¹³³ Elisabeth Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta Floriacensis', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 117 (1959), 22-3; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris 1955), II, 387.

¹³⁴ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 162, ed. Constable (n. 123), I, 395.

¹³⁵ Charter of Henry of Prunnen, in Joseph von Hormayr, *Die Bayern im Morgenlande* (Munich 1832), 43.

¹³⁶ *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 156. On the use of the cross and the cross-banner in the first crusade, see pp. 63-85.

¹³⁷ JL 7116: Edmond Martène, Ursin Durand, *Veterum scriptorum ... amplissima collectio*, 9 vols (Paris 1724-33), I, 650-1; *Bullaire du pape Calixte II*, ed. Ulysse Robert, 2 vols (Paris 1891), II, 266-7, no. 454. See also the canon 10 of the ninth ecumenical council: *Conc. oec. dec.*, 191-2.

¹³⁸ *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 156 and n. 1.

¹³⁹ See above, p. 237 and n. 44.

¹⁴⁰ Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, I, 42, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 61; cf. Bernard, *Ep.* 457, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 433. On the *globus cruciger* see pp. 71, 78.

¹⁴¹ *Chron. anonymi* (n. 9), in *RHGF*, XII, 120.

¹⁴² See above, p. 241 and n. 65; Étienne van Cauwenbergh, *Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au Moyen Age* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie 48; Louvain 1922), 22-3.

soldiers.¹⁴³ The military regulations established by the Anglo-Flemish crusaders, and accepted by them in a stringent oath, to preserve order, obey the leaders, and attend regular religious service, have already been noted.¹⁴⁴ Odo of Deuil says that for the French army at Metz, Louis ‘established laws necessary for [the preservation of] the peace and for the other requirements on the way, which the leaders confirmed by [their] oaths and faith’.¹⁴⁵ The Genoese took vows to obey their leaders and to carry out the purpose of their expedition.¹⁴⁶ The reference of the Magdeburg chronicler to the army gathered against the Wends as a *societas* implies that it was bound by some kind of common oath.¹⁴⁷ With justice, therefore, a charter of duke Welf characterized the year 1147 as the time ‘when the entire Roman world swore together ... for the expeditions to Jerusalem’.¹⁴⁸

The nature of these oaths was related, however, not only to the military organization of the crusaders but also to their religious character as pilgrims. The vow of pilgrimage was a familiar concept in the middle ages; and to it now was linked the idea of the crusaders’ cross, found in the chronicle previously quoted, as a badge of pilgrims, the external sign and reminder of their vow. The Genoese swore to remain at Tortosa until the city fell; the English and Flemings had sworn to reach Jerusalem, as had countless other soldiers in the eastward-bound armies: the oath was not taken simply to preserve order but to attain a specific object and to reach a specific place. In this it closely resembled or was perhaps identical with the vow of pilgrimage.

This resemblance was naturally the closer in that both the pilgrimage and the crusade were undertaken in order to secure specific spiritual benefits for the participants. Unlike the pilgrimage, however, the crusade, in the view of many contemporaries, went beyond this highly personal religious relation. It had a marked spirit of self-sacrifice. ‘To lay down their lives for their brethren and to free the Christian people from the sword of the pagans’ were the aims of the crusaders according to an anonymous Bohemian monk.¹⁴⁹ The author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* compared them to the apostles: ‘You, most dearly beloved brothers, [have] followed Christ as voluntary exiles who have willingly accepted poverty ...’¹⁵⁰ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, in many respects the most bitter critic of the crusaders, nevertheless regarded their purpose as pious and indeed compared their sacrifice to that of Christ Himself, ‘since indulgence from sins

¹⁴³ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 346, suggests that in this cross may be seen the first intimation of the modern uniform. For other meanings see chapter 2.

¹⁴⁴ See above, pp. 237-8.

¹⁴⁵ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, ed. Berry (n. 4), 20.

¹⁴⁶ See n. 80.

¹⁴⁷ *Ann. Magdeburgenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 188.

¹⁴⁸ *Monumenta Boica* (n. 130), VII, 348.

¹⁴⁹ *Monachi Sazavensis continuatio* (Cosmae chronicarum Bohemorum), in *MGH, SS*, IX, 159; cf. 1 John 3.16.

¹⁵⁰ *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 152.

was promised by the apostolic see to fighters and penitents' in this crusade, he explained, and 'most greatly to those who died in such holy strife, requiting their Savior, Who had died for them'.¹⁵¹ The crusade had therefore a salvatory and penitential value far beyond the interests of the individual crusader; he who died on crusade was a martyr and a saint, who stored up merit in heaven for his brethren.¹⁵² It was the concern therefore not only of the participants themselves but of the entire Christian community. So before the assault on Santarem, Alfonso of Portugal encouraged his troops with the news that 'today ... general prayer is offered for us both by the canons of Santa Croce, to whom I announced this matter and in whom I trust, and by the other clergy together with the entire people.'¹⁵³ Likewise Conrad III, in a letter to Wibald in 1147, wrote that 'As the progress of our journey is aimed at the welfare of the whole church and the honor of our realm, we hope and request to be assisted greatly by your prayers.'¹⁵⁴ This is not to suggest that any strict uniformity of crusading theory can be found in the sources. In particular the idea of vicarious satisfaction went considerably beyond the more narrowly personal interpretation of the crusade found in the theories of Eugene III and St Bernard, who were themselves, as will be seen, not in complete agreement over this problem.

Many of the more popular ideas are illustrated in the charters issued by crusaders. These have been collected for the region of Bavaria by Hormayr,¹⁵⁵ and others can be found in local cartularies and collections. Many gifts to ecclesiastical houses resembled that of Herant the Old of Falkenstein to Antwart, made 'at the time when the said lord Herant desired to go to Jerusalem in order to visit the sepulcher of the Lord'.¹⁵⁶ Some grants were made on condition that the property was to be restored to the donor if he returned,¹⁵⁷ others specified that the gift was

¹⁵¹ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Commentarius aureus in Psalmos*, in *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, ed. Bernhard Pez, 6 vols (Augsburg-Graz 1721-9), V, 794 (also in *MGH, Libelli*, III, 437): '... reddentes vicem salvatori suo, qui pro eis mortuus est'. See Lam. 3.64 and 1 Tim. 5.4.

¹⁵² See *Chron. Ad. imp.*, ed. Belgrano (n. 79), v. 4, and above p. 237 and n. 43. For references in the *Acta sanctorum* to miracles performed by participants in the second crusade, see Charles Kohler, 'Rerum et personarum quae in Actis Sanctorum Bollandistis ... ad Orientem latinum spectant index analyticus', in *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient latin et des croisades*, 2 vols (Paris 1900-6), I, 104-212, to whose list may be added St Ernest, *AASS*, 7 November III, 608-17.

¹⁵³ *De exp. Scal.* (n. 115), 95.

¹⁵⁴ *Monumenta Corbeiensia* (n. 25), 126, no. 48.

¹⁵⁵ Hormayr, *Bayern* (n. 135), 43-6, whose examples are mostly taken from the *Monumenta Boica* (n. 130). His citations are occasionally erroneous, but there is no evidence that these documents are forgeries, as in some of Hormayr's works: see Friedrich Bock, 'Fälschungen des Freiherrn von Hormayr', *Neues Archiv* 47 (1928), 225-43.

¹⁵⁶ Hormayr, *Bayern* (n. 135), 43.

¹⁵⁷ See, for instance, the *Monumenta Boica* (n. 130), III, 84 (= Hormayr, *Bayern* [n. 135], 43); *Urkundenbuch des Herzogthums Steiermark*, ed. Josef von Zahn, 2 vols (Graz

to be made only if the donor did not return.¹⁵⁸ Many crusaders were forced to sell their property in order to meet the heavy expenses of the journey. The annalist of Rolduc said that each participant was forced to sell his lands 'in order to provide the expenses for such a journey' and cited an example.¹⁵⁹ To raise money for this purpose and 'in remission of my sins', Theoderic of Flanders sold some property to the monks of Clairvaux.¹⁶⁰ Others made grants to religious houses in return for protection for their wives and families.¹⁶¹ While it must be borne in mind that apparent gifts were often in reality sales, the fact remains that much property changed hands on account of the crusade and not always to the material advantage of the crusaders. 'At the root of the pious transaction,' A. H. Thompson said, 'was the desire to obtain forgiveness for sin and remission of the penalty due to it'¹⁶² and any consideration of motive should take these gifts and sales into account.

The most complete contemporary statement of the crusaders' motives is found in the *Annales Herbipolenses*, whose anonymous author was, however, thoroughly critical of the entire undertaking:

Different men, however, had different purposes. For some, eager for novelty, went for the sake of learning about strange lands; others, driven by want and suffering from hardship at home, were ready to fight not only against the enemies of the cross of Christ but also against Christian friends, if there seemed a chance of relieving their poverty. Others, who were weighed down by debt or who thought to evade the service that they owed their lords or who even were

1875-9), I, 279, 281, nos. 266, 270. Reginher of Tovernich made his grant to Admont whether he returned or not: *ibid.* 282, no. 271.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 302, no. 294. See also Jakob Wichner, *Geschichte des Benediktiner-Stiftes Admont von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1177* (Graz 1874), 100 and n. 2; *Codex traditionum ecclesiae collegiatae Claustro-neoburgensis*, ed. Maximilian Fischer (*Fontes rerum Austriacarum* II, 4; Vienna 1851), 85, no. 396.

¹⁵⁹ *Ann. Rodenses* (n. 53), 96.

¹⁶⁰ *PL*, CLXXXV.2, 1824. Theoderic also took two pieces from the treasury of St Columba at Sens: *Chron. Senonense sanctae Columbae*, in *RHGF*, XII, 288, and Conrad of Peilstein sold various lands 'pro remedio anime sue et pro precio sexaginta quinque librarum': *Urkundenbuch ... Steiermark* (n. 157), 278, no. 265 (Wichner, *Admont* [n. 158], 102-3; Albert von Muchar, *Geschichte des Herzogstums Steiermark*, 9 vols [Graz 1844-74], III, 347).

¹⁶¹ *Urkundenbuch ... Steiermark* (n. 157), 280, no. 268 (Wichner, *Admont* [n. 158], 216, no. 15). See the documentary references cited by Röhricht, *Beiträge* (n. 9), II, 311-20, in his list of German pilgrims; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye N.D. de Bonnevaux*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (*Documents historiques inédits sur le Dauphiné* 7; Grenoble 1889), 102-3, no. 244; Wichner, *Admont*, 101, 174, 182 (Poppo of Piber sold his estate for 25 pounds and a horse before leaving on the crusade). Most of these and other examples cited in n. 161 of the original publication are incorporated into chapter 4 on the financing of the crusades.

¹⁶² A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Medieval Doctrine to the Lateran Council of 1215', in *Cambridge Medieval History* (n. 60), VI, 694.

dreading the well merited penalties of their crimes, while simulating a holy zeal, hastened [to the crusade] chiefly to escape such inconveniences and anxieties. With difficulty, however, there were found a few who had not bowed the knee to Baal, who were indeed guided by a sacred and salutary purpose and were kindled by love of the divine majesty to fight manfully, even to shed their blood, for the sake of the holy of holies.¹⁶³

Ecclesiastical Theory and Papal Direction of the Expeditions of 1147-8

St Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, is the traditional hero of the second crusade. In almost all the contemporary sources and in the later authorities, where he shares the honors with Louis VII and occasionally with pope Eugene III, Bernard appears as the principal organizer and preacher.¹⁶⁴ It is, indeed, hard to imagine the crusade apart from his commanding figure, whose letters and personal activity inspired the participation of the greater part of Europe in these expeditions. He was at first reluctant to assume the burden. The reason may have been the political motive suggested by Gleber¹⁶⁵ but was more probably the ecclesiastical prohibition against preaching by the regular clergy. Even ordained monks and abbots were permitted to preach outside their monasteries only on the delegation of the pope or diocesan bishop.¹⁶⁶ But at Easter 1146, on the express command of the pope, Bernard began to preach the crusade at Vézelay, where he marked with the cross of pilgrimage king Louis and many French nobles. During the winter of 1146-7, he was in the Low Countries and Germany, where his preaching and concurrent miracles changed the entire character and scope of the undertaking by securing the co-operation of Conrad III and the German princes.¹⁶⁷ The crusading ardor thus aroused in Saxony and Bohemia was turned against the Wends. In June and July of 1147 Bernard

¹⁶³ *Ann. Herbipolenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 3; cf. Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libri III de investigatione Antichristi*, ed. Friedrich Scheibelberger, I (Linz 1875), ch. 67, and in *MGH, Libelli*, III, 374-5.

¹⁶⁴ The bibliography on St Bernard is enormous. For a list of books and articles dealing with Bernard and the second crusade, see Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 44 n.16; Jean de la Croix Bouton, *Bibliographie bernardine 1891-1954* (Commission d'histoire de l'ordre de Cîteaux 5; Paris 1958), 156 (under 'Croisade'); Guido Hendrix, 'Conspectus bibliographicus (1989-1991) Sancti Bernardi ultimi Patrum Monasticorum', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 60 (1993), 5-130; *Second Crusade* (see n. on p. 299), 212-14. Georg Hüffer, 'Die Anfänge des zweiten Kreuzzuges', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1887), 391-429, emphasizes the part played by Eugene III.

¹⁶⁵ Helmut Gleber, *Papst Eugen III.* (Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte 6; Jena 1936), 43-8.

¹⁶⁶ This was suggested by Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 8-10, whose idea is developed in Appendix A below.

¹⁶⁷ See Bernhardt, *Konrad III.* (n. 1), 532-3; Georg Hüffer, *Der heilige Bernhard von Clairvaux*, I. *Vorstudien* (Münster 1886), 70-103; Harold Cosack, 'Konrads III. Entschluss

visited Languedoc;¹⁶⁸ and although by this time the army of Louis VII had already left France, it is difficult not to associate Bernard's presence with the departure in August of the naval expedition under Alfonso of Toulouse¹⁶⁹ and particularly with the crusading activity in Spain of William of Montpellier.

More important, however, than the preaching of St Bernard and the activity of his agents¹⁷⁰ were the letters which he sent all over Europe and which were presumably read to hundreds of congregations. Of his crusading letters, only ten

zum Kreuzzug', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 35 (1914), 287-96; Greven, 'Kölnfahrt' (n. 106); Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 48f.

¹⁶⁸ The purpose of this visit seems to have been to deal with local heresy: Bernard, *Ep.* 242, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 128-9.

¹⁶⁹ Alfonso himself had taken the cross at Vézelay: *De glorioso rege Ludovico in Vie de Louis le Gros* (n. 9), 158. On Bernard's visit and the departure of this expedition, see De Vic/Vaissette, *Histoire* (n. 9), III, 752-5, IV, 223-4 (note L, xii).

¹⁷⁰ In general, on the active part played by the Cistercians in the preparations for the crusade, see Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 44-54, 78-81. When possible, Bernard preached the crusade in person rather than by letters carried by agents: in *Ep.* 363.1, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 312, he says, 'Agerem id libentius viva voce ...' Occasionally other Cistercian abbots were able to preach, such as Rainald of Morimund: Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 46; cf. Hilde Fechner, *Die politischen Theorien des Abtes Bernhard von Clairvaux in seinen Briefen* (Bonn-Cologne 1933), 61. Simple monks were presumably not allowed to preach (see Appendix A) but were sent with letters wherever Bernard or another abbot was unable to go. Most celebrated among these is Rudolph, who in at least one chronicle (*Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, in *MGH, SS*, XXI, 329) appears as a crusading preacher more important than Bernard, since he took it on himself, with abbot Lambert of Lobbes as translator, to preach the crusade in the summer and autumn of 1146 in the Low Countries and in the Rhine valley, where he aroused a persecution of the Jews. St Bernard was furious (see his *Ep.* 365, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 320-2, to the archbishop of Mainz, who may well have been nervous, remembering the sack of the archiepiscopal palace at Mainz during the riots connected with the first crusade: Runciman, *History* [n. 1], I, 138-9) and sent Rudolph back to Clairvaux: see Bernhardt, *Konrad* (n. 1), 522-4; Cosack, 'Konrad III.' (n. 167), 281-2, 294 n.1; Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser', 46-7. Bernard's secretary Nicholas wrote several crusading letters for his master: Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 245-6; on Nicholas, see Augustin Steiger, 'Nikolaus, Mönch in Clairvaux, Sekretär des hl. Bernhard', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 38 (NF 7;1917), 41-50; Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser', 45; Jean Leclercq, 'Saint Bernard et ses secrétaires', *Revue bénédictine* 61 (1951), 220. The secretary Geoffrey carried a letter to the Bretons: Rassow, 'Kanzlei', 265, 274; on Geoffrey, see Leclercq, 'Secrétaires', 220-5; Greven, 'Kölnfahrt' (n. 106), 6-8. Geoffrey, together with another secretary, Gerard, accompanied Bernard on his travels for the crusade: Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser', 46f. Abbot Adam of Ebrach carried to the diet of Regensburg (February 1147) two of Bernard's letters, one of which was taken on to Bohemia by Henry of Olmütz: Rassow, 'Kanzlei', 265-6, 274-5; Heinrich von Fichtenau, 'Bamberg, Würzburg, und die Stauferkanzlei', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 53 (1939), 274; Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser', 49, 51-2. He probably also carried a letter to abbot Gerlach of Rein, who preached the crusade in the Steiermark and Carinthia: Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser', 49, 52-3.

are known today. Nine related to the campaign against the Muslims in the Holy Land and have been studied by Peter Rassow;¹⁷¹ the tenth was written later, after March 1147, for the crusade against the Wends and differs from the others in both form and content.¹⁷² To these letters may be added a few others which bear upon the crusade. These include a letter to the pope, one to archbishop Henry of Mainz, and another written in Bernard's name to recommend to the emperor Manuel a young crusader, Henry of Meaux, later count of Champagne and father of the future king of Jerusalem.¹⁷³ A letter mentioned by Hüffer and Vacandard further suggests that Bernard addressed a crusading appeal to Spain.¹⁷⁴ It is possible, also, that his letter 308 to Alfonso Henriques refers to the 1147 campaign in Portugal.¹⁷⁵ There is in any case evidence of Bernard's influence in Portugal at this time. Alfonso, it will be

¹⁷¹ To Speyer, east France and Bavaria, Cologne, Brescia, England, Bohemia, Brittany, and possibly Spain: see Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 243f. and Cosack, 'Konrad III.' (n. 167), 293-6. The letter to the archbishop and congregation of Cologne has since been printed by Greven, 'Kölnfahrt' (n. 106), 44-8. To these letters should also be added that addressed to the Hospitalers discovered at Jena by Jean Leclercq and published in the *Revue Mabillon* 43 (1953), 1-4, together with an interesting letter written to Louis VII by 'W. Dei gratia dux et miles Christi et servus crucis,' who says, in words strongly reminiscent of Bernard's crusading letters, that he has received the cross 'ex manibus sanctissimis abbatis Claraevallis' and discusses the preparations for and the route of the crusade.

¹⁷² Bernard, *Ep.* 457, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 432-3; Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 275; Jean Leclercq, 'L'encyclique de saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade' (1971) repr. in idem, *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, IV (Storia e letteratura, 176; Rome 1987), 241. See n. 222 below.

¹⁷³ Bernard, *Epp.* 247, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 140-1; *ibid.* 320-2, 365, 468 (*PL*, CLXXXIII, 672-3). On *Ep.* 468, see Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 274; Eberhard Pfeiffer, 'Die Stellung des hl. Bernhard zur Kreuzzugsbewegung nach seinen Schriften', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 46 (1934), 276 n.28. *Epp.* 256, 364, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 163-5, 318-9, which Mabillon dates 1146, in fact refer to the preparations for the crusade of 1150: see chapter 12.

¹⁷⁴ Hüffer, 'Anfänge' (n. 164), 392 and Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, 1 (and best) ed., 2 vols (Paris 1895), II, 293 n.1, who mention a letter 'ad peregrinantes Jerusalem' in the Royal Archives at Barcelona. Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 246, was unable to locate this letter.

¹⁷⁵ The meaning and date of this letter are not above dispute: see José Ferreira Borges, 'Saint Bernard et le Portugal. La légende et l'histoire', in *Mélanges Saint Bernard. XXIX^e Congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes. Dijon 1953* (Dijon 1954), 141-2, arguing for 1148. Mabillon's late date of 1153 seems to be based upon a confusion between 'Peter the brother of your excellency (Petrus celsitudinis vestrae frater)' and abbot Peter of Celle, to whom *Ep.* 419 is addressed: *Bernard*, ed. Mabillon, I.1, 937; ed. Leclercq, VIII, 403-4. The letter certainly suggests that this Peter joined the second crusade: see Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História* (n. 115), IV, 47-8. If it may therefore be dated in 1147/8, it shows that Bernard was in touch with Portugal at this time. Another letter to Alfonso, in Manrique, *Ann. cist.* (n. 80), II, 71, under 1147, appears to be a forgery: ed. Mabillon, I.1, 767-8, 959; ed. Leclercq, VIII, 228 (and intro. xiv). See Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 212-13.

remembered, was the son of an ambitious knight from Burgundy and maintained connections with this area. As recently as 1146 he had married Mathilda, the daughter of the crusading count Amadeus III of Savoy,¹⁷⁶ who later founded the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça.¹⁷⁷ In addition, the speech of the bishop of Porto to the Anglo-Flemish crusaders shows the influence of Bernard.¹⁷⁸ Be this as it may, the crusading letters alone show that Bernard regarded the crusade as embracing the efforts of all Christian Europe.

The essence of Bernard's crusading theory is contained in his letter 363, of which the text was sent in an almost identical form to Cologne, to Speyer, and to the east Franks and Bavarians.¹⁷⁹ Here he announces that the enemies of the cross, the pagans, have risen up against the church. This is God's punishment for our sins; but since He is good, even while He punishes us, He provides us with a means of salvation through the crusade. 'Behold, brothers,' he calls, '... [now] is the time of plentiful salvation.'¹⁸⁰ This is 'a time rich with indulgence', 'a jubilee year'.¹⁸¹ He urges his hearers to take advantage of this great opportunity and to rise up in response. 'Accept the sign of the cross,' he says, 'and you will obtain pardon

¹⁷⁶ Previté Orton, *House of Savoy* (n. 9), 292-3; Livermore, *History* (n. 37), 83.

¹⁷⁷ Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I* (Vienna 1877), 110; Laurant H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols (Mâcon 1939-70), I, 50-1; Borges, 'Saint Bernard' (n. 175), 142-3, 149, argues for 1153 as the date of foundation.

¹⁷⁸ *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 68-84; see n. 49. Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 271 considers this speech evidence of Cistercian influence on the author of the *De exp. Lyx.* Since it appears (see Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' [n. 44], 59 n.26), to be a genuine report, not a literary concoction, it witnesses the presence of Bernard's ideas in Portugal. On the influence of St Bernard on Alfonso Henriques's 1147 campaign, see Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História* (n. 115), IV, 46-8, 95, who concludes (47) that, 'certo è que nessa concessão, obtida de Eugénio III, para a expedição contra Lisboa, o principal agenciador foi o mesmo S. Bernardo, a isso movido pelo nosso primeiro rei'. Livermore, *History* (n. 37), 81 says that the Cistercians were established in Portugal before 1143 and that they 'performed the enormous task of peopling and cultivating the newly-won territory'.

¹⁷⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 363, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 311-17. On the versions and text history of this letter, see Leclercq, 'Encyclique' (n. 172), 231-43; idem, 'Pour l'histoire de l'encyclique de saint Bernard sur la croisade' (1974) repr. in idem, *Recueil* (n. 172), 247. The last three sections do not appear in the earliest version of the crusading letter, that to bishop Mainfred and the congregation of Brescia, in Cesare Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. Augustus Theiner, 37 vols (Bar-le-Duc 1864-83), XVIII (1094-1146), 646-7; see Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 273. On Bernard's crusading theory see Adolf Gottlob, *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 30-1; Stuttgart 1906), 110-13; Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, 3 vols (Paderborn 1923), I, 199-200; Pfeiffer, 'Stellung' (n. 173), 278f.; Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 49-55; Rousset, *Origines* (n. 8), 152-68.

¹⁸⁰ Bernard, *Ep.* 363.1, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 312.

¹⁸¹ Bernard, *Ep.* 363.4, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 314; cf. Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 146.

equally for all things which you confess with a humble heart.¹⁸² He mentions also some of the temporal benefits of crusaders, but his greatest stress is upon the penitential, salvatory nature of the crusade. Nowhere does he say that the crusade must be to the Holy Land; he only exhorts men to take the cross of pilgrimage, to fight against the foes of God, and so to win salvation.

This passionate enthusiasm and eloquence and an emphasis on the personal religious significance of the crusading vow were the great contributions of Bernard of Clairvaux to the second crusade and to crusading theory in general.¹⁸³ The planning and organization of the campaigns seem to have been more the work of pope Eugene. For, while the studies of Rassow have shown that Bernard had no part in the genesis of the crusade before the council at Vézelay in 1146, the work of Caspar has demonstrated that the formal origin of the crusade must probably be traced to the pope's crusading bull of 1 December 1145.¹⁸⁴ St Bernard himself made this clear when he wrote to the pope in 1146 about 'the good work which he [king Louis] has begun at your instigation'.¹⁸⁵ Even before this, and perhaps as early as May 1145, Eugene had granted a remission of one seventh of their penance to those who gave aid to the knights of St John in Jerusalem or to the Templars in Spain.¹⁸⁶ Now, in the bull *Quantum predecessores* (I), he officially

¹⁸² Bernard, *Ep.* 363.5, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 315.

¹⁸³ On the importance of Bernard's letters in the history of the preaching of the crusades, see Reinhold Röhricht, 'Die Kreuzpredigten gegen den Islam', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 6 (1884), 555; Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 54-5.

¹⁸⁴ Erich Caspar, Peter Rassow, 'Die Kreuzzugsbullen Eugens III.', *Neues Archiv* 45 (1924), 285-305. Caspar's conclusions are supported by Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 37-8, who says that: 'Damit ist zugleich festgelegt, dass Eugen III. den ersten Anstoss zur neuen Kreuzzugsbewegung gegeben hat,' but they have been questioned by Rolf Grosse, 'Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. von 1145/46', *Francia* 18 (1991), 85-9. Although it is not impossible that Louis VII reached a similar idea independently, he apparently acted later than the pope. The statement by Marshall W. Baldwin, 'The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century', *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* 3 (1944-5), 280 that 'a comparatively recent study [Gleber] suggests that King Louis VII of France assumed the initiative and was supported later by pope Eugenius III' appears to misinterpret Gleber's work. For a bibliography, up to 1939, of the vexed problem of the origins of the second crusade, see Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 45 n.1.

¹⁸⁵ Bernard, *Ep.* 247.2, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 141.

¹⁸⁶ Wilhelm Wiederhold, *PU in Frankreich*, IV (1907), no. 22, repr. in idem, *PU in Frankreich*, 2 vols (Acta romanorum pontificum 7-8; Vatican City 1985), I, 337-8 (10 May 1145?); Gleber, *Eugen III.* [n. 165], 191-206, Beilage III, no. 20); Paul Kehr, *PU in Spanien*, 2 vols (Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, NF 18.2, 22.1; Berlin 1926-8), II, 360-1, no. 57 (9 Nov. 1145/6; Gleber no. 40); Paul Kehr, *PU in Sizilien* (1899), no.3, repr. in idem, *PU in Italien*, 6 vols (Acta romanorum pontificum 1-6; Vatican City 1977), II, 63 (13 Nov. 1145/6; Gleber no. 41); *Acta pontificum romanorum inedita*, ed. Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, 3 vols (Tübingen 1880-6), I, 183-4, no. 201 (27 Oct. 1145/6; JL 8829). It seems highly probable,

declared a crusade. It is addressed to the king, nobles, and people of France. The church of the east is in danger, he says: as a punishment for our sins, Edessa has fallen, and the whole of Christendom is threatened. He urges and requires devout men in France and Italy to rise and protect the eastern church. To such men he promises 'that remission of sins which our predecessor Urban established' and he takes their property and families under the protection of the church. Such soldiers of the Lord, he continues, should not wear rich clothes, nor bring along dogs or hawks. Nor are they bound to pay usury. And he concludes by repeating that:

by the authority vested in us by God we grant such remission of sins and absolution ... that whoever will faithfully begin and complete such a holy journey or will die on it, will obtain absolution from all his sins which he will have confessed with a contrite and humble heart and will receive the fruit of eternal reward from the Remunerator of all things.¹⁸⁷

The most important element in this bull from the view point of crusading theory was its concept of the indulgence, of which the transcendental implications were here fully developed. According to Valmar Cramer Eugene III herewith:

conceives of a clearer idea of the indulgence than Urban II. Whereas the latter spoke in his crusading canon only of the remission of the outer penitential punishment imposed by the church, Eugene III, by appealing to the power over the keys of the pope as successor to the prince of the apostles, Peter, includes as well for the first time absolution from temporal [that is, divine] punishments of sin which, independent from the ecclesiastical penitential discipline, are inflicted by God for every sin.¹⁸⁸

This statement may exaggerate the extent of conscious innovation in *Quantum predecessores*. Eugene himself clearly regarded his indulgence as similar in nature to that of 1095. Certain scholars, moreover, incline towards the view that

from their content, that these bulls belong to 1145. Such grants were nothing new. Cf. also Eugene's bull of 16 July 1145/6 (JL 8821), of which the 13 Nov. bull is an almost exact repeat.

¹⁸⁷ JL 8796; Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, I, 36, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 55-7. On the transmission and date, see Grosse, 'Überlegungen' (n. 184), 85-9.

¹⁸⁸ Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 48. Cf. Paulus, *Abläss* (n. 179), I, 199; Bernhard Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter* (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 16; Breslau 1930), 225-7; especially Gottlob, *Kreuzablass* (n. 179), 105, who says: 'Die transcendentalen Wirkungen des Ablasses traten in dem zweiten Kreuzzuge ... zum ersten Male deutlich hervor.'

the indulgence in the later eleventh century included the remission not only of the ecclesiastical but also of the divine punishment.¹⁸⁹

Essentially, however, the idea expressed by Cramer is correct. The first half of the twelfth century was a period of widespread confusion and rapid development of ecclesiastical teaching concerning the forgiveness of sins.¹⁹⁰ Nothing illustrates this more clearly than the widely diverging views expressed by Gratian and Peter Lombard on the sacrament of penance, and in the works of these and other contemporary theologians it is impossible to find any fully consistent or clear doctrine on this subject. Theology distinguished three different effects of the sin upon the sinner: sin made him liable, first, to eternal damnation or divine punishment after death; second, it brought the stain of guilt or damage onto the soul; and it entailed, third, ecclesiastical punishment. It was universally accepted that the priesthood had complete control over ecclesiastical discipline, but Peter Lombard and Gratian make it clear that there was considerable disagreement over the extent to which priestly absolution touched upon the other two effects of sin. Peter points out that some authors, while reserving to God the remission of the guilt (the *macula culpae* or *contagio ac caecitas mentis*), claimed for the clergy the power of remitting the divine punishment (the *debitum aeternae mortis* or *debitum futurae poenae*). Other theologians, however, reserved to God both these functions and consequently in the sacrament of penance asserted the efficacy of contrition rather than of confession.¹⁹¹

This latter point of view tended to prevail in the early twelfth century and was powerfully developed by Abelard. He emphasized in his doctrine of penance the sole efficacy of contrition and therefore reduced the power of the priest in this sacrament to a declaration of the divine pardon (granted at the moment of inner repentance) and to the right of excommunication, reconciliation, and the imposition of penitential satisfaction (the ecclesiastical punishment).¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Jean Morin (Morinus), *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae* (Antwerp 1682), 775; Josef Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des innerkirchlichen Lebens 34; Innsbruck 1932), 285-9; Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XII^e siècle* (Univ. Cath. Lovan.: Diss. II 41; Louvain-Gembloux 1949), 51 n.3.

¹⁹⁰ This subject has been studied by Amédée Teetaert, *La confession aux laïques* (Univ. Cath. Lovan.: Diss. II 17; Wetteren-Bruges-Paris 1926), 85-101; Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 50-1, 196-208, 272-4, who says (207) of Gratian: 'Le manque de clarté dans l'exposé du célèbre canoniste illustre à sa façon la complexité du problème au sujet de la confession, aussi bien que les hésitations des auteurs de la première moitié du XII^e siècle.'

¹⁹¹ Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 328-9. 'Gratian in his *Decretum*,' says Ernest F. Jacob ('Innocent III', in *Cambridge Medieval History* [n. 60], VI, 38), 'had balanced and compared the views of those who said that contrition alone was necessary and confession to a priest merely the attestation of pardon, and of those who maintained that complete remission could not take place before confession and satisfaction.'

¹⁹² Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 275-95. This doctrine was followed by many twelfth-century canonists, including Roland Bandinelli (Alexander III), Omnebene, and Zachary of

Hugh of St Victor in particular reacted against this doctrine and against its purely declarative interpretation of priestly absolution and its reservation to God of the power to remit both the guilt and the eternal punishment. He argued that by virtue of the power of the keys all priests enjoyed the authority not merely to declare the pardon granted by God but actually themselves to remit the divine punishment. 'In confessione,' he claimed, 'peccatum ipsum, id est debitum damnationis absolvatur.'¹⁹³ In this teaching he was followed by the Victorine school, by Otto of Lucca, and to a certain extent by Peter Lombard, who admitted that God would confirm the remission by a priest of the divine punishment of a repentant sinner.¹⁹⁴ Peter preserved, however, the essentials of the Abelardian doctrine and reserved to God the ultimate power to remit both the guilt and the divine punishment.¹⁹⁵

St Bernard, in opposition to Abelard, recognized the power of the keys to bind and loose in heaven as well as on earth;¹⁹⁶ but in his doctrine of penance he resembled Abelard in his concentration upon the inner state of the sinner and with him asserted the sole efficacy of contrition and repentance.¹⁹⁷ He attached great importance, however, also to confession. To obtain forgiveness, according to Bernard, the crusader needed both to take the cross and humbly to confess his sins. The crusading cross was in itself the *signum vitae*.¹⁹⁸ This opportunity of salvation was freely offered to all sinners by the Lord, Who in His mercy 'deigns to summon for His service murderers, robbers, adulterers, perjurers, and those guilty of other crimes as if [they were] a people who do that which is right'.¹⁹⁹ Nowhere, either

Besançon, on whom see *ibid.* 263-4, 312-13. Teetaert, *Confession* (n. 190), 85 emphasizes that 'au douzième siècle l'attention des théologiens se concentre sur l'efficacité de la contrition, qui est regardée à cette époque comme la partie principale et l'élément le plus important de la discipline pénitentielle.'

¹⁹³ Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis*, II, 14, 8, in *PL*, CLXXVI, 568. On Hugh see Teetaert, *Confession* (n. 190), 91-2, 94, 99; Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 295-302; Jacob, 'Innocent III' (n. 191), 38. Cf. Paulus, *Abläss* (n. 179), I, 254-9.

¹⁹⁴ Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 328-9.

¹⁹⁵ Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in libris IV distinctae*, IV, 18.7.4, 3 ed., 2 vols (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4; Grottaferrata 1971-81), II, 363: 'Ecce qualis et quantus est usus apostolicarum clavium. Iam ostensum est ex parte qualiter sacerdotes dimittunt peccata vel tenent, et iam retinuit sibi Deus quandam singularem potestatem dimittendi vel retinendi, quia ipse solus per se debitum aeternae mortis solvit et animam interius purgat.'

¹⁹⁶ Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 291.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 248-53. In his *Ep. 77 (epistola de baptismo)*, 8, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 191, Bernard says that 'sola nihilominus paenitentia et cordis contritione obtinere veniam creditur, ne iam pro eo damnetur.'

¹⁹⁸ Bernard, *Ep.* 363.4, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 314. For Bernard on confession, see the references in Anciaux, *Théologie* (n. 189), 251-2; and particularly his *De laude novae militiae*, 12, ed. Leclercq, III, 238.

¹⁹⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 363.4, ed. Leclercq, VII, 314: 'Quid est enim nisi exquisita prorsus et inuentibilis soli Deo saluationis occasio, quod homicidas, raptos, periuros, caeterisque

here or in his other writings about the crusade, does he mention outer satisfaction. His whole emphasis is upon the almost sacramental efficacy of the crusading cross and upon the spiritual condition of the sinner in the eyes of God.

Eugene III, on the other hand, tended more towards the Victorine point of view. The emphasis in *Quantum predecessores* is upon the papal promise of eternal reward and the direct ecclesiastical remission of the divine punishment for sin. Eugene's appeal to the power of the keys confirms Cramer's opinion that by this time a basic change had occurred in the concept of the indulgence. On account of this new element, the pope also put more stress upon exterior satisfaction as a sign of contrition and guide for papal action. Satisfaction – the performance of everything possible to remedy the evil effect of the repented sin – became therefore an essential factor in this concept of the doctrine of penance. This is illustrated by the case of count William II of Ponthieu. Eugene required the count, before departing with the crusading army of Louis VII, to restore to the abbey of Troarn a farm which he had seized.²⁰⁰ Otherwise his crusade would, spiritually, be in vain, 'for never are holocausts which are polluted by an association with robbery pleasing in the eyes of the Almighty.'²⁰¹ In this way the pope set his face resolutely against the development of the popular idea of the crusade as a convenient method of avoiding inconvenient obligations at home.

Both Eugene and Bernard insisted on the necessity of contrition and confession. But for the former the crusading indulgence was essentially a matter between

obligatos criminibus, quasi gentem quae iustitiam fecerit, de seruitio suo submonere dignatur Omnipotens?' see Ezech 18.21. Also in his *De laude novae militiae* Bernard rejoiced that thieves and perjurers entered the order of the Temple: see Rousset, *Origines* (n. 8), 164.

²⁰⁰ Samuel Löwenfeld, 'Documents relatifs à la croisade de Guillaume, comte de Ponthieu', *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2 (1884) Documents, 254 (JL 9166): Eugene III to William of Ponthieu: 'Quia vero signum crucis dominice assumpsisti et ad iter Ierosolymitanum accingeris, nolentes te laborem tantum non ad anime tue profectum arripere, nobilitati tue mandamus et exhortamur ... ut praefato abbati et monachis ... antequam iter incipias, in eorum [iudicum] arbitrio vel iudicio iusticiam facias.' Cf. the letter from Eugene to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishops of Coutances and Évreux and the letter from Hugh of Rouen to count William, *ibid.* (JL 9165). William had taken the cross at Vézelay (*De glorioso rege Ludovico*, in *Vie de Louis le Gros* [n. 9], 159) and seems to have cared little for the ecclesiastical prohibitions. As René Norbert Sauvage, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn* (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 4S 4; Caen 1911), 26, says: 'Les menaces de l'archevêque, son parent, lui semblaient, sans doute, peu dangereuses, et les censures ecclésiastiques n'étaient pas chose nouvelle pour lui.' In any case, he departed with the army of Louis VII before restoring the property of the abbey. See *ibid.* 23-9, and *Epistolae pontificum romanorum ineditae*, ed. Samuel Löwenfeld (Leipzig 1885), 105, no. 201 (JL 9164).

²⁰¹ Löwenfeld, 'Documents' (n. 200), 253 (JL 9166). Cf. the view of Peter Lombard that good acts performed in a state of mortal sin are never meritorious (Anciaux, *Théologie* [n. 189], 269-70) and the view of Ralph Niger with regard to the third crusade: George B. Flahiff, 'Deus non vult: A Critic of the Third Crusade', *Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1947), 173.

the individual and the church, whereas for the latter it was a matter between the individual and God. In the view of St Bernard, confession was not principally a means of obtaining absolution but rather a sacramental sign, established upon examples in the Old and New Testaments, and a subjective influence on the sinner, inducing a wholesome sense of shame. For him, God was the author of the crusade, which was a special and exceptional divine grace for the salvation of men. In the crusading bulls of Eugene III, the crusade appears as a papal grace, an institution for the transmission to men of the pope's power of absolution from divine as well as from ecclesiastical punishment.²⁰²

Apart from this important contrast, the concepts of the crusade found in *Quantum predecessores* and in Bernard's crusading letter are substantially similar.²⁰³ The differences are that Bernard expressed himself more loosely and with greater warmth, while the pope restricted the crusade to the east and the soldiers from France and Italy and showed more concern than Bernard for the definition of the temporal privileges and for the organization of the army. It is easy for admirers of the Mellifluous Doctor to decry this cautious and narrow policy of the pope because it lacked the popular appeal and the magnificent depth and scope of their hero's preaching;²⁰⁴ but in so doing they are judging in view merely of the immediate events of 1146-8. Eugene, it is true, was not by nature an imaginative or vigorous man of affairs. He had been raised to the throne of Peter from his quiet life as a Cistercian abbot less than a year before the issue of this bull; and in it, as its opening *Quantum predecessores* shows, he evinces an anxious respect for precedent and tradition.²⁰⁵ There was, however, much practical wisdom in his caution. The fact remains that this bull marks a fundamental step in

²⁰² This difference in point of view is clearly seen in the versions of Bernard's letters for the crusade. In the earliest version, he urged men to take the cross with the words: 'Suscipe crucis signum, et omnium pariter, de quibus corde contrito confessionem feceris, indulgentiam obtinebis delictorum,' *Ep.* 363.5, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 315. In the latest version, the letter to duke Ladislaus of Bohemia, this had been rephrased to read: 'Suscipite signum crucis, et omnium, de quibus corde contrito confessionem feceritis, plenam indulgentiam delictorum hanc vobis summus pontifex offert, vicarius eius cui dictum est: Quodcunque solveris super terra, erit solutum et in coelo,' *Ep.* 458.4, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 456; see Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 262-3; Leclercq, 'L'encyclique' (n. 172), 229-31.

²⁰³ Bernard clearly regarded *Quantum predecessores* as fundamental, although Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 106 may go too far in saying that 'sa prédication n'est qu'un commentaire de l'encyclique *Quantum predecessores*.' Bernard developed its ideas from his own, highly spiritual attitude. He had, in any case, a profound influence on Eugene's thought.

²⁰⁴ For instance, Ursula Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des heiligen Landes* (Historische Studien, ed. E. Ebering 301; Berlin 1937), 74: '... die Kreuzzugs-encyklika Eugens III. ... ist zu arm im Gedanklichen, zu wenig schwungvoll in Sprache und Stil, um Ursache einer derartigen Massenbegeisterung sein zu können.'

²⁰⁵ It is evidence of the conservatism and the memory of the papacy that alone among the western sources of the second crusade, the papal bulls show a strong awareness of the precedent of the first crusade (see Appendix B).

the development of the crusades and of crusading thought. Urban II never issued a general crusading bull.²⁰⁶ It was therefore to *Quantum predecessores* and to its concept of crusading privileges that all future crusaders looked back. Built on the growth and events of half a century, this bull set the pattern for the juridical development of the crusade and as such laid the basis of the crusade as an institution in European history.²⁰⁷

To what extent this was a personal contribution of Eugene III, it is hard to say. Any answer to this question depends in part upon an estimate of Eugene's character and of the influence upon him of Bernard of Clairvaux and his other advisors, an influence which was unquestionably profound, in view of his Cistercian background and of his connection with what Klewitz has characterized as the new reformed papacy, which came into power with Innocent II and which found its principal support in France.²⁰⁸ It is not always possible, therefore, to distinguish clearly between the policies of the pope, of St Bernard, and of the papal curia. The answer depends also on the precedents upon which *Quantum predecessores* was based. Although the sources for these are not complete, there can be little doubt that most of the ideas were not original to this bull. Here, however, they were set down together for the first time, and in this form they impressed themselves upon the minds of men.²⁰⁹ The development of ideas that is marked in the historical works of the later twelfth century by the emergence of the crusade as a Christian institution rather than a mere historical event was principally the result of the crusading bulls of 1146-7.

Eugene reissued *Quantum predecessores* in a slightly revised form on 1 March 1146.²¹⁰ He also wrote about the crusade during this year to the emperor Manuel,

²⁰⁶ Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 348-9; Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 47f.; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 105-6; Alexander Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), 26-7.

²⁰⁷ Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 48: 'Diese Bulle ist in formaler Hinsicht Vorbild für alle späteren Kreuzzugsaufrufe der Päpste geworden.' For a discussion of the development of crusading theory, see Villey, *Croisade* (n. 69), 148, who calls the indulgence the 'expression juridique précise de ce caractère salutaire de la croisade'; on *Quantum predecessores*, see *ibid.* 106-7; Schwerin, *Aufrufe* (n. 204), 74-5.

²⁰⁸ Hans-Walter Klewitz, 'Das Ende des Reformpapsttums', *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 3 (1939), 371-412.

²⁰⁹ Cf. for instance the crusading hymn in the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, 55 vols (Leipzig 1896-1922), XLVb, 78, no. 96, dated by Dreves as twelfth (thirteenth, fourteenth) century. The ninth stanza is reminiscent of the crusading bulls: 'Illuc quicumque tenderit / Mortuus ibi fuerit / Caeli bona receperit / Et cum sanctis remanserit.'

²¹⁰ JL 8876: Caspar/Rassow, 'Kreuzzugsbullen' (n. 184), 300-5; new edition, with variants from JL 8796, in Grosse, 'Überlegungen' (n. 187), 90-2. For an ingenious, if not altogether convincing, account of the circumstances of this reissue, see Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 45-6. It differs from the earlier bulls in its slightly increased prohibitions against luxury: see Caspar/Rassow, 287-8. This *Quantum predecessores* (II) may be the 'omni favo

who replied in August 1146 that he stood ready to assist the French crusaders, and again in March 1147, when he evinced some alarm at the prospect of the crusade and asked for Eugene's aid in securing from Louis a guarantee for the good behavior of his troops.²¹¹ Already by 26 November 1146, the pope was in correspondence with the bishop of Salisbury concerning the progress of the crusading movement in England.²¹² On 5 October 1146, he issued his crusading bull *Divina dispensatione* (I) to the clergy of Italy. In it he praised the example of king Louis and the French nobles and urged the Italians to participate in 'such a holy labor and victory' and so to win the privileges of the crusade.²¹³

Early in 1147, the pope started northwards towards France accompanied by no less than 17 cardinals. He went by way of the Mont Genèvre pass and reached Paris by 20 April. ²¹⁴At Clairvaux, on 6 April, he saw again, after more than six years, his friend and mentor St Bernard; and five days later, at Troyes, he issued *Divina dispensatione* (II), addressed to all the faithful. Here again he praises those who have already taken the cross and are preparing to free the eastern church:

The king of Spain [he says] is also powerfully armed against the Saracens of those regions, over whom he has already frequently triumphed ... Certain of you, however, [are] desirous of participating in so holy a work and reward and plan to go against the Slavs and other pagans living towards the north and to subject them, with the Lord's assistance, to the Christian religion. We give heed to the devotion of these men, and to all those who have not accepted the cross for going to Jerusalem and who have decided to go against the Slavs and to remain in the spirit of devotion on that expedition, as it is prescribed, we grant that same remission of sin ... and the same temporal privileges as to the crusaders

litteras dulciores' mentioned by Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, ed. Berry (n. 9), 8. More probably, however, Odo is here referring to some other, lost letter sent by the pope to Louis: Bernhardi, *Konrad* (n. 1), 519; Hüffer, 'Anfänge' (n. 164), 405-6; Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 45 and n. 7, where he cites authorities disagreeing with this view.

²¹¹ For the text of the letter of August 1146 (Franz Dölger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Reihe A, Abt. I. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, II [Munich-Berlin 1925], no. 1348) see RHGF, XV, 440-1; for the text of the letter of March 1147 (Dölger no. 1533) see Werner Ohnsorge, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Manuels I. von Byzanz', in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar 1931), 391-3. Manuel also wrote to Louis VII: Dölger no. 1349. On these letters, see Ohnsorge, 'Beitrag', 371-81, whose conclusions are accepted by Dölger in his review of Ohnsorge's article, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 31 (1931), 446-7; Venancé Grumel, 'Au seuil de la II^e croisade. Deux lettres de Manuel Comnène au pape', *Revue des études byzantines* 3 (1945), 143-67; Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 48-9; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 351. On Manuel's attitude, see Chalandon, *Histoire* (n. 121), II, 133-5.

²¹² *Epistolae pont. rom.* (n. 200), 103 (JL 8959).

²¹³ Paul Kehr, *PU in Malta* (1899), no. 3, repr. in *PU in Italien* (n. 186), II, 108-10.

²¹⁴ His route can be traced from his bulls in JL 8991-9021: see Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 51-2.

to Jerusalem ... Furthermore, since we know it to be advantageous that some religious, wise, and literate person be among you, who may care for your peace and tranquillity and preserve unity among you and advise you concerning the promotion of the Christian religion, we provide for this purpose our venerable brother A[nselm] bishop of Havelberg.²¹⁵

In its basic theory of crusading, this bull differs in no way from *Quantum predecessores* or *Divina dispensatione* (I), which it resembles also in structure and occasionally in wording. In two respects, however, both in the broader concept of the crusade and in the appointment of a legate, the pope here made an important advance on the ideas expressed in his three earlier crusading bulls, and it is tempting to associate these changes with the meeting at Clairvaux five days before it was issued.

Not only the participation of the Germans but also an entirely new front of attack were now included within the scope of the crusade. It is clear that the Germans had played no part in Eugene's original plan, and their inclusion was one of Bernard's principal achievements.²¹⁶ The pope seems in fact to have disapproved at first of the decision of Conrad III.²¹⁷ This need occasion neither surprise nor the elaborate explanation suggested by Gleber.²¹⁸ In view of the precedent of the first crusade and of his own conservative temperament, Eugene naturally addressed his earlier crusading bulls to the French and to the Italians.²¹⁹ He may also have had some genuine concern for the state of the empire in Conrad's absence and may have seen

²¹⁵ PL, CLXXX, 1203-4 (JL 9017).

²¹⁶ See p. 259 and n. 167.

²¹⁷ Cosack, 'Konrad III.' (n. 167), 290, reconstructs Eugene's reaction from Conrad's reply; Heinz Zatschek, 'Wibald von Stablo', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband 10 (1928), 325; Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 50f.

²¹⁸ Very briefly, that Eugene had hoped to return to Italy accompanied by Conrad to crush the papal enemies at Rome: Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 50, 53-5.

²¹⁹ Also to the English and the Lowlanders: see below, pp. 276-7. These four peoples were those who had played the principal parts in the first crusade. Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 292-5, brings out that in the eleventh century crusading thought had its broadest development in France and Italy. Urban II may have seen the first crusade in theory as a general offensive to free Christendom (ibid. 306, 321; Joseph Leclerc, 'L'idée de croisade d'après les travaux récents', *Études* 29 [1936], 52-4), but he never developed this idea fully, and the response in fact was limited. On the scornful attitude of the Germans towards the first crusade, see Ekkehard of Aura, in August C. Krey, *The First Crusade* (Princeton 1921), 42. Speaking of the second crusade, therefore, Karl Hampe, *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer*, 10 ed. Friedrich Baethgen (Heidelberg 1949), 133, says: 'Das Unternehmen gewann sogleich einen universalen Charakter als die erste Kreuzfahrt, bei der Urban wesentlich nur den französischen Lehnadel nach dem Orient gelenkt hatte.' On the German attitude towards the first crusade, see also Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 5 vols in 6 (Leipzig 1887-1920), IV, 895.

more clearly than Bernard the difficulties that would result from joint German and French participation in the crusade.²²⁰

It was for this reason perhaps more than any other that Eugene welcomed a diversion of the German forces against the Slavs.²²¹ There appears to be no evidence that this idea originated with Bernard,²²² although he was present at the diet of Frankfort in March, when the plan was probably first suggested. It may have come from the Saxon princes and prelates,²²³ possibly from Anselm of Havelberg himself. There can be no question that there was a large measure of self-interest in the proposal; but to stress this motive to the exclusion of all others is as mistaken as to deny it altogether. These men both sought and valued ecclesiastical support and approbation of their campaign.

The papal curia had since the eleventh century repeatedly asserted its interest in the eastward expansion of Germany.²²⁴ Especially in the second quarter of the twelfth century it attempted to exert an increasing control over German affairs by

²²⁰ Most modern scholars agree that this fact played an important part in the failure of the crusade: Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 95-6; Vasiliev, *History* (n. 52), 419-22; Bernhardt, *Konrad* (n. 1), 532-3; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 357; Peter Rassow, *Honor Imperii. Die neue Politik Friedrich Barbarossas 1152-1159* (Munich-Berlin 1940), 26. The division of responsibility is not, however, quite as easy as Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 174), II, 433, suggests: 'À la distance où nous sommes de ces événements, il est facile de les juger avec impartialité et d'établir exactement la part de responsabilité qui revient à chacun des auteurs de la seconde croisade.'

²²¹ See Appendix B.

²²² Bernard's letter for the Wendish Crusade, *Ep.* 457, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 432-3 (see n. 172) appears to have been written after *Divina dispensatione* (II). On this important point I disagree with Hüffer, 'Anfänge' (n. 167), 427 n.1; Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 265; Artler, 'Zusammensetzung' (n. 60), 314; Bündung, *Imperium* (n. 60), 37-40, and others who hold that this letter preceded the papal bull. Several reasons indicate the opposite. In the first place, it seems highly improbable, in view of Bernard's extreme deference in taking up the preaching of the crusade, that he would here have taken upon himself the authority to change the original concept and especially to grant full indulgence to these new crusaders. Secondly, the language of this letter suggests that it is subsequent at least to the diet of Frankfort. 'Quia enim verbum hoc crucis parvitati nostrae Dominus evangelizandum commisit, consilio domini regis et episcoporum et principum, qui convenerant Frankonovort, denuntiamus ... Placuit autem omnibus in Frankenevort congregatis, quatenus ...' (433). The 'Dominus' here may indeed refer to the pope; and in any case, since the diet lasted until late March (Bernhardt, *Konrad* [n. 1], 545f.), Bernard can hardly have written his letter before then. There is in the third place some evidence that Bernard sent with each of his letters a copy of the papal crusading bull: see n. 247. If this supposition is correct, he could not have sent letter 457 before Eugene had issued the relevant bull, *Divina dispensatione* (II).

²²³ Volk, *Kreuzzugsidee* (n. 68), 41-2.

²²⁴ Friedrich Baethgen, 'Die Kurie und der Osten im Mittelalter', in *Deutsche Ostforschungen* (n. 65), 310-30. After the investiture controversy, Baethgen says (330), the curia 'versuchte, im Osten sich unabhängig vom Reich ihre eigene Machtposition zu schaffen ...'.

means of frequent *legati a latere*.²²⁵ Eugene III gave a new and more powerful character to this policy in his bull of 11 April,²²⁶ which states in definite terms the religious nature and papal direction of the expedition. Although he had had no hand in its initiation, therefore, the pope lost no time in incorporating this energy into the wider effort and in so doing made a significant contribution not only to the future of the 'Drang nach Osten'²²⁷ but also the character of the second crusade.

Divina dispensatione (II) also includes a significant reference to the campaign against the Muslims in Spain. This information may have come through Genoa or Savoy, or perhaps from St Bernard, who was in 1147 probably in touch with Catalonia and Portugal.²²⁸ There is, however, evidence that the pope took an independent interest in the Spanish reconquest, although no papal letters to this effect are known from the years 1146-7, when it can only be surmised from certain Spanish charters that the curia was in correspondence with the court of Alfonso VII.²²⁹ But in April 1148 Eugene wrote from Langres to Alfonso saying that 'we gladly granted your requests to make an expedition against the tyranny of the

²²⁵ Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 219), IV, 160-1, listing (160 n.7) the papal legates in Germany from c. 1125 to 1150.

²²⁶ Baethgen, 'Kurie' (n. 224), 324: 'Hatte er früher der Ostmission nur aus der Ferne seinen Segen gespendet, so nahm er jetzt ihre Leitung in die eigenen Hände.' Eugene was also more active than his predecessors in taking German monasteries under papal protection: see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 219), IV, 165. See also Wilhelm Reichert, *Das Verhältnis Papst Eugens III. zu den Klöstern* (Diss. Greifswald 1912).

²²⁷ Baethgen, 'Kurie' (n. 224), 324-5: 'Damit hatte das Prinzip der gewaltsamen Bekehrung in der Ostmission Eingang gefunden ...'; but care should be taken not to overestimate the extent of ecclesiastical concern for this movement.

²²⁸ See pp. 260-2 above.

²²⁹ *España sagrada*, XXXVI, excii-iv: 'Carta facta Palentiae XIII. Kalendas Martii Era MCLXXXVI quando praefatus Imperator habuit ibi colloquium ... de vocatione Domini Papae ad Concilium, et in anno quo ab eodem Imperatore capta fuit Almaria et Baeza ...'; cf. similar charters in Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História* (n. 115), 109 n.1 (document in the National Archives, Madrid, C. D. *Samos* 794-21-1) and 106 n.1. It should be noted that these charters are dated 1186 *era hispanica* (1148) and yet in the same year that Alfonso took Almaria, that is, 1185 (1147): the only explanation seems to be that, although in the *era hispanica* the number changed on January 1 (Hermann Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, 8 ed. Otto Grotefend [Hanover 1941], 14), they reckoned the year as running from Easter to Easter or March 25 to March 25 (*ibid.* 12-14; Reginald Lane Poole, 'The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages', in *idem*, *Studies in Chronology and History* [Oxford 1934], 1-27). In any case, the papal letters must have arrived in 1147. I can find no reference in *España sagrada* or Gerhard Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1931) to a council attended by a papal legate at Burgos in 1146, which Schramm, 'Königtum' (n. 3), 111 mentions. He may be referring to the Burgos council of 1136, which was attended by cardinal Guido (*España sagrada*, XXVI, 438-40; Rassow, 'Confradía' [n. 92], 212-13).

infidels.²³⁰ Clearly at some time before this Alfonso had asked the pope to approve his plans for a crusade.

Papal concern for the expulsion of the Muslims from Spain dates back at least to the time of Alexander II and Gregory VII, who in 1074 planned a Christian campaign in Spain.²³¹ Following this example, Urban II, at the time of the first crusade, issued a bull urging the Spaniards to direct their crusading energies against the Saracens at home.²³² Both in this bull and in one of Pascal II some ten years later,²³³ these expeditions in Spain were regarded not only as complementary but also as equal, on a spiritual basis, to the campaigns against the Muslims in the Holy Land.²³⁴

Gelasius II, Calixtus II, Lucius II, and, through their legates, Honorius II and Innocent II, all displayed an active interest in the reconquest,²³⁵ and Eugene III was

²³⁰ *PL*, CLXXX, 1345-6 (JL 9255). See Paul Kehr, 'Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat bis zum Vereinigung mit Aragon', *Abh. der preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1926, no. 1, 62; Erdmann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke' (n. 49), 32; Cartellieri, *Vorrrang* (n. 37), 379; Schramm, 'Königtum' (n. 3), 112.

²³¹ *Epistolae pont. rom.* (n. 200), 43, no. 82; see Erdmann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke' (n. 49), 28; idem, *Idea of Crusade*, 314-18; Lecler, 'L'idée' (n. 219), 48-54; Paulus, *Geschichte* (n. 179), I, 195-8; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 195-8; Benito Ruana, 'España' (n. 119), 111-14; Runciman, *History* (n. 1), I, 90-1.

²³² Paul Kehr, *PU in Spanien* (n. 186), I, 287-8, no. 23.

²³³ *PL*, CLXIII, 45 (JL 5840); Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 197; Paulus, *Geschichte* (n. 179), I, 197: 14 Oct. 1100. See also Pascal's other bulls (JL 5863 and 6485) for the reconquest on the Iberian peninsula: Paulus, *Geschichte*, I, 197.

²³⁴ Bridrey, *Condition* (n. 161), 30-2; Ernst Schlée, *Die Päpste und die Kreuzzüge* (Halle 1893), 44-5, 49; Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 59; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 197-201; see n. 49. So the charter which reestablished the order of Belchite in 1136 promised complete remission of sins to all who joined the order. In addition, 'Qui vero ibidem deo per annum servire voluerit, eandem quam si Jherusalem tenderet, remissionem assequatur. ... Simili autem remissione sepulchrum domni de captivitate ereptum est et Maiorica et Cesaraugusta et alie, et similiter deo annuente iter Jherusalemitanum ab hac parte aperietur et ecclesia dei, que adhuc sub captivitate ancilla tenetur, libera efficietur.' Rassow, 'Confradía' (n. 92), 224-5.

²³⁵ Gelasius II, apparently following now-lost documents of Urban II, issued two bulls for the Spanish reconquest: JL 6636 (*PL*, CLXIII, 489-91) and 6665 (*PL*, CLXIII, 508); see Paulus, *Geschichte* (n. 179), I, 197; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 201. In the second of these, Gelasius not only freed 'a suorum vinculis peccatorum' anyone who with a contrite heart died for the recovery of Saragossa but also assigned to the discretion of the provincial bishops the indulgence to be granted to those who simply joined this enterprise or even aided in the rebuilding of the church or the support of the clergy. For Calixtus II, see n. 137 and Paulus, *Geschichte* (n. 179), I, 197-8. Lucius II in 1144 reissued the bull of Urban II and Gelasius II for the reconquest of Tarragona: Kehr, *PU in Spanien* (n. 186), I, 320-2, no. 53; and when it was recovered, Tarragona was held by the count of Barcelona as a papal fief: Edward W. Watson, 'The Development of Ecclesiastical Organisation and its Financial Basis', in *Cambridge Medieval History* (n. 60), VI, 555. A synod called at Compostela in

in no way behind his predecessors in this respect. The original issue of *Quantum predecessores* may in fact have been based upon some of the earlier crusading bulls for Spain. In May 1145, he reissued a bull of Urban II, Gelasius II, and Lucius II for the recovery of Tarragona, 'for the reconquest of which our predecessors are known to have labored greatly'.²³⁶ In the same year he urged the faithful to assist the Templars in Spain.²³⁷ In 1152, he issued a bull, addressed to all Christians, in which he granted the usual crusading privileges to all who 'go with the noble count Ramon of Barcelona for the defense of the Christian faith and of the entire holy church'.²³⁸ Finally, there is the fact that the pope specifically called upon the Genoese to join the campaign in Spain in 1147.²³⁹

This evidence can leave no doubt of the interest shown by Eugene III in the Spanish campaigns. It has frequently been asserted that he in fact issued a crusading bull for the expedition against Tortosa, and it would certainly not have been inconsistent with his policy to have done so.²⁴⁰ During the fifth decade of the twelfth century the curia maintained a close connection with Portugal. Alfonso Henriques in 1143 placed himself under the special protection of the papacy;²⁴¹ and

1125 by Diego Gelmirez, the legate of Honorius II, granted full indulgence to crusaders in Spain: *España sagrada*, XX, 427-30; Paulus, *Geschichte* (n. 179), I, 198; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 206. The papal legate Guido of SS Cosmas and Damian was present at the council of Burgos (1136), which promised remission of sins to members of the order of Belchite (see nn. 229, 234), and he presided at the fifth council of Gerona (1143) when Ramon Berenger made his great grant to the Templars (see p. 248 above; Säbekow, *Legationen* [n. 229], 46).

²³⁶ Kehr, *PU in Spanien* (n. 186), I, 322-4, no. 54. It is interesting for the method by which Eugene composed his crusading bulls that in this one he followed word for word not the most recent issue of this bull by Lucius II but that of Gelasius II (see n. 235).

²³⁷ See n. 186.

²³⁸ *Colección* (n. 99), 314-15, no. 128 (JL 9594). This bull, undated by Bofarull, may have been taken for a bull of 1146/7 (see n. 240). It was reissued by Anastasius IV: *ibid.* 320-1, no. 133; Kehr, *PU in Spanien* (n. 186), I, 346-7, no. 70.

²³⁹ See above p. 244 and n. 80; 'Regesti delle lettere pontificie riguardanti la Liguria', *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 19 (1887), 59, no. 117. A precedent for this may have been not only the Genoese participation in the first crusade but also the indulgence granted to the Pisans who attacked the Balearic Islands in 1114-15 (see n. 109): *Chron. monasterii Casinensis*, in *MGH, SS*, VII, 789; Paulus, *Geschichte* (n. 179), I, 197; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 186; Villey, *Croisade* (n. 62), 215-16; Benito Ruana, 'España' (n. 119), 113 and, cited by him, Antonio Alcover Sureda, *El Islam en Mallorca y la cruzada pisano-catalana* (Palma en Mallorca 1930).

²⁴⁰ Manrique, *Ann. cist.* (n. 80), II, 8-10 (1148, xiii); Lafuente, *Historia* (n. 107), 70; Paul Kehr, 'Das Papsttum und die Königreiche Navarra und Aragon bis zur Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts', *Abh. der preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1928 no.4, 50-1 (with no reference); Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 177; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 422. I have been unable to locate this document or to find clear evidence that it was issued, cf. n. 238.

²⁴¹ Säbekow, *Legationen* (n. 229), 47-8; Livermore, *History* (n. 37), 67-9.

the reestablishment by Eugene III of the bishoprics of Lisbon, Viseu, and Lamego was closely linked with the reconquests of 1147.²⁴² In the Iberian peninsula, therefore, as in eastern Germany, the popes were quick to bring under a certain measure of control movements which originated independently;²⁴³ and, while the separate national character was never entirely lost, this effort of church and state was now successfully incorporated into the wider effort of the crusade.²⁴⁴

St Bernard certainly addressed a crusading letter to England, probably in the summer of 1146, and there is evidence that a papal bull was there at the same time. Eugene's letter to bishop Jocelin of Salisbury, in November 1146, shows that men who had been dispossessed of their lands by king Stephen or his opponents before the preaching of the crusade had subsequently taken the cross and claimed the ecclesiastical protection granted to the property of crusaders.²⁴⁵ Since Bernard did

²⁴² *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 178-80; Carl Erdmann, 'Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte', in *Abh. der preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1928 no. 5, 34-5.

²⁴³ Of considerable interest in the history of papal direction of the crusading effort in Spain is the visit of the legate Hyacinth, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, in 1155: Säbekow, *Legationen* (n. 229), 49-51; Johannes Brixius, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130-1181* (Berlin 1912), 52. Hyacinth, later pope Celestine III, was enthusiastic for the reconquest: see his letter in Paul Kehr, *PU in Rom* (1903), no. 12, repr. *PU in Italien* (n. 186), IV, 48-9. He presided over two councils in Spain, at Valladolid and at Lerida (the first council there since its recovery). The canons of these councils (Valladolid: Erdmann, 'Papsttum und Portugal' [n. 242], 55-8; Lerida: Fernando Valls-Taberner, 'Ein Konzil zu Lerida im Jahre 1155', in *Papsttum und Kaisertum. Festschrift Paul Kehr*, ed. Albert Brackmann [Munich 1926], 364-8) closely resemble each other. Canon I is a fully developed crusading bull; it unquestionably reveals the influence of Rome, yet shows that as late as 1155 the papacy was not even in theory the only ecclesiastical authority capable of conferring the spiritual and temporal benefits of a crusade: see the bull of Gelasius II (n. 235); cf. Villey, *Croisade* (n. 68), 100-1.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Ernst Kantorowicz, 'Pro patria mori in Medieval Political Thought' (1951), repr. in idem, *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley 1965), 313 n.22, who says that 'In Spain the whole development [of the crusade] was different in so far as crusading idea and national idea or patriotism coincided'; see Erdmann, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke' (n. 49), 23-4; idem, *Idea of Crusade*, 97-9, 289-90; cf. n. 49.

²⁴⁵ 'For those men, moreover, whom our beloved son S[tephen] illustrious king of the English or his adversaries disinherited on the occasion of the war held for the realm before they took the cross, we are not willing that ecclesiastical justice should be exercised,' *Epistolae pont. rom.* (n. 200), 103-4, no. 199. For the names of some of the more important English crusaders, see *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 5-6 (to David's citations for William of Warenne may be added *Chron. of Melrose* [n. 70], 23); Heinrich Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1899), 357 n.2. David regards the response in England as slight (*De exp. Lyx.* [n. 15], 3-12), whereas Böhmer, *Kirche*, 357 (see also 407), says that as a result of the crusade the number of fighters in the English civil war was sensibly diminished, and the war therefore took on a new character. For Scots on the crusade, see *De exp. Lyx.* (n. 15), 106; Rassow, 'Kanzlei' (n. 45), 269-70.

not mention this privilege in his letter, it was presumably known in England from a papal crusading bull. A copy may have been sent by Bernard with his letter, but the fact that the bishop of Salisbury addressed his enquiries to the pope shows that Eugene himself took an active part in the organization of the crusade.

That copies of the crusading bulls were sent elsewhere is known from narrative sources, which reveal that papal letters reached Denmark, Tournai, the monastery of Lobbes in the Low Countries, the count of Flanders, and bishop Arnulf of Lisieux.²⁴⁶ There is in addition the evidence of the bull *Quantum predecessores* (III), issued in 1165 by pope Alexander III, who says that for the second crusade 'our predecessor of holy memory pope Eugene sent exhortatory letters throughout the various parts of the earth'.²⁴⁷

Eugene promoted the crusade not only by his letters but also by his personal activity. Of this there is little evidence, but a few references suggest that it was not unimportant. Until early in 1147 he was occupied in Italy and probably had little opportunity to preach the crusade in person. At that time, however, he started northwards to France. No pressing political need, as has been suggested, forced him to leave Italy; and it is probable, as Reginald Lane Poole said, that 'his primary motive for visiting France was that he might preside over the preparations for the second crusade'.²⁴⁸ At Vico d'Elsa, not far from Siena, in January 1147, he conferred a privilege on the abbey of St Rufus (near Avignon) in a bull addressed to the abbot

²⁴⁶ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XIV, 3, 5, ed. Olrik/Raeder/Blatt (n. 58), I, 376; Herman (abbot of St Martin) of Tournai, *Narratio restaurationis abbatis S. Martini Tornacensis*, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium* (n. 99), II, 926; *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, in *MGH, SS*, XXI, 329; Arnulf of Lisieux, *Letters*, ed. Frank Barlow (Camden 3S 61; London 1939) 210: 'In expeditione ... Iherosolimitana ad quam me sanctus pater Eugenius destinavit invitum ...' See also the *Ann. Herbipolenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 3: 'Testes sunt huius apostolice admonitionis epistole hinc et inde per diversarum regionum ac provinciarum terminos directe et in plerisque ecclesiis ad inditium predictae expeditionis diligenter recondite.'

²⁴⁷ *PL*, CC, 383-6 (JL 11218). Cosack, 'Konrad III.' (n. 167), 279 believed that this was a purely formal expression and maintained that 'Nach diesem [zeitgenössischen] Quellenmaterial tritt in keinem Lande die offizielle Kreuzpredigt unabhängig von Bernhard auf ...' It is true that Bernard appears to have sent with each of his crusading letters a copy of the relevant papal bull: see the evidence cited *ibid.* 279 n.6, to which may be added the fact that in *Clm* 22201, which was written at Windberg in 1165 (cf. Hüffer, 'Anfänge' [n. 163], 411), Bernard's *Ep.* 363 is preceded by *Quantum predecessores*. The foregoing evidence, however, indicates that Eugene sent at least some copies of his crusading bulls directly and independently.

²⁴⁸ Reginald L. Poole, in John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis* (Oxford 1927), intro. xii.

N.²⁴⁹ This was presumably Nicholas Breakspear,²⁵⁰ who in 1149 became cardinal bishop of Albano and five years later was elevated to the papacy as Adrian IV. He seems to have accompanied the legate, archbishop William of Arles, to Spain in 1140,²⁵¹ and was there again in 1148-9, since in writing to Nicholas, by that time pope, in 1156, count Ramon Berenger said that 'in the acquisition of Lerida and of the church of Tortosa you saw our labor and sweat in part with your own eyes.'²⁵² It does not seem fanciful to connect the meeting of Nicholas and the pope in 1147 with his presence during the following year among the Spanish crusaders, to whom he acted perhaps as an unofficial legate.

By 7 March, Eugene was at Susa;²⁵³ and on the following day, 'in the presence of pope Eugene', Amadeus III of Savoy received, in return for a confirmation of the privileges of San Giusto di Susa, 11,000 Susian solidi in order to pay the costs of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to which he was, he says, 'advised and instructed by the most blessed lord pope Eugene'.²⁵⁴ It seems that Bernard also urged Amadeus to join the crusade,²⁵⁵ but this passage shows that his participation was principally the result of the personal intervention of Eugene III. That the pope preached the crusade in France is clear from the works of Odo of Deuil and of the

²⁴⁹ JL 8999 (not 8998 as cited by Poole, 'The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear', in *Studies* [n. 229], 294 n.4).

²⁵⁰ Ibid. 294. Kehr, *PU in Spanien* (n. 186), I, 331-2, no. 60, prints a bull dated from St Peter's on 12 Dec. and addressed to 'Ni. abbati ecclesie Sancti Rufi'. Kehr assigns this document to 1152, which would throw into confusion the slight knowledge gathered by Poole concerning the early career of Nicholas Breakspear. Nicholas became cardinal bishop of Albano by 16 December 1149 at the latest (Brixius, *Mitglieder* [n. 243], 56; JL II, 20, shows him as subscribing from 30 January 1150), and this bull would indicate that his successor at St Rufus also bore the name of Nicholas unless, that is, it may be dated 12 December 1149, when Eugene was certainly in Rome (JL 9359-9363) and presumably also Nicholas (see above). This bull may therefore be the last grant made to Nicholas as abbot of St Rufus. As Adrian IV, in any case, Nicholas Breakspear is known to have taken an interest in Spanish affairs: Kehr, *Papsttum* (n. 240), 51.

²⁵¹ Joachim Lorenzo Villanueva (continued by Jaime Villanueva), *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, 22 vols (Madrid 1803-52), XI (1850), 199-200; Säbekow, *Legationen* (n. 229), 45.

²⁵² Kehr, 'Katalanische Prinzipat' (n. 230), 90-1; idem, 'Navarra' (n. 240), 51.

²⁵³ JL 9009; Previté Orton, *Savoy* (n. 9), 309.

²⁵⁴ *Regesta comitum Sabaudiae*, ed. Domenico Carutti (Bibliotheca storica Italiana 5; Turin 1889), 105-6, no. ccxciv; Previté Orton, *Savoy* (n. 9), 309 n.3. Cipolla cast doubt on this charter, but Previté Orton, 197 n.2 and 309 n.3, says that 'It is hard to see what part of the contents is not genuine.'

²⁵⁵ *Petit cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sulpice en Bugey*, ed. Marie-Claude Guigue (Lyons 1884), 2; Previté Orton, *Savoy* (n. 9), 309-10; *Regesta com. Sab.* (n. 254), 105, no. ccxcii.

monk William of St Denis, who says that at Paris Eugene granted his 'blessing and licence of pilgrimage'.²⁵⁶

Finally, where he could not supervise the preparation and organization of the crusade in person, the pope did so by means of his legates. To the armies going to the Holy Land, he sent 'Theodwin [cardinal] bishop of Santa Rufina and Guido cardinal priest of San Chrysogonus, prudent indeed and honest men, ... who may keep those men in concord and love and watch for their salvation both in spiritual and in temporal matters, with God's aid.'²⁵⁷ John of Salisbury, however, who probably knew them both, regarded them as 'good men indeed but not suitable for such a position', both on account of their characters and because neither was familiar with the French language – one was German and the other Florentine.²⁵⁸ Perhaps for this reason Eugene seems to have chosen in addition two French bishops, Arnulf of Lisieux and Godfrey of Langres, 'who were to journey with the said king [Louis] to Jerusalem and acted in [the pope's] place in the government of the Christian people'.²⁵⁹ John of Salisbury bitterly disliked these bishops, of whom he says that 'they boasted that they held the papal legation in the army, although they had not received this power, [and] were so quarrelsome that they hardly ever agreed in any advice'.²⁶⁰ But they may in fact have held a limited legation for the French army and have been appointed at the suggestion of St Bernard, since Godfrey was a former prior of Clairvaux and Arnulf an ancient protégé of Bernard. Bishop Alvis of Arras seems also to have held a papal commission, for the historian of the monastery of Anchin says of him that 'by the order of the lord pope Eugene [he was] made father and pastor of the entire army on the journey to Jerusalem'.²⁶¹ He died en route. Perhaps the pope hoped to

²⁵⁶ Wilmart, 'Dialogue' (n. 130), 103; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, ed. Berry (n. 9), 14-16; cf. *Chron. Mauriniacensis*, in *RHGF*, XII, 88. Odo here mentions that 'Affluent multi multarum partium utrique miraculo, videlicet regi et apostolico peregrinis'; and it is not impossible that Eugene put on a pilgrim's costume in order to symbolize his spiritual participation in the crusade.

²⁵⁷ *PL*, CLXXX, 1251-2 (JL 9095). See Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 104-6; Brixius, *Mitglieder* (n. 243), 43, 47; Johannes Bachmann, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Skandinavien 1125-59* (Historische Studien, ed. E. Ebering 115; Berlin 1913), 80-3.

²⁵⁸ John of Salisbury, *Hist. pontif.*, 24, ed. Poole (n. 248), 55; ed. Marjorie Chibnall (OMT; London-Edinburgh 1956), 55.

²⁵⁹ *Anonymi vera narratio foundationis prioratus Sanctae Barbarae*, in *RHGF*, XIV, 502. On Godfrey's part in the crusade, see Hermann Wurm, *Gottfried, Bischof von Langres* (Würzburg 1886), 16-34; Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 107-8; Georges Drioux, 'Geoffroi de La Roche, évêque de Langres, et la seconde croisade', *Cahiers Hautmarnais* (1948), 166-72 (not seen). On Arnulf in the crusade, see Barlow, in Arnulf of Lisieux, *Letters* (n. 246), intro. xxv-vii.

²⁶⁰ John of Salisbury, *Hist. pontif.*, 24, ed. Poole (n. 248), 55; ed. Chibnall (n. 258), 54.

²⁶¹ *Historia monasterii Aquicinctini*, in *MGH, SS*, XIV, 588.

control the crusade through this plethora of legates.²⁶² The result, in fact, seems to have been disastrous confusion.

Eugene originally planned that bishop Henry of Olmütz should accompany the army of Conrad III and in July 1147 wrote to him that:

since we trust greatly in your affection and know that the policy of the king [Conrad III] depends greatly on your advice and opinion, we instruct your solicitude that you strive in all ways to urge [and] to advise the king that he should labor for the honor and exaltation of his mother the holy Roman church and to unite the church of Constantinople to her.²⁶³

Conrad was brother-in-law to the emperor Manuel, and Eugene clearly hoped that ecclesiastical union might be achieved by this means.²⁶⁴ This plan was, however, not so closely linked to the crusade in the mind of Eugene as it had been in the mind of Urban II.²⁶⁵ Perhaps, as Norden suggests, Eugene feared that by stressing the issue of ecclesiastical union he would supply fuel to the anti-Greek fires of the papal enemy Roger of Sicily, who might have attacked the Byzantine empire on the pretext of serving Rome.²⁶⁶ In any case, when Henry of Olmütz decided to join the Wendish crusade, Eugene does not seem to have entrusted this mission to anyone else.²⁶⁷ He wrote that he doubted if any progress could be made towards union by Conrad in Henry's absence; but he approved the bishop's decision and asked

²⁶² On the duties of these legates, see Schlée, *Päpste* (n. 234), 19-23. Ohnsorge, 'Beitrag' (n. 211), 380 suggests that they were sent at the desire of the emperor Manuel, who in his letter of March 1147 asked the pope to send a cardinal with the French army. The example of the first crusade, moreover, established a precedent for appointing a legate for the crusading army.

²⁶³ *PL*, CLXXX, 1251-2 (JL 9095). It appears surprising that Eugene did not select for this purpose Anselm of Havelberg, who had in 1136 debated at Constantinople with Nicetas of Nicomedia concerning the union of the churches: see Johannes Dräseke, 'Bischof Anselm von Havelberg und seine Gesandtschaftsreisen nach Byzanz', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 21 (1900), 160-85; Louis Bréhier, 'Attempts at Reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches', in *Cambridge Medieval History* (n. 60), IV, 600; Georg Schreiber, 'Anselm von Havelberg und die Ostkirche', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 60 (3F 11; 1941), 357-62; Jay T. Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 79; Leiden-New York-Cologne 1998), 40-7. Anselm had an exceptional understanding of the differences between the Greeks and the Latins. He met Eugene III at Tusculum in 1149 (not 1145, as in D'Achéry, *Spicilegium* [n. 99], I, 161) and wrote for the pope his *Dialogorum libri III* about his discussions with Nicetas: *ibid.* I, 161-207; see Dräseke, *Anselm*, 167-8.

²⁶⁴ Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin 1903), 77-82.

²⁶⁵ Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 36-7, 58-9; Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 322-5.

²⁶⁶ Norden, *Papsttum* (n. 264), 83-4.

²⁶⁷ Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 59; Norden, *Papsttum* (n. 264), 83.

him to send news of the progress of the Wendish crusade.²⁶⁸ The official legate to this campaign was, however, Anselm of Havelberg, whose duties for these armies were much the same as those of Theodwin and Guido for the armies of Conrad and Louis.²⁶⁹ The pope also instructed Wibald of Stavelot to join this expedition.²⁷⁰ More perhaps than any of Eugene's explicit statements, these instructions to three prominent ecclesiastics are clear evidence of his interest in the Wendish crusade and of his determination to bring it under ecclesiastical control and to turn it to religious ends.

The policy of pope Eugene is therefore an essential clue to understanding the contemporary plan and theory of the second crusade. The sources examined earlier on in this chapter under the heading 'Military Scope and Popular Motives' reveal the underlying salvatory character of most of the expeditions of 1147-8 and show that in the minds of many contemporaries these campaigns were regarded as parts of a whole, a concerted effort against Islam and paganism by one Christian 'pilgrim army'. The sources and documents just discussed confirm this interpretation of the second crusade from another point of view. However narrow the concept and fortuitous the policy of Eugene III and the curia in their origins and development, however much they made use of movements which originated outside the church, it is clear that by the spring of 1147 they viewed and planned the crusade not simply as one campaign against the Muslims in the Holy Land but as a general Christian offensive, and had incorporated into this plan practically every major military expedition against non-Christians of these years. The means of this incorporation was essentially the papal power of indulgence and remission of sins and penance, and this power was exercised through the instrumentality of papal bulls. In the crusading bulls of Eugene III the concept of the papal crusading indulgence was developed in its classic form, and around it there began to crystallize an institutional concept of temporal privileges and military regulations that exerted its influence on Christian thought throughout the middle ages.

The Reaction to the Failure

The disastrous defeat of the Christian army became known in the west probably before the end of 1147.²⁷¹ 'The lamenting rumor sounded within Gaul' says Geoffrey of Auxerre,²⁷² and thus found its way into the annals and chronicles. Least successful of all was the great crusade to the east, where the Muslims were

²⁶⁸ *PL*, CLXXX, 1262 (JL 9110). Henry of Olmütz was one of the most important papalist bishops in the empire, to whom Eugene addressed JL 9296 and 9325.

²⁶⁹ See p. 279 above.

²⁷⁰ See Appendix B.

²⁷¹ Carried in letters and by deserters: see Bernhardt, *Konrad* (n. 1), 643 and n. 27.

²⁷² Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita Bernardi*, IV, 10, in Bernard, ed. Mabillon, II.2, 2197A.

exultant,²⁷³ and on the failures there most of the chroniclers concentrate their attention.²⁷⁴

It has been seen earlier that in the writings of Odo of Deuil and Otto of Freising there are found two opposite explanations of the failure of the crusade in the east. The former presents rational reasons for the disasters – the hostility of the Greeks and Turks and the difficulties of the route²⁷⁵ – whereas the latter ascribes the failure purely to human sin and to the obscure workings of the ways of God. For the most part, the reactions of contemporaries lay somewhere between these natural and supernatural explanations.

Very few writers attributed this great Christian catastrophe entirely to inexplicable divine will. Such reasoning is an act of exceptional faith in any age; and it is not surprising that the two principal representatives of this supernatural position were Otto of Freising and Bernard of Clairvaux, both Cistercians and both men of great spiritual fortitude. The reaction of Otto has already been discussed.²⁷⁶ Although he suggests that perhaps the sins of men aroused God's anger, fundamentally he can find no reason for the failure of the enterprise, the product of the co-operation of the finest spirits in Christendom, other than the inscrutable but ever good will of the Almighty.

On St Bernard fell the brunt of the popular disappointment and disillusion at the failure of the crusade, in so far as this resentment fell on any one man. For the majority of western Christians he had been the prime mover of these campaigns; many miracles, also, had seemed to confirm God's favor and interest in his work.²⁷⁷ For this reason, as his friend and biographer Geoffrey says, 'either the simplicity or the malignity of certain men raised a great scandal against him because of his preaching of the journey to Jerusalem.'²⁷⁸ Geoffrey goes on to emphasize, by way

²⁷³ *Notae Pisanae*, in *MGH, SS*, XIX, 266: 'Unde gens paganorum magnam habuerunt baldansa et letitia, christiani tristitia.' Cf. Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 212-13.

²⁷⁴ On the attitude of contemporaries to the failure of the crusade, see the brief remarks, mostly on the reaction against the Cistercians, in Röhricht, 'Kreuzpredigten' (n. 183), 555-6; idem, *Beiträge* (n. 9), II, 79, 102-3 nn.90-1; Hirsch, *Studien* (n. 13), 55-6; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 129), IV, 895-6; Cramer, 'Kreuzpredigt' (n. 44), 46, 53-4; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 379-80; Flahiff, 'Deus non vult' (n. 201), 162-79; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985).

²⁷⁵ Odo, it is true, believed that God was with the expedition, the failure of which must be in accord with His inscrutable will: cf. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, ed. Berry (n. 9), xxvi; but he always concentrated on the human and natural causes of the calamities. The fact that he hoped for revenge on the Greeks shows that he did not regard the failure as a divine punishment.

²⁷⁶ See above, p. 236. Otto knew Bernard's *De consideratione*: Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, I, 65, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 93.

²⁷⁷ On Bernard's miracles in connection with his crusading activity, see Hüffer, *Bernhard* (n. 167), 96-9.

²⁷⁸ Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita Bernardi*, IV, 9, in Bernard, ed. Mabillon, II.2, 2195-6A; cf. the life by Alan, who says that 'quidam minus intelligentes scandalizati fuerunt', ibid.

of excuse, that this preaching was undertaken only at the express command of the pope and the urging of Louis VII.

Bernard himself disdained such justifications as these in the two passages where he deals with the problem, in the letter to his uncle Andrew, a Templar, and at the beginning of the second book of his treatise *De consideratione*.²⁷⁹ Never for one instant did his complete faith in God and in himself as the instrument of God's will falter; and he gladly took the blame on his own shoulders. Citing scripture at every turn, he emphasizes that the ways of the Lord are indeed obscure and deep, and yet His judgments are always not only just but also merciful. This the history of mankind reveals. Again and again he repeats that God's promises can never compromise His righteousness. In so doing Bernard turns the tables on his critics and flings their reproaches back in their own teeth. Who are you, he seems to ask, of little faith, who dare to criticize what you cannot possibly understand? Yet, he says in his letter to Andrew, it is the supreme example of God's mercy and patience that He does not reject these impious men. 'You do well, comparing yourself to an ant,' he says, citing Psalm 48.3, 'For what else than ants are we sons of men, born of the earth and sweating for useless and empty things? ... The reward of our warfare is not of [this] earth, not from below; far and from the uttermost coasts is its prize' (cf. Proverbs 31.10).²⁸⁰

This stern and uncompromising theory was strong meat, fit food for a St Bernard or an Otto of Freising, also, perhaps, for Eugene III, whose letter of condolence to Conrad III²⁸¹ was clearly written under the influence of Bernard's ideas. For lesser spirits, however, it was indigestible; and other writers found various compromises by which they preserved their belief in the supernatural causes of the failure of the crusade without putting such a severe strain on their faith.

Among the most remarkable of these positions is that occupied by Gerhoh of Reichersberg and by the author of the *Annales Herbipolenses* (of Würzburg).²⁸² They in effect took the opposite viewpoint to that of St Bernard and boldly asserted

2464CD. See Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 146-7; Fechner, *Theorien* (n. 170), 63.

²⁷⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 288, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 203-4; *De consideratione*, II, 1-4, ed. Leclercq, III, 410-13. Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 148, suggests that Bernard's principal defense against this criticism was to throw the responsibility for the crusade onto Eugene III and Louis VII. This, perhaps, was his defense against the charge that he had preached the crusade without authorization (see Appendix A); but fundamentally, as he emphasizes in *De consideratione*, both the pope and he himself obeyed a divine mandate in this matter. Rousset's assumption in *Origines* (n. 8), 159, that Bernard implicitly suggested that 'les croisés sont donc eux-mêmes la cause de leur défaite' is not justified by the text of *De consideratione*, nor by the general tenor of Bernard's crusading thought. Cf. also Flahiff, 'Deus non vult' (n. 201), 164 n.12.

²⁸⁰ Bernard, *Ep.* 288.1, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 203-9.

²⁸¹ *PL*, CLXXX, 1393 (JL 9344); Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, I, 66, ed. Waitz (n. 30), 94-5.

²⁸² Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 31-6; Manitius, *Geschichte* (n. 30), III, 427.

that the whole enterprise was from the start the work of the Devil. 'God permitted,' begins the account of the crusade in the *Annales Herbipolenses*, 'that the western church be afflicted, since its sins required [this punishment]. Thereupon, certain pseudo-prophets were in power, sons of Belial, heads of Anti-Christ, who by stupid words misled the Christians and by empty preaching induced all sorts of men to go against the Saracens for the freeing of Jerusalem.'²⁸³ And they continue in this vein: the crusade was a revolt inspired by the Devil against the righteous punishment of God. Small wonder, therefore, that it ended in disastrous failure. Gerhoh of Reichersberg is less explicit, but he treats the crusade under the general heading of *Libri tres de investigatione Antichristi*,²⁸⁴ in which he bitterly attacks the prevailing conditions in the church of Rome.

Neither of these authors strictly maintains an attitude of utter condemnation. They include much purely descriptive material, often of considerable factual importance. These writers were not crabbed, ill-informed, or out-of-touch with the main line of development of crusading theory. Gerhoh was provost of an important monastery and in frequent correspondence with the pope, with whom he was on excellent terms.²⁸⁵ The annalist of Würzburg incorporated valuable first-hand material into his account, since not only did he himself presumably witness the passage of the crusader armies through Würzburg, but he also specifically says that he met many returned soldiers who had been captured by the Turks in Asia Minor and later released.²⁸⁶ Nor were these two isolated in their attitude, of which

²⁸³ *Ann. Herbipolenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 3; cf. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 129), IV, 896.

²⁸⁴ Gerhoh, ed. Scheibelberger (n. 163), 139-46, 151-8, and in *MGH, Libelli*, III, 374-8, 380-4. In some respects Gerhoh seems to have depended upon the *Ann. Herbipolenses*. See also his less virulent criticism of the crusade in his *Commentarius* on Ps. 39, ed. Pez (n. 151), 794, and in the *Ann. Reicherspergensis*, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, 461-4.

²⁸⁵ JL 8914: 4 May 1146 (*Germania Pontificia*, ed. Albert Brackmann, I [Berlin 1911], 194-5; Reichersberg no. 16) and JL 8922: 16 May 1146 (ibid. 195-6, no. 17), where the pope says to Gerhoh that 'fervorem tuae religionis ex earum [litterarum] inspectione manifeste cognovimus ... et devotionem tuam in Domino collaudamus', in *PL*, CLXXX, 1139; see Hüffer, *Bernhard* (n. 167), 201, and especially Konrad Sturmhoefel, 'Der geschichtliche Inhalt von Gerhohs von Reichersberg 1. Buche über die Erforschung des Antichrists', *Jahresbericht der Thomasschule in Leipzig für das Schuljahr 1886-7* (Programm no. 504; Leipzig 1887), I, 3, who (11f.) examined Gerhoh's account of the crusade and points out that in spite of his prejudice and frequent untrustworthiness, he includes some material presumably based upon eyewitness reports, although his real importance for the historian of the second crusade lies in his distinctive attitude.

²⁸⁶ *Ann. Herbipolenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 5. The Armenians seem to have been instrumental in ransoming crusaders taken prisoner by the Turks, see *Casus mon. Petrishusensis*, ed. Feger (n. 66), 228; *De s. Ernesto abbate Zwifaltensi*, in *AASS*, 7 November III, 612, 617. I have been unable to consult the *Vetus de s. Ernesto documentum*, which is analyzed by Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 10.

they were only the most extreme examples.²⁸⁷ It should also be noted, however, that their point of view is not cynical and has none of the secular scepticism of the thirteenth-century 'crusader's song':

Ire si vis ad sermonem
Cave, precor, Ciceronem
Ne per verbi rationem
Reddat crucis te prisonem.²⁸⁸

On the contrary, the explanation of the failure of the crusade advanced by Gerhoh and the Würzburg annalist was in its way no less boldly convinced or less spiritual than that of Bernard of Clairvaux.

It is interesting that Bernard seems never to have considered accompanying the crusading armies in person. When, during his preaching of a new crusade in 1150, at Chartres, he was almost elected general and leader of the expedition, Bernard wrote to the pope, 'What [is] so remote from my profession, even if my strength were sufficient, even if the skill were not lacking?'²⁸⁹ Cistercian monks were in fact later specifically forbidden by the general chapter to go to Jerusalem or make another pilgrimage.²⁹⁰ These regulations were based upon a fundamental Christian

²⁸⁷ See n. 278. Also in the first crusade, Ekkehard reports, many people considered the enterprise vain and frivolous: cited by Runciman, *History* (n. 1), I, 141 n.2. It is perhaps to these that an anonymous author refers when he says of the failure of the crusade (*PL*, CLV, 1098) that 'Gallia tota dolet, et ego, gens impia gaudet.' Cf. *Chron. sancti Petri Erfordensis*, in *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (*MGH, SS r.g.*; Hanover 1899), 176; *Ann. sancti Iacobi Leodiensis*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 641. An interesting document, written according to Heinemann in 1147, bewails the sad state of the church at this time when 'Satan ... tanta fortitudine catenas, quibus legatus est, concutit,' *Codex diplomaticus Anhaltinus*, ed. Otto von Heinemann, I: 936-1212 (Dessau 1867-73), 252-4, no. 336. In view of this evidence, Flahiff, 'Deus non vult' (n. 201), 165-6, may overestimate the novelty of the opposition of Ralph Niger, writing in 1189, to the idea of crusading. Cf. n. 291.

²⁸⁸ Heinz Pflaum, 'A Strange Crusader's Song', *Speculum* 10 (1935), 337-9. Since it is written in a thirteenth-century hand, I see no reason to agree with Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 343, that it applies to the second crusade. For anti-crusading songs in the vernacular, see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 129), IV, 898.

²⁸⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 256.4, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 165.

²⁹⁰ Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 8-10, cited the statute of the general chapter in 1157/79 that monks 'qui de ordine exeunt [ita] ut Ierusalymam eant vel aliam peregrinationem aliorum faciant ... sine omni personarum acceptione de domibus propriis amoti, mittantur in alias domos ordinis perpetuo, numquam reversuri': *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Brecht 2002), 600, no. 53. That Cistercian monks in fact joined the second crusade does not affect the general validity of this order, which was fully in accord with medieval crusading theory. Urban II forbade monks' joining the first crusade without the permission of their abbots (JL 5670); cf. Schlée,

belief in the unimportance of worldly events and upon the Cistercian principle of strict abstention from the affairs of this world. With regard to pilgrimages this spirit was expressed by St Augustine and many of the Greek fathers and found its *locus classicus* for the middle ages in Letter 58 of St Jerome, who said that 'it is praiseworthy not to have been in Jerusalem but to have lived well for Jerusalem.'²⁹¹ Bernard himself expressed a similar idea in one of his letters concerning pilgrim-monks, 'The object of monks is to seek not the earthly but the heavenly Jerusalem; and this not by proceeding with [their] feet but by progressing with [their] affections.'²⁹² In this idea that the pilgrimage and the crusade – although perhaps in themselves pious and good works – offered many opportunities for sin and were the signs of a wrong orientation in a Christian's life, as well as in the idea of the crusade as a rebellion against God's punishment of the church, lay the basis of the criticism of Gerhoh and the Würzburg annalist, who found here in addition an explanation of the failure of the crusade.

For other writers, however, there was an easier compromise. They preserved their belief that God had wrought this disaster, but to ease the strain on their faith they found an explanation for this divine punishment. Among the most exceptional of these writers was the Cistercian abbot John of Casa-Maria, who in a letter to Bernard explained his view of the failure.²⁹³ He recognized that it was God's punishment on the crusaders, who had started piously but had turned into evil ways. The Lord, however, was not to be outdone by this: 'In order that His providence in the ordering of it [the crusade] might not fail, He turned their wickedness into His mercy ...' and decreed (here John makes use of an idea from the *City of God*) that 'the host of angels who had fallen were to be replaced by those who died there [in the Holy Land],'²⁹⁴ and since He had foreseen that the

Päpste (n. 234), 48-9; Flahiff, 'Deus non vult' (n. 201), 176-7; Bridrey, *Condition* (n. 161), 50-1, who says (51) that 'quant aux moines, ils ne pourront jamais faire le voeu de croisade sans autorisation spéciale'. See also the letter of Innocent III to the bishop of Troyes, in *PL*, CCXIV, 58-61, no. 69.

²⁹¹ *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae*, in *CSEL*, LIV, 529: 'non Hierosolymis fuisse, sed Hierosolymis bene vixisse laudandum est.' Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Civilization', *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), 695-6, suggested that this should be translated 'It is not praiseworthy to have been to Jerusalem, but it is praiseworthy to have lived the good life in the [new] Jerusalem.' Cf. Augustine, *Ep.* 78, in *CSEL*, XXXIV, 331-45; idem, *Contra Faustum* 20.21, in *CSEL*, XXV, 561-5; Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom quoted by Bernhard Koetting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Forschungen zur Volkskunde 33-5; Münster 1950), 422-4. See the quotations in Pierre Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, ed. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, Reginald Ladner, 2 vols (Paris 1937), II, 25 n.66; van Cauwenbergh, *Pèlerinages* (n. 142), 16; Koetting, *Peregrinatio*, 421-6 (bibliography on 426 n.21); Runciman, *History* (n. 1), I, 40 n.1. The author of the *De imitatione Christi*, I, 23.4, wrote that 'qui nimium peregrinatur, raro sanctificatur.'

²⁹² Bernard, *Ep.* 399, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 379-80.

²⁹³ *PL*, CLXXXIII, 590-1.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. 590.

crusaders, although sinful, would be redeemed in this way. He had granted to Bernard 'the grace of preaching and laboring in this matter'.²⁹⁵ This remarkable intelligence, John says, came to him in a vision from St John and St Paul; and it was in any case an ingenious explanation to reassure the abbot of Clairvaux of his divine mandate to preach the crusade.

Other writers did not go so far. They see the failure as a punishment for the sins of the crusaders. Henry of Huntingdon, who died in 1155, is typical of this attitude. He says of the crusaders that 'their incontinence, which they practised in open fornications, and even in adulteries, ... and finally in robbery and all sorts of evils, came up before the sight of God ..., Who withdrew his favor from the armies, which consequently were defeated.' 'At the same time', however, he continues, referring to the expedition to Lisbon, 'a certain naval force not of powerful men and trusting in no great leader other than almighty God, since they set forth humbly, prospered greatly.'²⁹⁶ This general attitude was shared by many contemporaries, including the Würzburg annalist and especially Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who characteristically maintained that nothing good could be done on the crusade.²⁹⁷

This explanation of the failure depended on the idea that the grace of God, originally with the armies, was withdrawn on account of His anger at the sins of the crusaders, who were thus left without defence in a bitterly hostile environment.²⁹⁸ This view is paralleled on the positive side in the *Dialogue* of the monk William of St Denis, who attributed the individual survivals of Louis VII and certain other crusaders to the fact that divine grace was always with them.²⁹⁹

Most contemporaries, however, found no need to see the disasters of the second crusade in the light of a supernatural explanation. They were content with the natural causes, without troubling themselves with the problem of why God allowed these to overwhelm the crusade. Among these writers are found some

²⁹⁵ Ibid. See Rousset, *Origines* (n. 8), 168, on this letter, which shows the influence of Bernard's thought. Cf. Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita Bernardi*, IV, 10, in Bernard, ed. Mabillon, II.2, 2196C: 'Quod si placuit Deo tali occasione plurimorum eripere, si non orientalium corpora a paganis, occidentalium animas peccatis.'

²⁹⁶ Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.*, X, 27, ed. Greenway (n. 9), 752.

²⁹⁷ Robert of Torigny, *Chron.* (n. 6), 154; Vincent of Prague, *Ann.*, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, 663; Gislebert of Mons, *Chron. Hanoniense*, ed. Léon Vanderkindere (Brussels 1904), 92; *Vita Ludovici VII*, in *RHGF*, XII, 286; *Continuatio Gemblacensis* (Sigeberti), in *MGH, SS*, VI, 390: '... quia in hostico illo multa scelera, multa illicita et flagitiosa patrata sunt ab eis, et ob hoc ira Dei ascendente super eos, omnis conatus eorum in vacuum cessit'; *Casus mon. Petrishusensis*, 27, ed. Feger (n. 66), 224-6; William of Newburgh, *Historia Anglicana*, in *Chronicles* (n. 6), I, 66. Cf. also *Ann. Rodenses*, ed. Boeren/Panhuysen (n. 53), 96; *Vita S. Gilberti*, in *AASS*, 6 June I, 763.

²⁹⁸ See n. 297. Cf. *Ex anonymo Blandinensi appendicula ad Sigebertum usque in annum 1152*, in *RHGF*, XIV, 20: 'Sed eorum conatus fuit inanis, quia Deus non erat cum eis.'

²⁹⁹ Wilmart, 'Dialogue' (n. 130), 105-6, 109: '... Domini gratia, que, famulum suum indesinenter protegens, comes individua euntem et precedebat et subsecuta est' (106).

who emphasized non-human factors and others who emphasized primarily human actions; and in this latter group there are those who blamed men other than the crusaders and those who blamed the crusaders themselves.

Nearly all the sources on the second crusade mention at some point or other the difficulties encountered by the crusaders: the bad weather, the floods, the impassable rivers and mountains, the disease, and above all, the lack of food and water. They are too many to specify, but Odo of Deuil mentions most of them.³⁰⁰ A special group among these writers connected these natural phenomena, especially the floods and famines, with signs and portents such as comets and an eclipse of the moon.³⁰¹ Others were inclined to see in them – as indeed in the entire outcome of the crusade – the fulfillment of biblical or popular prophecies.³⁰² This was representative of the inability of these writers to see any event or circumstance in entirely naturalistic terms.

Most of the sources mention the attacks of the Saracens as one cause of the catastrophe. More interesting than these are the writers who believed that certain groups of Christians, themselves not crusaders, contributed to the defeats. The most obvious and important among these were the Greeks, whose treachery and perfidy appear constantly in the work of Odo of Deuil. Although few were as extreme in their criticism as he was, a large number of contemporaries clearly believed that the Greeks were responsible for the misfortune of the crusading armies in Asia Minor.³⁰³ Modern historians, basing their interpretation on that of Odo, have perhaps placed too much emphasis on this attitude. Otto of Freising and Conrad III, who were both in a position to know, make no reference to Greek treachery and, in fact, speak of the emperor Manuel in the warmest terms. This point of view

³⁰⁰ Cf. the poetic lament over the failure, composed c. 1150 according to the authors of the *Histoire littéraire* (n. 106), XIII, 88-90, in *PL*, CLV, 1095-8. The *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, in *MGH, SS*, XXI, 468, mentions the ‘ciborum insolentia’. Cf. the somewhat later Lambert of Ardes, *Historia*, in *MGH, SS*, XXIV, 633-4: ‘Multi enim fame, multi aeris inclementia, multi adversantium insidiis et ictibus, multi invaliditudine corporis, multi qualicumque infirmitate correpti, interierunt. Inter quos et pater meus non, ut mentiuntur quidam, fame deperiit, sed invaliditudine corporis debilitatus et totis viribus destitutus, morti succubuit.’

³⁰¹ *Ann. Magdeburgenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 188; *Ann. Palidenses*, *ibid.* 83; *Chron. Ekkehardi continuatio brevis*, in *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia* (n. 287), 70; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De invest. Antichr.* (n. 163), in *MGH, Libelli*, III, 383; Helmold of Bosau, *Chron. Slav.* (n. 50), 116: ‘Multa vero portenta visa sunt in exercitu illis diebus, futurae cladis demonstrativa.’

³⁰² *Ann. sancti Iacobi Leodiensis*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 641; *Chron. sancti Petri Erfordensis*, in *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia* (n. 287), 176; Geoffrey of Vigewois, *Chron.* (n. 9), 306. The Sibylline prophecies for 1147 appear in Otto of Freising and several other twelfth-century sources: see Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, IV. *Staufer und Welfen*, 2 ed. (Leipzig 1877), 502, 505-6.

³⁰³ Röhricht, *Beiträge* (n. 9), II, 79, is hardly correct in saying that ‘nur wenige Stimmen luden dem griechischen Kaiser die Schuld auf.’

was not uncommon among the German writers; and it may indeed represent an actual difference in the treatment of the German and French troops by the Greeks. The annals of Pöhlde tell of Manuel's care of Conrad during his illness in the winter of 1147-8;³⁰⁴ Helmold shows the Greek emperor sadly contemplating the crusaders' rash determination to march across Asia Minor;³⁰⁵ the Würzburg annalist puts into Manuel's mouth a long speech explaining to Conrad the difficulties and dangers of a march to Iconium and urging him to proceed directly to Jerusalem with a small picked force. Even when Conrad persisted in his original decision, this annalist says, Manuel assisted him in all ways, with arms and supplies, both before and after the terrible expedition into Anatolia. Nowhere does he mention treachery, even though his account was partly based upon the reports of released prisoners, who might well have felt bitter towards the Greeks.³⁰⁶ In any case, this evidence definitely shows that all western Europe did not believe that the Greeks had betrayed the crusade.³⁰⁷

There was a more widespread unanimity of opinion that the siege of Damascus was betrayed in some way by the Latin inhabitants of the Holy Land. Conrad III stated it for a fact; and he and the other sources leave doubt only over the question of whether this treason was committed by the king of Jerusalem, the Templars, or the princes of Syria.³⁰⁸ There is no clear definition of the exact nature of the treachery; it may in fact have been honest but unwise advice. The westerners, however, had little doubt that Damascene money entered into the matter somewhere. Gerhoh of Reichersberg fully exploited this situation. He believed that the guilt lay with the Jerusalemites, not only for the failure of the siege but also for the disaster of the entire crusade. With the voice of an avenging prophet he thundered against them. Avarice alone, he says, moved them to call on the west for assistance; they desired not peace but 'almost solely the acceptance of money, whether from the offerings of the pilgrims or from the redemption of the besieged'.³⁰⁹ And with scornful satisfaction he recorded the irony with which most of the treason 'gold' turned out to be copper.

Finally, there are a few writers who attributed the failure of the crusade to the mistakes and blundering of the crusaders themselves. Needless to say, Gerhoh of Reichersberg and the annalist of Würzburg figure among these. The Würzburg annalist, in the passage quoted above, acutely discerned the unruly members in the makeup of the crusading armies; he sharply criticized Conrad for his

³⁰⁴ *Ann. Palidenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 83: 'Rex Grecie Conradum regem valida infirmitate detentum summa fecit curare diligentia, nisus per hoc expiari adnotata sibi circa Teutonicos malivolentia.'

³⁰⁵ Helmold of Bosau, *Chron. Slav.* (n. 50), 120.

³⁰⁶ *Ann. Herbipolenses*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 4-5.

³⁰⁷ Cf. among modern historians, Ferdinand Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, 2 vols (Paris 1910-12), II, 286-8; Vasiliev, *History* (n. 52), 420; Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 357-8.

³⁰⁸ For a list of these sources, see Röhrich, *Beiträge* (n. 9), II, 101 n.76; Bernhardt, *Konrad* (n. 1), 675 n.37. Cf. Cartellieri, *Vorrang* (n. 37), 363.

³⁰⁹ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, in *MGH, Libelli*, III, 377.

rejection of Manuel's wise advice, and in several other places condemned the general management and leadership of the crusade. The author of the *Chronicon Mauriniacense* blamed the lack of discretion and experience of Louis VII;³¹⁰ the annalist of Egmond specified the error in the choice of route as one reason for the failure of the armies;³¹¹ and an Angevin writer said, 'I think that the misfortune resulted from the deliberate arrogance of the French.'³¹² Odo of Deuil himself spoke of the 'stupid pride of our people'.³¹³ Geoffrey of Vigeois bitterly condemned the lack of ecclesiastical contributions towards the expenses of the crusade, and Ralph Niger, writing some 40 years later, criticized the presence of clerics who hindered the progress of the expedition.³¹⁴ For the Wendish crusade, also, Vincent of Prague attributed the failure to the material motives of the Saxon princes.³¹⁵

The most damning criticism of the leaders of the crusade came from the pen of John of Salisbury in his *Historia pontificalis*, where he says that he has written 'nothing except what I knew to be true by sight or hearing or what was confirmed by the writings and authority of trustworthy men'.³¹⁶ These sources were certainly of the highest authority; his material on the second crusade, which corresponds to no other known source material, may have come from the legate cardinal Guido or from some companions of Louis VII, the count of Flanders, or the count of Champagne,³¹⁷ with all of whom John was on familiar terms. He was in addition a man of exceptional wisdom, experience, and moderation, to whose judgments careful consideration must be given. His contribution to the factual knowledge of the crusade is unfortunately slight, although of some value for the events in Syria and the Holy Land in 1148.³¹⁸ John's great gift as an historian was his ability to

³¹⁰ *RHGF*, XII, 88. Louis seems in part to have blamed himself for the failure: *RHGF*, XV, 495-6.

³¹¹ *Ann. Egmundani*, in *MGH, SS*, XVI, 456.

³¹² 'Liber de compositione Castri Ambaziae', in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. Louis Halphen, René Poupardin (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire; Paris 1913), 24. The principal part of this work goes to 1137 and is of no historical value (see intro. xlvii-lvi); an account of the second crusade is the only entry after 1137 (*ibid.* lv n.3) and appears to be contemporary.

³¹³ Odo of Deuil, *De profectone*, ed. Berry (n. 9), 22.

³¹⁴ Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chron.* (n. 9), 306. Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane*, IV, 54, ed. Ludwig Schmutge (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 6; Berlin-New York 1977), 224.

³¹⁵ Vincent of Prague, *Ann.*, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, 663.

³¹⁶ John of Salisbury, *Hist. pontif.*, prol., ed. Poole (n. 248), 4; ed. Chibnall (n. 258), 4.

³¹⁷ Reginald L. Poole, in John of Salisbury, *Hist. pontif.* (n. 248), intro. xxv. The sections on the second crusade are cc. 5, 23-6, ed. Poole 12-13, 52-61, ed. Chibnall (n. 258), 11-12, 52-9.

³¹⁸ John of Salisbury, *Hist. pontif.*, ed. Poole (n. 248), xxvi; Kugler, *Studien* (n. 1), 13-20.

estimate the influence of personalities on events; and his characterizations of Louis VII, Theoderic of Flanders, Arnulf of Lisieux, Godfrey of Langres, and the two papal legates are full of interest and life. It is therefore of particular importance that his account of the crusade consists principally of a bitter attack on its leadership. He gives a fascinating picture of the quarrels between the legates and between the spiritual and temporal lords and of the crippling rivalry between the French and German armies. He clearly believed that incompetence and internal tensions were the primary reasons for the failure.

It is interesting to compare this point of view with that of a close personal friend of John of Salisbury, pope Adrian IV. Writing to Louis VII in 1159, he cautioned him against rashly undertaking a crusade against the Muslims in Spain:

For your excellency ought to recollect ... how on that other occasion, when Conrad of good memory, previously king of the Romans, and you yourself undertook the journey to Jerusalem without caution, you did not receive the expected result and hoped-for profit; and [you should remember] how great a disaster and cost resulted therefrom to the church of God and to almost the entire Christian people. And the holy Roman church, since she had given you advice and support in this matter, was not a little weakened by this; and everyone cried out against her in great indignation, saying that she was the author of so great a peril.³¹⁹

It is significant that this gloomy view of the crusade was found among most of its principal planners. Already by August 1149 Eugene III spoke of Louis's return as 'to the light out of the darkness'³²⁰ and later, in a letter to Suger, he called the crusade 'the severe disaster of the Christian name which the church of God has suffered in our times'.³²¹ Bernard himself never for one moment minimized the magnitude of the disaster, of which he said, 'Who does not know that "the judgements of Lord are true" [Psalm 18.10]? But this judgement is so deep that it seems to me not unjustified to call him who is not scandalized blessed.'³²²

The most convincing evidence, however, of the disillusionment and discouragement which followed the failure of the second crusade is found not in the literary sources but in the poor response that greeted the efforts of Bernard and Suger to organize a new expedition for the relief of the Holy Land in 1150³²³ and in

³¹⁹ PL, CLXXXVIII, 1615 (JL 10546). See Defourneaux, *Français* (n. 69), 172-3.

³²⁰ PL, CLXXX, 1396 (JL 9347). Bernard in his *Ep.* 377 to Suger (ed. Leclercq, VIII, 341) speaks of Louis's presence on the crusade as an 'exile'.

³²¹ PL, CLXXX, 1414 (JL 9385). Cf. *ibid.* 1419 (JL 9398) and *Continuatio Aquicinctina* (Sigeberti), in *MGH, SS*, VI, 406: 'Numquam audita tanta infelicitate corporali Christiani exercitus.'

³²² Bernard, *De consideratione*, II, 1, ed. Leclercq, III, 411.

³²³ Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 174), II, 425-33; Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 149; *idem*, 'Stellung' (n. 173), 306 n.90. On the crusading project of 1150 see xchapter 12.

the reduced number of new Cistercian monasteries established after 1147.³²⁴ These facts indicate a widespread reaction against crusading in general and against the Cistercians in particular.

The form and depth of this reaction must be judged in relation to the hope and enthusiasm with which these campaigns had been conceived. The second crusade, to a far greater extent than the first, won the support of the leading ecclesiastical and secular authorities of Europe. Championed by the most powerful princes and inspired by the most persuasive spiritual leader of the century, it appeared to men as divinely predestined to victory. It aroused soldiers on every frontier of western Christendom and incorporated them under the common cross of pilgrimage. The formal origin of this idea and its development into a grandiose scheme of Christian defence and expansion may be found in the letters of Eugene III and St Bernard. The wider influence of the plan, the roots of contemporary crusading thought, and the more popular attitudes towards the crusade have been seen in chronicles and documents. Upon such subjects, literary sources are by their nature unable to give entirely satisfactory evidence, and the conclusions drawn from them should be considered in part as hypotheses, to be amplified and modified by future research. In certain directions, however, their evidence is impressive and points towards a revised interpretation of the second crusade, in its widest sense, and of the place it occupies in the history of the crusades.

Appendix A

St Bernard's Preaching of the Second Crusade

In the medieval as in the modern church the right of preaching was subject to the bishop's control and might not be exercised by the lower clergy without the authorization (*missio*) either of the diocesan bishop or of the universal ordinary, the pope.³²⁵ So in the eleventh century the abbot of Fulda enjoyed the right to

³²⁴ See Janauschek, *Origines* (n. 177), 287-8. Franz Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands*, 3 vols (Gotha 1868), I, 56, says: 'Jener verunglückte Kreuzzug von 1147 hat dem heiligen Bernard in den Augen der Sachsen seinen Heiligenschein genommen und seinem Orden unter ihnen einen mehr als zwanzigjährigen Stillstand auferlegt.' But this is too extreme, cf. Pfeiffer, 'Cistercienser' (n. 31), 145. Certainly 1147 was the peak year, after which there was a sharp reduction in the number of new houses; but the falling off in the middle and late 1150s was presumably largely owing to the death of Bernard and to the restriction on the foundation of new abbeys enacted by the general chapter in 1152: see *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. Joseph-Marie Canivez, I (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 9; Louvain 1933), 45, and *Statutes* (n. 290), 200, 388, 391, etc.

³²⁵ Ladner in Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique* (n. 291), II, 24-5: 'Qui prêchait sans délégation ni permission était dès l'abord classé comme hérétique,' cf. 28-9.

preach as a special privilege from Leo IX.³²⁶ When in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries an increasing number of monks took holy orders and claimed this right, according to Reginald Ladner, 'il s'éleva dans les rangs du clergé séculier et jusque dans les cloîtres eux-mêmes des voix qui voulaient interdire au moine toute espèce d'activité pastorale et surtout la prédication.'³²⁷ Nor was this attitude surprising in view of the widespread disorganization and ignorance of the clergy and the grave danger of the spread of heresy through unauthorized preaching.³²⁸

Although a few voices were raised in favor of the right of an ordained (and even of a lay) monk to preach,³²⁹ many twelfth-century theologians agreed with Jerome that 'monachus autem non doctoris habet, sed plangentis officium.'³³⁰ Under the heading, 'Nullus monachus preter Domini sacerdotes audeat predicare,' Gratian wrote:

Monachi autem, et si in dedicatione sui presbiteratus (sicut et ceteri sacerdotes) predicandi, baptizandi, penitenciam dandi, peccata remittendi, beneficiis ecclesiasticis perfruendi rite potestatem accipiant, ut amplius et perfectius agant ea, que sacerdotalis offitii esse sanctorum Patrum constitutionibus conprobantur: tamen executionem suae potestatis non habent, nisi a populo fuerint electi, et ab episcopo cum consensu abbatis ordinati.³³¹

Monks were normally forbidden to preach without special permission. Bernard himself made use of Jerome's dictum that, 'monachi officium non docere est, sed lugere', saying that to preach in public was not suitable for a monk, expedient for a novice, or permitted to the unauthorized.³³² The general chapter of the Cistercian order in 1212 decreed that, 'De monacho Prulliacensi nuncupato Petro heremita praecipitur ut in instanti revocetur a praedicatione Albigensium, nec ipse nec alius aliquis sine licentia capituli generalis de cetero praedicationis officium audeat usurpare.'³³³

It is not therefore surprising that Bernard was unwilling to preach the crusade without the authorization of the pope. It is probably for this reason that in his writings about the crusade he emphasized that in its preaching he acted purely as a papal delegate. This was not an effort to escape the responsibility for the failure of the crusade – that, he always held, lay with God – but to defend himself against the

³²⁶ *PL*, CXLIII, 610.

³²⁷ Ladner, *Saint Dominique* (n. 291), 24-5.

³²⁸ *Ibid.* 15-24.

³²⁹ *Ibid.* 25-6.

³³⁰ Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, 15, in *PL*, XXIII, 367A.

³³¹ Gratian, Dictum post c. 19, C. XVI, q. 1 in *Corpus iuris canon.*, I, 765-6.

³³² *Super Cantica sermo* 64.3, ed. Leclercq, II, 168.

³³³ *Statuta* (n. 324), I, s.a. 1212: cited by Ladner, in *Saint Dominique* (n. 291), II, 25 n.66.

charge that he had never been duly commissioned to preach the crusade.³³⁴ Only 30 years before, in 1118, a council at Fritzlar had condemned Norbert of Xanten for preaching without authorization and had compelled him to suspend his activity until he was accorded special permission as an 'apostolic preacher' by Gelasius II.³³⁵ Bernard presumably desired to obtain a similar general delegation before he undertook the preaching of the crusade.

Appendix B

Eugene III and German Participation in the Second Crusade

Eugene probably received the news of Conrad's decision not long after Christmas 1146, and he sent back cardinal bishop Theodwin³³⁶ with the letter mentioned above.³³⁷ Theodwin reached Frankfort in mid March,³³⁸ and soon after Conrad sent bishops Burchard (Bucu) of Worms and Anselm of Havelberg and abbot Wibald of Stavelot, who met Eugene at Dijon on 30 March. They brought two letters to the pope from Conrad,³³⁹ who in one requested Eugene to confirm Wibald's election as abbot of Corvey and in the other announced that he had received the papal letter and had called a diet at Frankfort,³⁴⁰ where his young son Henry had been chosen to rule in Conrad's absence. He expressed regret that he had taken the cross without Eugene's permission but assured him that his action was prompted by true love. He also invited Eugene to visit Germany. The selection of the young Henry as regent may have been suggested as a conciliatory move by the cardinal Theodwin, since this appointment was certainly more pleasing to the curia than that of the other possible candidate, archbishop Henry of Mainz.³⁴¹

Wibald describes the meeting with the pope at Dijon in his letters 35 and 180.³⁴² The legates were well received by Eugene, he says, 'tunc enim iniunxit

³³⁴ As early as 1146 he wrote to the pope saying that 'mandastis et obedivi,' *Ep.* 247.2, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 141.

³³⁵ Ladner, in *Saint Dominique* (n. 291), II, 36-7. A similar privilege had been granted to Robert of Arbrissel and others, *ibid.* 33-6.

³³⁶ Brixius, *Mitglieder* (n. 243), 47. On Theodwin's many legations to Germany, see Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* (n. 219), IV, 161.

³³⁷ See n. 217.

³³⁸ Bachmann, *Legaten* (n. 257), 78; Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 54.

³³⁹ *Monumenta Corbeiensia* (n. 25), 111-13, nos. 33-4; see Zatschek, 'Wibald' (n. 217), 324-5.

³⁴⁰ Bernhardt, *Konrad* (n. 1), 545-6; Zatschek, 'Wibald' (n. 217), 455-6.

³⁴¹ Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 54-5.

³⁴² *Monumenta Corbeiensia* (n. 25), 114, 242-3; see Zatschek, 'Wibald' (n. 217), 325, 353-5; Ludwig Mann, *Wibald, Abt von Stablo und Corvei, nach seiner politischen Thätigkeit* (Halle 1875), 32-3.

nobis in virtute obedientiae et in remissione peccatorum nostrorum, ut ad debellandos christiani nominis hostes ac Dei aecclesiae vastatores trans Albim super paganos militaremus: cum tamen sciret, hoc nequaquam a nobis posse fieri, nisi ex Corbeiensis aecclesiae expensa et milicia.³⁴³ This is quite explicit and sounds very much like a personal injunction to the imperial legates, and the later appearance of Anselm and Wibald on the Wendish crusade supports this view.³⁴⁴ It seems impossible that this passage refers to *Divina dispensatione* (II). The terms are somewhat different, and there is no reason to believe that the envoys were with Eugene as late as 11 April at Troyes. They probably returned at once, accompanied by the papal chancellor, cardinal deacon Guido of SS Cosmas and Damian,³⁴⁵ with the papal reply, to Conrad at the diet of Strasbourg, 18 April 1147.³⁴⁶ In this case, furthermore, Eugene could have appointed Anselm of Havelberg legate only during their meeting at Dijon.

It was probably, therefore, at this time that the envoys presented the idea of the Wendish crusade to the pope, who immediately endorsed it by his appointment of Anselm and his injunction to Wibald. He then proceeded to Clairvaux, discussed the matter with Bernard, and issued *Divina dispensatione* (II). There is, as Gleber points out,³⁴⁷ no reason to agree with Cosack³⁴⁸ that Eugene remained angry with Conrad or that there was any split between the pope on one side and Conrad and Bernard on the other over this matter of German participation in the crusade. Nor does there appear to be any basis for Zatschek's opinion that the pope's displeasure with Conrad was responsible for his delay in the confirmation of Wibald as abbot of Corvey.³⁴⁹ Eugene knew that it was impossible to force Conrad back on his vow and after 30 March probably welcomed the idea of a diversion of German troops against the Slavs.³⁵⁰

³⁴³ *Monumenta Corbeiensia* (n. 25), 243; cf. Mann, *Wibald* (n. 342), 32-3.

³⁴⁴ On Wibald's brief participation in the crusade, see Joseph Bastin, *Wibald, abbé de Stavelot et Malmédy, du Mont-Cassin et de Corbie* (Verviers 1931), 44-5. On Anselm, cf. n. 263.

³⁴⁵ Brixius, *Mitglieder* (n. 243), 43.

³⁴⁶ Bachmann, *Legaten* (n. 257), 79-80.

³⁴⁷ Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 165), 56-8.

³⁴⁸ Cosack, 'Konrad III.' (n. 167), 290-1.

³⁴⁹ Zatschek, 'Wibald' (n. 217), 325. Eugene's objections to the confirmation of Wibald were presumably based upon (a) the dubious canonicity of the election, against which the deposed abbot Henry of Northeim had already appealed to Rome, and (b) Wibald's pluralism: he was already abbot of Stavelot and Malmédy and ex-abbot of Monte Cassino. See Mann, *Wibald* (n. 342), 32; and Bastin, *Wibald* (n. 344), 36-7, who says (42) that 'Eugène III fut d'ailleurs bientôt rassuré sur la régularité de l'élection. Une délégation de moines corbiens lui en porta la preuve à Meaux et il prit dès lors l'abbaye et son supérieur sous sa protection spéciale.'

³⁵⁰ Cf. his letter to Henry of Olmütz, JL 9110 (n. 268).

Appendix C

A Report of a Lost Sermon by St Bernard on the Failure of the Second Crusade

Among the stories in a collection of *exempla* found in British Museum Ms Royal 7.D.i. is a brief account of the return of king Louis VII and his barons from the second crusade:

Narratur de rege Francie Lodoluico et baronibus suis quod cum in bello contra sarracenos ab ipsis fugati ad terram suam redirent confusi, in tantum ex hoc grauabantur quod quasi desperabant quia non completa est tunc in eis facta scriptura que dicit: *Quomodo persequabatur unus mille* et cetera (Deut 32.30). Quod cum audiret beatus Bernardus occurrit eis et cepit eis predicare ab isto uersu, themam suum accipiens: *Deus auribus nostris* et cetera (Ps 43.2). *Nunc autem repulisti et confudisti nos, et non egredieris deus in uirtutibus nostris* (Ps 43.10) id est exercitibus, *ut quando unus fugabat. x. mille* et cetera (Deut 32.30), et asseruit ipsos tunc fuisse fugatos a saracenis, duplici demonstrata, una causa est quia plus sperabant de uiribus suis, quam de dei adiutorio, et frangit deus omnem superbum (Is 2.12), alia causa est quia repulit eos dominus in terra, ut ex hoc attendent sola celestia esse querenda. Quo audito, miro modo rex et barones sui per predicationem uiri dei confortati sunt et per fidem bene firmati.³⁵¹

There is no reason to believe that this story is literally true, since the manuscript was written in England in the late thirteenth century and the collection of *exempla* was put together, probably by an itinerant preaching friar, after 1254, that is, over a century after the second crusade.³⁵² In addition, St Bernard is not known from other sources to have preached to the crusaders after their return. The two reasons given by Bernard for their failure, however, suggest that the tale is based upon an authentic tradition. While they do not correspond precisely to the views expressed by Bernard in *De consideratione* and the letters written immediately after the crusade,³⁵³ they clearly reflect the attitudes found among Cistercians at the time and could hardly have been made up a century later.

Bernard saw the crusade as a pilgrimage undertaken by each crusader for the welfare of his soul.³⁵⁴ The crusade for Bernard, as Delaruelle said, was 'a liturgy

³⁵¹ British Museum Ms Royal 7.D.i., f. 63v. The text is printed as it appears in the manuscript, except for capitalization, the substitution of modern for medieval punctuation marks, and the expansion of abbreviations (of which not all, however, are clear).

³⁵² Cf. George F. Warner, Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, I (London 1921), 185.

³⁵³ See above pp. 282-3.

³⁵⁴ See, in addition to the references in n. 179, André Seguin, 'Bernard et la seconde croisade', in *Bernard de Clairvaux* (Commission d'histoire de l'ordre de Cîteaux 3; Paris 1953), 379-409; Eugène Willems, 'Cîteaux et la seconde croisade', *Revue d'histoire*

before being a strategy or a policy', 'an effusion of divine grace bringing remission of sins', and an 'affair of the interior life, of the salvation of the soul aspiring to communion with the sufferings of Christ'.³⁵⁵ It was 'a personal engagement to penitence'³⁵⁶ and 'a penitential progress aimed at individual regeneration'.³⁵⁷

Bernard's view of the failure of the crusade was likewise fundamentally moral and personal although it has been variously interpreted by scholars. Some have said that he placed the responsibility for the crusade on pope Eugene III and king Louis VII; others, that he blamed the crusaders themselves.³⁵⁸ In the *De consideratione*, however, while referring to the papal command to preach the crusade, Bernard clearly stated that the command came from God through the pope;³⁵⁹ and although he spoke briefly of the crusaders' iniquities and punishment,³⁶⁰ he basically accepted the disaster as an example of the inscrutable workings of the ways of God, Whose goodness must be taken on faith. 'Who does not know that "the judgements of the Lord are true",' he wrote, citing Psalm 18.10, 'But his judgement is so deep that it seems to me not unjustified to call him who is not scandalized thereat blessed.'³⁶¹ According to Delaruelle, Bernard was not 'disconcerted' by the failure because it proved a source of spiritual gain,³⁶² but both his own works and those of his followers show that in fact he was deeply troubled by the outcome of the expedition he had done so much to promote.³⁶³ It reinforced, however, his view of the interior and individual nature of the crusade. 'For Bernard,' Delaruelle said, 'one went on a crusade not to kill but to be killed.'³⁶⁴ The Cistercian abbot John of Casa-Maria wrote to Bernard that God had turned evil into good by winning the

ecclésiastique 49 (1953), 116-51; Edmond Pognon, 'L'échec de la croisade', in *Saint Bernard. Homme d'église* (Témoignages. Cahiers de la Pierre-qui-Vire 38-9; Paris 1953), 47-57; Étienne Delaruelle, 'L'idée de croisade chez saint Bernard', in *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (n. 175), 53-67; Yves Congar, 'Henri de Marcy abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical', *Analecta monastica*, V (Studia Anselmiana 43; Rome 1958), 1-90; Ernest O. Blake, 'The Formation of the "Crusade Idea"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 11-31.

³⁵⁵ Delaruelle, 'Idée' (n. 354), 58, 66.

³⁵⁶ Congar, 'Henri de Marcy' (n. 354), 80, who also stressed the essentially monastic character of the crusade.

³⁵⁷ Blake, 'Formation' (n. 354), 29.

³⁵⁸ Seguin, 'Bernard' (n. 354), 406; Delaruelle, 'Idée' (n. 354), 59.

³⁵⁹ *De consideratione*, II.1, ed. Leclercq, III, 411. A few lines later he said that Moses spoke to the Israelites by divine command (411-12).

³⁶⁰ Ibid. II.2, ed. Leclercq, III, 412.

³⁶¹ Ibid. II.1, ed. Leclercq, III, 411.

³⁶² Delaruelle, 'Idée' (n. 354), 59.

³⁶³ Cf. above. Willems, 'Cîteaux' (n. 354), 146, said that Bernard was so discouraged that he temporarily even doubted the authenticity of his mission.

³⁶⁴ Delaruelle, 'Idée' (n. 354), 59.

salvation of many defeated crusaders.³⁶⁵ That a spiritual victory was thus won by a temporal defeat was the attitude generally taken by Cistercians to the failure of the crusade.³⁶⁶

This is the view found in the *exemplum* printed above. Bernard, having heard of the despair of the returned crusaders, who thought they had been abandoned by God (and having perhaps also heard of the reproaches directed against himself)³⁶⁷ hurried to them in order to restore their flagging faith. The report of his sermon does not derive from *De consideratione* or any other known work concerning the crusade, where he used different, though parallel, biblical citations, but it follows the same general line of reasoning. Taking as his text that God has 'cast off and put us to shame and goest not forth with our armies', Bernard explained, first, that God had punished the pride of the crusaders for relying on their own strength rather than His aid and, second, that He had rejected them on earth so that they might learn that their salvation was in heaven.

These explanations may be compared with other contemporary reactions to the disaster.³⁶⁸ One, which is only briefly mentioned above, is in the *Dialogue* of the monk William of St Denis. In reply to a question from William as to why 'hardly anyone survived from so great a multitude of men and the army of two very powerful kings and [why] those who escaped the sword and famine returned without any result', his companion Geoffrey cited a long passage from Seneca's *De beneficiis*, concerning the defeat of Xerxes in Greece, and then said that the same reasons accounted for the defeat of the crusaders.³⁶⁹ Hubert Glaser, commenting on this passage in his article on William of St Denis, wrote that 'the wreck of the crusade was for him a matter of strategy, not, as for Bernard, a result of conduct of life or an emanation of divine justice.'³⁷⁰ The contrast between William and Bernard in this respect, however, should not be overstressed. For while it is true that Seneca discussed the naturalistic considerations of terrain and military tactics, he also attributed Xerxes's defeat to over-confidence and the bad advice

³⁶⁵ Willems, 'Cîteaux' (n. 354), 147; Congar, 'Henri de Marcy' (n. 354), 82.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Willems, 'Cîteaux' (n. 354), 148.

³⁶⁷ Cf. above pp. 282-3.

³⁶⁸ Above, pp. 282-4.

³⁶⁹ Wilmart, 'Dialogue' (n. 130), 107. He went on to say that for William contemporary history was a matter of human will and wisdom.

³⁷⁰ Hubert Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965), 296.

of flatterers, and this was probably the point that William (like other users of this passage in the twelfth century)³⁷¹ had in mind.³⁷²

Another point of view is found in the *Life* of the hermit Wulfric of Haselbury, which was written by abbot John of Ford about 1185-6 but which records an apparently contemporary conversation concerning the crusade between Wulfric and his friend Alured of Lincoln. Wulfric expressed his disapproval of the whole enterprise and cited in particular the judgment on it of God, 'Who abandoned the false pilgrims, shaved the heads of the proud, and shamed the great men of the world because they sought not the Lord in truth but polluted the way of pilgrimage in idols.'³⁷³ The crusade, Wulfric suggested, was doomed to failure from the beginning owing to the false spirit of the participants. His attitude is clearly a long way from that of Bernard, but it also shows a basically moral and personal approach to the crusade. It therefore helps to illustrate the wide range of contemporary opinions about the expedition and its failure.

Note

The text and Appendices A and B are reprinted here with revisions from *Traditio* 9 (1952) 213-79. Appendix C was first published in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History Presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan* (Cistercian Studies Series, 13; Spencer Mass. 1971), 49-54. So many works on the second crusade have appeared since 1953 that it would be impossible to take them all into account without entirely rewriting the article, which is in any case concerned not with all aspects of the second crusade but specifically with how it was seen by contemporaries, and especially the reaction to its failure. Special note should be taken, however, of two collections of articles, some of them relevant to the subject of this chapter: *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992), with a bibliography (211-52) compiled by David Harvie, and *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips, Martin Hoch (Manchester-New York 2001), with a bibliography (201-18) compiled by Alan V. Murray.

Attention should also be drawn to Hubert Glaser, 'Das Scheitern des zweiten Kreuzzuges als heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis', in *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum*

³⁷¹ Klaus-Dieter Nothdurft, *Studien zum Einfluss Senecas auf die Philosophie und Theologie des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 7; Leiden-Cologne 1963), 106-7. On the popularity of the *De beneficiis* in the twelfth century, see also Leighton D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Oxford 1965), 112.

³⁷² Elsewhere in his discussion of the crusade, William also put greater emphasis on the moral aspects and divine intervention: cf. above pp. 298-9.

³⁷³ John of Ford, *Vita Wulfrici Haselbergiae*, ed. Maurice Bell (Somerset Record Society 47; n.p. 1933), 112, chap. 86. See xviii on the date of composition and Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History* 60 (1975), 345-6.

75. *Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Albrecht, Andreas Kraus, Kurt Reindel (Munich 1969), 115-42, who deals primarily with Bernard, Otto of Freising, the Würzburg annals, and Gerhoh of Reichersberg; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass. 1991), esp. 37-61 on 'The Second Crusade and Dissillusion'; Hans-Dietrich Kahl, 'Die weltweite Bereinigung der Heidenfrage – ein übersehenes Kriegsziel des Zweiten Kreuzzugs', in *Spannungen und Widersprüche. Gedenkschrift für František Graus*, ed. Susanna Burghartz a.o. (Sigmaringen 1992), 63-89; Graham Loud, 'Some Reflections on the Failure of the Second Crusade', *Crusades* 4 (2005), 1-14. A great deal of work (which is not covered here) has been done on the Wendish crusade and on the biographies of several figures prominently associated with the crusade, above all Bernard of Clairvaux (see nn. 179, 354), Gerhoh of Reichersberg, Anselm of Havelberg, Odo of Deuil, and Nicholas of Montiéramey.

One reason for avoiding extensive rewriting of this article is that it has taken a place in the historiography of the second crusade. Alan Forey, 'The Second Crusade: Scope and Objectives', *Durham University Journal* 86 (1994), 165, wrote that 'The view that the crusade was regarded, and also planned, by contemporaries as a campaign against infidels on several fronts was first elaborated in detail by Constable in 1953, and it seems to be becoming the orthodox interpretation of the crusade.' Forey made a number of criticisms of the article, concluding that 'It is only in Helmold's chronicle that these campaigns were seen as part of a conscious plan' (172), although earlier he said that 'A very few writers further saw these three campaigns – the attack on Lisbon, the expedition against the Wends and the crusade to the Holy Land – as being undertaken by parts of a single army' (168). Were I writing the article today, I would express myself more tentatively and not use the word 'plan'. I would also give more emphasis to the evidence – although comparatively slim – for the contemporary awareness of the second crusade as successor to the first, which is now somewhat buried in nn. 130 and 205.

The revisions here are restricted to five principal areas: (1) corrections (for the most part silent) of some errors either found by myself or brought to my attention by others, to whom I express my thanks; (2) references to new editions of texts (above all by Bernard of Clairvaux) when they have come to my attention and to some works concerned with the texts cited here; (3) the abbreviation or omission of some outdated and superseded references and of some or all of a few long notes on subjects (such as the financing of the crusade [nn. 159-61] and the cross [nn. 136, 140] which are more fully treated elsewhere in this volume; (4) stylistic changes in order to bring the article into conformity with current usage and the remainder of this volume but not changing the present to the past tense (as is my current practice) or entirely eliminating 'f.' and *passim*, which I now avoid; (5) a few supplementary references (as in n. 73) dealing directly with the subject of the article. The most important addition is the incorporation, as a third appendix, of my article on 'A Report of a Lost Sermon by St Bernard on the Failure of the Second Crusade', which also includes some additional material and references on the reaction to the failure of the crusade.

Chapter 11

Two Notes on the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147-8

Conquest of Lisbon

Some interesting light is thrown on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 by the three surviving accounts of the translation of the relics of St Vincent, although they are all relatively late and to some extent fabulous.¹ The first, and least important, is the

¹ The principal source on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 is the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, of which the edition and translation by Charles Wendell David ([Columbia] Records of Civilization; New York 1936) was reprinted with a foreword and bibliography by Jonathan Phillips (New York, 2001) = *De exp. Lyx.* Other editions will be found in José Augusto de Oliveira, *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros (1147)* (Complemento ao volume II da 'Lisboa Antiga' de Júlio de Castilho, 2 ed., Lisbon 1936) and Alfredo Pimenta, *Fontes medievais da história de Portugal, I. Anais e crónicas* (Lisbon 1948). Account was not taken in the reprint of the textual errors in David's and Oliviera's editions listed in Rui Pinto de Azevedo, *A carta ou memória do cruzado inglês R. para Osberto de Bawdsey sobre a conquista de Lisboa em 1147* (Faculdade de letras da Universidade de Coimbra. Instituto de estudos históricos douter António de Vasconcelos; Coimbra 1962), 29-31, which is cited here from a separately paginated offprint from *Revista portuguesa de História* 7, but which was also published (apparently in a shortened version, which I had not seen) in the *Actos do Congresso histórico de Portugal. Medioevo*, I (Bracara Augusta 14-15; 1963), 45-66, cited by Rudolf Hiestand, 'Reconquista, Kreuzzug und heiliges Grab. Die Eroberung von Tortosa 1148 im Lichte eines neuen Zeugnisses', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 31 (1984), 138 n.13. Pierre David, 'Sur la relation de la prise de Lisbonne (1147) rédigée par un clerc anglo-normand', *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal* NS 11 (1947), 241-54, cited some evidence that the manuscript may be an autograph. Phillips lists other articles on the conquest of Lisbon, especially those by Livermore (n. 9), showing that the author was the priest Raol; Edgington (n. 10) on the so-called Lisbon letter; and himself (nn. 18 and 22) on the Lisbon letter and the ideas of crusade and holy war. Two further articles on the conquest of Lisbon, by Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', and Matthew Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon, 1147', are in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips, Martin Hoch (Manchester-New York 2001), 54-70, 71-89. There is a brief bibliography in Nikolas Jaspert, '“Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus, orate”. Die Kathedralkapitel von Compostela und Jerusalem in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Santiago, Roma, Jerusalén. Actas del III Congreso internacional de Estudios Jacobeos. Santiago di Compostela 14-16 septiembre 1997*, ed. Paulo Caucci von Saucken (Santiago di Compostela 1999), 190 n.18.

prologue to the miracles of St Vincent by the precentor Stephen of Lisbon, which has been dated about 1150 but which its most recent editors date simply before 1185.² According to this source Vincent's relics were taken in the second half of the eighth century, at the time of the Muslim invasions, from Valencia to cape St Vincent in the region known as the Algarve. When king Alfonso of Portugal looked for them, in order to take them to Braga or Coimbra, he was unable to find them because St Vincent wanted 'to be venerated by the people of Lisbon', which was still in the hands of the Muslims. Only after the land had been freed 'from the servitude of the unfaithful' and peace established between the king and the Muslims was the body found and taken to Lisbon.³

A second, more detailed, account is found in the *Relatio de translatione S. Vincentii martyris*, which can be dated to between 1159 and 1180 from the references at the end to pope Alexander III and king Louis VIII (for VII).⁴ It was called a mediocre composition and an imaginary romance by De Lacger, who considered it a later work designed to show that the relics of St Vincent came directly to Lisbon from Valencia rather than by way of Algarve,⁵ but it appears to be based on some authentic sources concerning the conquest of Lisbon.

In the year of the Lord 1146, when Conrad the emperor of the Romans and Louis the Young king of the Franks led their armies through Hungary, Thrace, and Greece against Zengi, prince of Damascus, father of Nur al-Din, who captured the great city of Edessa in Mesopotamia on the night of the Lord's nativity and killed all the Christians, the Belgians (*Morini*), whom we call Flemings, prepared suitable ships and placed in them all the things that were needed for a journey across the sea, and when they had prepared everything that was suited for such a journey, they left the shores of Flanders in the month of March and entrusted themselves to the British sea. They navigated with a successful voyage, came to Spain, entered Lusitania by the Adriatic sea, and

² Aires Augusto Nascimento, Saul António Gomes, *S. Vincente de Lisboa e seus milagres medievais* (Lisbon 1988), 24-6; *BHL* no. 8654; M. C. Diaz y Diaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum* (Acta Salmaticensia. Filosofia y Letras XIII. 1-2; Salamanca 1958-9), no. 933. See Louis de Lacger, 'Saint Vincent de Saragosse', *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 13 (1927), 347-8; António Linage Conde, 'San Vicente mártir, lazo peninsular del Mediterráneo al Atlántico', in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval* (Oporto 1989), 7-8.

³ Nascimento/Gomes, *S. Vincente* (n. 2), 30-2.

⁴ There are two substantially identical editions (see n. 6) in the *Analecta bollandiana* 1 (1882), 272-3 (from a manuscript formerly in the library of the Jesuit College at Douai) and in the *Catalogus codicum hagiographicarum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, 2 vols (Brussels 1886-9), II, 467-8 (from a fourteenth-century manuscript from St Ghislain now in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels); *BHL* no. 8653 (dated 1173); Diaz y Diaz, *Index* (n. 2), no. 1007. See Jules Baudot, Léon Chaussin, *Vies des saints et des bienheureux*, I. *Janvier* (Paris 1935), 435, dating it about 1175; Linage Conde, 'San Vicente' (n. 2), 6-7.

⁵ De Lacger, 'Saint Vincent' (n. 2), 348-50, who dated the translation about 1160.

dropped their anchors in the surroundings of the city of Lisbon. The aforesaid city, however, was full of Saracens. Since the Christians who were in the boats had sufficient arms to attack the city, they took wise counsel among themselves, and it seemed to them that they should not progress further against the Saracens of Syria while they were an obstacle to them [the Christians] in Spain. At last after many and lengthy assaults with great labor [and] with the assistance of divine grace, the city was captured, the Saracens were killed, sold, and expelled, and the whole city was cleansed, a bishop was established in the city, churches were constructed, and clergy were ordained. When therefore king Alfonso heard reports that the blessed Vincent reposed buried in the aforesaid basilica near Valencia, he journeyed there joyfully with many horsemen; he sought and he did not find, since the time of finding had not yet come.⁶

The third account is in the so-called *indiculum* (or *indiculus*) of the foundation of the monastery of St Vincent at Lisbon, which is dated 1188 but was probably revised later.⁷

In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1147 the most Christian king of the Portuguese Alfonso, son of count Henry and queen Tharasia, the marvelous and courageous extirpator of the enemies of the cross of Christ, in the eighteenth year of his reign and fortieth in age, gathered his army against the Saracens, as he was moved [to do] each year, and he advanced on Lisbon, which was then the city of those men, and besieged it in the month of June and set up tents around it; and he had in his army a chosen band of strong men whom the Lord sent, raised by zeal, to assist him in 190 boats, which we call *barcia*, from the northern parts of diverse people. The king therefore ordered these men to attack from the side of the sea which surrounded the aforesaid city, for they were warriors [who were] very strong in vigor, all armed, with helmets, carrying spears, shields, and swords, tending their bows, and experienced in battle. They willingly received the orders of the king and soon after their boats were anchored in deep water and disposed in suitable positions, the fearless men proceeded to the shore and eagerly established their camps against the city, each according to their places of birth (*generationes*) and their languages. For the camps of the Germans and of others who came with them from neighboring regions occupied houses of the suburbs on the eastern side of the city, and they entered and lived there after the

⁶ *Anal. boll.* 1 (n. 4), 272. The version in the *Cat. cod. hag.* (n. 4) has, in addition to a number of spelling variants and minor word differences, *commiserunt* for *committunt* and *episcopus* for *corpus* in the phrase 'corpus in civitate constituitur'.

⁷ *Portugaliae monumenta historica. Scriptores*, I (Lisbon 1856-61), 90-3; Diaz y Diaz, *Index* (n. 2), no. 917; *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, VI. *Fontes I-J-K* (Rome 1990), 235, where it is described as 'opus a. 1188 sed postea interpolatum'. It is cited by David in the introduction and notes to *De exp. Lyx.*, 38-9, 50, 112-13, 132-4, 178; Azevedo, *A carta* (n. 1), 20; Linage Conde, 'San Vicente' (n. 2), 12-14.

Saracens were driven out from them. The English and other people of Britain and Aquitaine (*equitanie*), however, established their residences in the suburbs to the west of the city after the pagans had fled from them.⁸ For the king with his dukes and other barons participated in the siege from the north through the near-by hills and valleys after the mass of common people had fled.

The author went on to give an account of the siege, stressing the role of the Franks (as all those 'who came from the regions of the Gauls' were called, he said) as fighters and sufferers 'for Christ'. The king in a speech said that those who died were 'martyrs of Christ' and associated them with 'the holy martyrs in heaven ... whose footsteps they were known to have followed with such great zeal on earth'. The king instructed the archbishop of Braga to establish two cemeteries and promised to found after the conquest of Lisbon two monasteries in the locations of the cemeteries, each with a college of religious men to pray for himself and those who were buried there. The German cemetery was the site of the future monastery of St Vincent and the English cemetery of the church of St Mary *ad martyres*.⁹ A priest named Rohard, also known as Winand, celebrated mass daily in the German church of St Vincent, and collected alms to build the basilica,¹⁰ and a layman named Henry rang the bells at the hours 'in the custom of his homeland'.

Following the account of the establishment of the two cemeteries and churches there is a section on miracles, together with a brief account of the siege and

⁸ See *De exp. Lix.*, 128, on the suburbs abandoned by the Muslims and occupied respectively by the English and Norman crusaders and by the Flemings.

⁹ On the two cemeteries and churches of St Vincent and Mary, see *ibid.* 132-4 and the *Crónica da fundação do mosteiro de S. Vicente de Lisboa*, 4, ed. Afonso de Dornelas, *Academia portuguesa da história. Anais* 2 (1940), 166, on which see the *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, III. *Fontes C* (Rome 1970), 371. Harold Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author', *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), 4-5, printed a translation of a document of 1148 of the priest Raol concerning his role in the conquest and the foundation of the cemetery of the English and the church of St Mary, which he gave to the canons of Santa Cruz in Coimbra.

¹⁰ On the names Rohard and Winand, see Perry H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, 3 ed. Richard M. Wilson (Oxford 1997), 384 (under Rowarth) and 494. This priest was probably the writer of the base-version of the so-called Lisbon letter addressed by the priest Winand to archbishop Arnold of Cologne, of which two other versions, with different beginnings and endings, were addressed by Arnulf to bishop Milo of Thérouanne and by Duodechin, priest of Lahnstein, to abbot Cuno of Disibodenberg: see Susan Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 69 (1996), 328-39 (with the Latin text of Winand's letter on 335-9) and *idem*, 'Albert of Aachen' (n. 1), with a translation of the letter and references to editions of the other letters, to which should be added those of Arnulf's letter in Oliveira, *Conquista* (n. 1), 114-18 (with Portuguese translation) and Pimenta, *Fontes* (n. 1), 133-40 (Portuguese translation) which also includes on 124-30 an edition (in Latin) of Duodechin's letter.

fall of Lisbon, calling the crusaders *christicolae* (Chapters 10-11), and of the foundations and privileges of the monastery of St Vincent and, more briefly, of St Mary *ad martyres* (Chapter 12). There is an interesting account of the governance and endowment of the monastery of St Vincent by the king, whose charter is incorporated into the text (Chapter 14).¹¹ It also gives a list of the superiors, starting with Rohard, mentioned above, who was followed by two Englishmen named Hicia and Salericus, who was a monk.¹² After him came a Fleming, abbot Walter, who came to Lisbon with four monks apparently after the conquest and who was dismissed after he tried to subject the house to Prémontré,¹³ then a canon named David, a canon of Bañols named Godinus, who later became bishop of Lamego, another canon of Bañols named Menendus, and finally Pelagius, who was still living in 1188, when the *indiculum* was written.¹⁴

The miracles included those at the tomb of the *martyr* and *miles Christi* Henry of Cologne, who came from Bonn and who lost his life during the siege and was buried in the cemetery (and later church) of St Vincent (Chapter 6),¹⁵ together with his squire, whose body miraculously moved to be next to his master's (Chapter 8). Some palms placed on Henry's tomb by pilgrims took root and were effective as cures (Chapter 13). Two young men who had come with the Franks and were deaf and dumb recovered the power of hearing and speech (Chapter 7), which is also recorded in other sources on the crusade.¹⁶ The miracle of the bloody host (Chapter 9) is likewise mentioned in the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.¹⁷ These correspondences with the *De expugnatione* tend to confirm the accuracy of the traditions recorded in the *indiculum*, especially the perception that participants

¹¹ Two of the witnesses also appear on the agreement between the king and the crusaders in *De exp. Lyx.*, 112-13 and nn. 7, 10. On St Vincent at Lisbon, see Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, 3 vols (Straubing 1949-56), III, 269-70. On bishop Gilbert of Lisbon, who arranged the foundation, see *De exp. Lyx.*, 178 and n. 5; Richard A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050-1150' (1987), repr. in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas Madden (Oxford-Malden, Mass. 2002), 64.

¹² For the name Hica (Hicca), which occurs in the twelfth century, see William G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: A List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the Time of Bede to that of King John* (Cambridge 1897, repr. Hildesheim 1960), 296. It may be related to Hector.

¹³ On Walter see *Crónica*, 13 (n. 9), 176-7; Backmund, *Monasticon* (n. 12), II, 509, III, 269; Bernard Ardura, *Abbayes, prieurés et monastères de l'ordre de Prémontré en France des origines à nos jours* (Nancy 1993), 321, 323, identifying him as Walter of St Maurice, who was abbot of St Martin at Laon from 1124 until 1151, when he became bishop of Laon.

¹⁴ See *Crónica*, 11 (n. 9), 173-5, on the privileges.

¹⁵ *Crónica*, 6 and 12 (n. 9), 167-8, 176.

¹⁶ See the *De exp. Lyx.*, 132-4, and the letters of Duodechin and Arnulf (n. 10).

¹⁷ *De exp. Lyx.*, 134 and n. 2, cf. 38-9.

in the conquest were *milites Christi* and that those who died were *martyres Christi*.¹⁸

The presence among them of two deaf-and-dumb youths who presumably hoped to be cured shows that the expedition was a pilgrimage as well as a military undertaking,¹⁹ as does the presence of women, who were forbidden in the *De expugnatione* from going out in public.²⁰ The international character of the expedition is shown by the number of different nationalities that were involved, in both the *translatio* and the *indiculum*. The reluctance of the participants to proceed to the east before extirpating the Muslims in Spain shows that they regarded themselves as joining in a larger undertaking.²¹ In Portugal, where these sources were written, the conquest of Lisbon was clearly seen, and continued to be seen later in the twelfth century, as an intrinsic part of the second crusade.²²

Beyond Lisbon

It is natural for historians of the Anglo-Flemish crusade of 1147 to follow the narrative of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* and, after tracing the route of the crusaders along the northern and western coast of the Iberian peninsula, to end the account, as does the *De expugnatione*, with the fall of Lisbon, after a siege of nearly 17 weeks, in October 1147. Some of the crusaders went further, however.

'When these things had been happily achieved,' wrote Duodechin of Lahnstein to Cuno, abbot of Disibodenberg, 'our men spent the winter in that city [Lisbon] until the beginning of February; then they sailed through many perils and arrived,

¹⁸ See Jonathan Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*The Conquest of Lisbon*),' in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Studies in Church History 36; Woodbridge 2000), 123-41.

¹⁹ In *De exp. Lyx.*, 108, the expedition is called a *peregrinatio*.

²⁰ *De exp. Lyx.*, 56.

²¹ Of particular interest is the statement in the *Translatio* that the participants considered it useless to go on against the Muslims in the east as long as others were behind them in Spain.

²² Of this victory Helmold of Bosau wrote in his *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Georg Pertz (*MGH, SS r. G.*; Hanover 1868), 121-2, that 'this alone was successful of the entire work which the pilgrim army achieved' on the second crusade. See among secondary works Randall Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford Historical Monographs; Oxford 1992), 188; Jonathan Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997), 485-96; idem, intro. to the reprint of *De exp. Lyx.*. Hiestand, 'Reconquista' (n. 1), esp. 138, 150, 154-5, stressed the association of the campaigns in Spain with those in the east. Nikolas Jaspert, '*Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum*: Tortosa and the Crusades,' in *The Second Crusade* (n. 1), 91 called the conquest of Tortosa 'an integral part of the enterprise known as the Second Crusade'.

just as they had sworn, at the sepulcher of the Lord.²³ Apart from this hint, the actual route after the capture of Lisbon long remained obscure. 'About their landing on the coast of Syria we know nothing definite,' wrote Reinhold Röhricht, 'but there is no doubt that they arrived there in April or May and that many of them joined in the army of Conrad [III] at the siege of Damascus.'²⁴ These words were echoed by Friedrich Kurth in his exhaustive study of German participation in the Portuguese campaigns against the Muslims.²⁵

Some light was thrown on the crusaders' later route by the publication in 1935 of the *Annales Elmarenses*.

And since they desired to accomplish their journey, they sailed from Lisbon on the third of February [1148] and attacked Hairon; and since they did not dare to make a long siege there on account of lack of food, they received from the besieged people hostages for an agreed sum of money; and very unwisely they [the besieged] handed over about forty of their best men there; and when they refused to pay money, they saw their hostages hanged before the city. What more? [The crusaders] bravely fought many battles on land and on sea and with great labor arrived at Jerusalem; and the army gathered there attacked Damascus; and although it is the opinion of many that they could have conquered the city, they retreated on the advice of the Jerusalemites.²⁶

The only difficulty in this otherwise straightforward passage is the identity of the town Hairon. Philip Grierson,²⁷ who was followed by Cartellieri,²⁸ suggested that it referred to Oran (Wahrân) in North Africa. There can, however, be little doubt that this Hairon is Faro, the ancient Ossonoba, east of Cape St Vincent in southern

²³ *Annales Sancti Disibodi*, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, 28. David suggested that this passage may refer only to the German forces (*De exp. Lix.*, 21 n.2). This appears doubtful (see below), although some of the crusaders certainly stayed in Lisbon. On Duodechin's letter see the references in n. 10.

²⁴ Reinhold Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols (Berlin 1874-8), II, 92.

²⁵ Friedrich Kurth, 'Der Anteil niederdeutscher Kreuzfahrer an den Kämpfen der Portugiesen gegen die Mauren', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband VIII (1911), 159. Cf. *De exp. Lix.*, 21.

²⁶ *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. Philip Grierson (Brussels 1937), 111-12.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 111 n.3.

²⁸ Alexander Cartellieri, *Der Vorrang des Papsttums zur Zeit der ersten Kreuzzüge 1095-1150* (Munich-Berlin 1941), 372.

Portugal. The name Faro is derived from ibn Harun,²⁹ and the town is called Hairun (Hayrun) by Roger of Hoveden³⁰ and Farun by Benedict of Peterborough.³¹

There is in addition an interesting reference in the *Ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose* by Caffaro di Caschifellone,³² who in this short but reliable work related the history of the Genoese expedition of 1147-8 and the capture of Almeria and Tortosa in Spain. He mentioned among other things that 'the English together with the knights of the Temple and many other foreigners'³³ participated at the siege of Tortosa. These Englishmen may well have been some of the Anglo-Flemish crusaders.³⁴ This conclusion is supported by a passage in the second version (about 1170-5) of the *Chronica Regia* of Cologne. After describing the capture of Lisbon, the anonymous author of this chronicle continued that:

when these things had been thus completed, the Christians attacked and conquered the city of Tortosa in a similar fashion; and they raised the trophy of the cross there and strengthened [the city] with a troop of soldiers. Then they loosed their fleet and with Christ as leader, they arrived at Jerusalem for their propitious intention.³⁵

²⁹ Harold V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge 1947), 36. Santa Maria de Faro was eventually taken by the Christians in 1249 (ibid. 135).

³⁰ Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols (RS 51; London 1868-71), III, 46, 177.

³¹ Benedict of Peterborough (ascribed to), *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (RS 49; London 1867), II, 121.

³² In the *Annali Genovesi*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano, 5 vols (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 11-14bis; Genoa 1890-1929), I, 79-89. An English translation of this work, incorporating the notes in the new edition by A. Ubieto Arteta (Textos medievales 34; Valencia 1973), is included as an appendix to John Bryan Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: The Genoese Anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146-1148', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 48-53.

³³ *Annali Genovesi* (n. 32), 86.

³⁴ This has been previously suggested by Otto Langer, *Politische Geschichte Genuas und Pisas im 12. Jahrhundert* (Historische Studien, ed. Wilhelm Arndt 7; Leipzig 1882), 33-4; Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Caffaro e i suoi tempi* (Turin-Rome 1894), 221-3; Camillo Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana* (Leghorn 1899), 214. See also Williams, 'Making of a Crusade' (n. 32), 35-6, 52 n.98 on the English knights who participated (or 'probably participated' in the note) in the siege of Lisbon. Langer's citation (34 n.1) of Henry of Huntingdon is not necessarily relevant. Henry records that 'with the assistance of God a few men obtained from many the city in Spain which is called Lisbon and another which is called Almaria, and the adjoining regions', *Historia Anglorum*, X, 27, ed. Diana Greenway (OMT; Oxford 1996), 752-3. Since Almaria was recaptured a few days before Lisbon, the same men cannot have partaken in both attacks. Henry presumably joined into one sentence reports of separate expeditions.

³⁵ *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz (MGH, SS r.g.; Hanover 1880), 86.

Since the siege of Tortosa lasted from the beginning of July until the end of December 1148, it is impossible that any Anglo-Flemish crusaders who joined this attack could have also taken part in the siege of Damascus in July. It appears probable, therefore, that after (or possibly before) the attack on Faro the expedition split,³⁶ and that some of the crusaders proceeded directly to the Holy Land while other delayed to fight the Muslims in Spain.

Note

The first section of this chapter, entitled 'Conquest of Lisbon', was first published as 'A Further Note on the Conquest of Lisbon in 1147', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. Marcus Bull, Norman Housley, 2 vols (Cambridge 2003), I, 39-44, and the second section of this chapter, 'Beyond Lisbon', was published as 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', *Speculum* 28 (1953), 525-6.

³⁶ The crusaders were in any case separated and organized into their respective nationalities: see *De exp. Lyx.*, 52-6.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 12

The Crusading Project of 1150

The spectacular failure of the second crusade – and the reaction of contemporaries to the failure – has tended to overshadow in the minds of scholars the two subsequent efforts to organize military expeditions to the east.¹ The first of these, in 1149-50, was based on an alliance between Louis VII of France and Roger II of Sicily and was directed against the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos, who was widely considered responsible for the failure of the second crusade. It collapsed owing to Conrad III's refusal to give up his alliance with Manuel.² The second, with which this chapter is concerned, was inspired by the devastating campaigns of Nur al-Din in Syria, which carried him to the walls of Damascus and Antioch, and especially by the death of Raymond of Antioch on 29 June 1149.³ It was centered in France and aimed at sending a new crusading army directly to the Holy Land.⁴ The two projects were parallel but, so far as is known, independent, though some of the same people were involved, and there are no references to the expedition against

¹ See the bibliography (up to 1960) in Hans E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960), 103-4, supplemented by chapter 10 in this volume; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985), 190-2; *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992).

² Peter the Venerable in a letter written to Roger of Sicily in 1148/52 referred to 'illa scilicet pessima, inaudita et lamentabilis Graecorum et nequam regis eorum de peregrinis nostris, hoc est exercitu dei uiuentis, facta proditio': *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), I, 395, no. 162, with notes in II, 206-7. On this project see, among other works Wilhelm Bernhardt, *Konrad III.* (Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte; Berlin 1873, repr. 1975), 811-19; Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux*, 1 (and best) ed., 2 vols (Paris 1895), II, 427-8; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols (Paris 1907), II, 148-51; Helmut Gleber, *Papst Eugen III. (1145-1153)* (Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte 6; Jena 1936), 127-36; and (briefer accounts) Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1951-4), II, 286-7; Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 104; Ralph-Johannes Lillie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1094-1204*, tr. J. Colin Morris, Jean E. Ridings (Oxford 1993), 162.

³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XVII, 9, in *CC:CM, LXIII-LXIII A*, 770-2. See William B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge 1907), 165-7; Runciman, *Crusades* (n. 2), II, 325-30; and, on Nūr al-Dīn, Hamilton A. R. Gibb, in *Wisconsin History*, I, 513-27.

⁴ Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 2), II, 428 n.2.

the Greeks in the sources relating to the 1150 crusading plans.⁵ These sources were indeed long thought to relate to the organization of the second crusade in 1146, but in the early nineteenth century Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, basing himself in part on the silence of Odo of Deuil and in part on datable references in the sources, proved beyond question that they related to 1150.⁶ Wilken in the third volume of his *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, which appeared in 1817, apparently reached a similar conclusion independently but argued for 1151 because the events described shortly preceded Suger's death, which he dated in 1152 rather than 1151.⁷ All recent scholars, however, have accepted the year 1150.

The principal architect of the new crusade was abbot Suger, whose biographer William of St Denis wrote that:

⁵ Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, 'Mémoire sur la véritable époque d'une assemblée tenue à Chartres relativement à la croisade de Louis-le-Jeune', *Histoire et mémoires de l'Institut royal de France. Classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne* 4 (1818), 508-29; Achille Luchaire, 'Sur la chronologie des documents et des faits relatifs à l'histoire de Louis VII pendant l'année 1150', *Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux* 4 (1882), 298-304; Bernhardt, *Konrad* (n. 2), 819-21; Richard Hirsch, *Studien zur Geschichte König Ludwigs VII. von Frankreich (1119-1160)* (Leipzig 1892), 69-73; Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 2), II, 427-32; Otto Cartellieri, *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis 1081-1151* (Historische Studien 11; Berlin 1898, repr. 1965), 65-7 (with a useful list of relevant documents, cited here by number, on 160-2); Karl Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, ed. Henri Leclercq, V.1 (Paris 1912), 843-4; Eberhard Pfeiffer, 'Die Stellung des hl. Bernhard zur Kreuzzugsbewegung nach seinen Schriften', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 46 (1934), 305-7; 47 (1935), 149; Gleber, *Eugen III.* (n. 2), 127-36; Virginia Berry, 'Peter the Venerable and the Crusades', in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, ed. Giles Constable, James Kritzeck (Studia Anselmiana 40; Rome 1956), 159-62; Brenda Bolton, 'The Cistercians and the Aftermath of the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade*, ed. Gervers (n. 1), 131-40; Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford 1996), 100-18. No mention of the project is found in many standard works on the crusades, but there are brief references in Bernhard Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellung II, 5; Berlin 1880), 154; Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 2), 104, who described the 'new crusade' as 'genuine' and 'intended to make amends for 1148'.

⁶ Brial's conclusions, which were published in 1818 (n. 5), were originally presented in a paper read on 29 August 1806, to which reference was made in the article on Bernard of Clairvaux in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII (Paris 1814, repr. 1869), 142-3. Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 2), II, 430 n.2, attributed the previous misdating of the sources to 'une distraction presque inexplicable'.

⁷ Friedrich Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 7 vols (Leipzig 1807-32), III, 279 n.16, said that Brial's work came to his attention (through the *Histoire littéraire*) after his own work was written. The date 1151 given in the German edition of Hefele, *Conciles* (n. 5), was corrected to 1150 in the French edition. See Luchaire, 'Chronologie' (n. 5), 299-300; Hirsch, *Studien* (n. 5), 69 n.5.

The illustrious man suffered every day in his spirit that no traces of virtue were apparent from that pilgrimage [the second crusade]. He was distressed that out of such a great army of the Franks some died miserably either by iron [weapons] or from hunger and that he saw others return without glory. He was therefore deeply concerned lest on account of this misfortune the glory of the Christian name would perish in the east and the holy places would be crushed and surrendered to the infidels. He received letters from across the sea from the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch of Antioch tearfully asking him for help and saying that after the prince [Raymond of Antioch] was killed the cross of Christ was shut up in Antioch by the Saracens and the city was close to surrender unless aid came quickly. At the same time pope Eugene sent him apostolic letters both requesting him out of reverence and ordering him by authority to use his God-given wisdom to see how to help the eastern church and to remove in any way he could the shame of the Christians. Roused by this necessity, especially since he was both urged by apostolic order and strengthened by authority, he began piously to consider how he could both assist those in danger and turn the injury of the cross against the evil-doers. He judged that the king of the Franks and the recently-returned army should be spared, since they had scarcely drawn a little breath, and he assembled the bishops of the kingdom, summoned for this business, and exhorted and urged them to seek with him the glory of a victory that had been denied to the most powerful kings. After trying this in vain for a third time, and realizing the sense of fear and cowardice of these men, he nonetheless undertook, when others had given up, to fulfill the vow in a praiseworthy manner by himself.

Suger therefore gathered support for the Holy Land out of the resources of his own monastery, and shortly before his death he sent a noble who was experienced in military matters (and who may have been a Templar) and a band of soldiers 'to fight the infidel and to avenge the celestial injuries'.⁸

The statement that Suger gave up after trying to organize the crusade for a third time presumably refers to the three meetings held in 1150 at Laon, Chartres, and Compiègne, on which further light is shed by several letters in the correspondence of Suger, Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and pope Eugene III. The date and location of the Laon meeting are known respectively from a letter to Suger from bishop Alan of Redon saying that he would come in the first week of

⁸ William of St Denis, *Sugerii Vita* 3, in *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Société de l'histoire de France; Paris 1867), 398-401; see Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), 66-7; Michel Bur, *Suger, abbé de Saint-Denis, régent de France* (Paris 1991), 301-2. William discussed the reasons for the failure of the second crusade in his *Dialogus* 15, ed. André Wilmart, 'Le Dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger', *Revue Mabillon* 32 (1942), 107-8, on which see Hubert Glaser, 'Wilhelm von Saint-Denis', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965), 296, and chapter 10.

Lent (that is, 5-11 March)⁹ and from a letter to Peter the Venerable from Suger (which will be cited again later) saying that the meeting at Laon was attended by archbishops and bishops and also (contrary to what William of St Denis said of Suger's intentions) by the king and *optimates* of the realm.¹⁰ Bernard apparently did not attend, since he wrote in Letter 380 to Suger that 'I received the news brought by the master of the Temple and brother John as joyfully as if I believed it to have come from God. The lament of the eastern church is so sad that anyone who is not fully moved is no son of the church.' He then said that he was prevented from coming to see Suger by a meeting with the bishop of Langres but that he would come at another time, together with the bishop, 'who could be very useful to the discussion'.¹¹

Eugene III in his bull *Immensum pietatis*, dated 25 April and addressed to Suger, said that 'The great work of piety that divine mercy has inspired in my most beloved son Louis the illustrious king of the Franks has made me very anxious (*nos plurimum anxios reddit*).' He went on to say, referring either to the second crusade or to the campaigns of Nur al-Din, that the blow to the Christian name and the recent loss of blood by so many men had made him frightened and sad. Louis's devotion and love had mitigated his sadness, however, and brought hope of consolation. He therefore told Suger to study the spirits of the king, barons, and other men of the realm, 'and if you find them ready for so hard a task you should with confidence (*secure*) promise them my advice and help, as much as I can, and remission of sins, as is contained in my other letter (*aliis litteris nostris*).'¹² *Immensum pietatis* has been interpreted by most historians as lukewarm if not hostile to the undertaking. A good deal depends on the exact sense of *anxios*, however, which may mean 'uncertain' or 'concerned' rather than 'anxious' in the modern sense. Eugene was clearly cautious, but he was ready to support the project provided Suger believed that the king and nobles were ready to do so,

⁹ *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, ed. André Duchesne, 5 vols (Paris 1636-49), V, 534, no. 130 = *RHGF*, XV, 525, no. 111; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 281.

¹⁰ *Oeuvres de Suger* (n. 8), 268-9 = *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 2), I, 398-9, no. 165, with notes in II, 209; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 285.

¹¹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 380, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 344; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 282. Bernard was not explicit, but his statement about the troubles of the eastern church suggests that this letter refers to the Laon meeting. It is not known how Bernard heard about the problem in the east, but it is tempting to associate it with the letter to master Everard of Barres in 1149/50 from Bernard's maternal uncle, Andrew of Montbard, *dapifer* of the Templars, who announced the *terrae perditionem* and urged the pope, king, churchmen, and princes 'to assist their desolate mother either by their bodily presence or by contributing their goods': *RHGF*, XV, 540-1; see Phillips, *Defenders* (n. 5), 104-6.

¹² *PL*, CLXXX, 1414C-15A; *JL* 9385; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 283. At the end of the letter Eugene asked Suger to keep him informed of developments.

and he apparently issued a separate letter, now lost but probably couched in more positive terms, promising the participants his help and remission of sins.¹³

Suger wrote to Peter the Venerable the letter mentioned above, presumably in March or early April 1150, beginning:

I know from the letters that have been sent to me from those regions, and you doubtless have also heard, of the calamity of the eastern church and the siege in the city of Antioch of the cross of the Lord, the king of Jerusalem, the brothers of the Temple, and other faithful men.

He then described the meeting at Laon and the decision to hold a general council at Chartres on 7 May. He urgently requested Peter to attend and asked him to invite the archbishop of Lyons 'lest on account of the delay he should have occasion for not coming'.¹⁴ Bernard wrote to Peter in similar terms. Since 'the very serious and sad complaint of the eastern church has, I think, reached your ears and, indeed, the innermost parts of your heart', Peter should take pity on 'the mother of yourself and of all the faithful', especially when she is so afflicted and threatened.

For our fathers the bishops of France, together with the lord king and princes, will come to Chartres on the third Sunday after Easter [7 May] and will discuss this matter, and I very much hope to deserve your presence there. ... I am confident that your presence will greatly benefit this discussion owing both to the authority of the holy church of Cluny over which by God's will you preside and most greatly to the wisdom and grace that He gave you for the advantage of others and His own honor.¹⁵

Peter replied to both Suger and Bernard expressing his regret that he was unable to come. To Bernard he wrote:

Who is not moved that the Holy Land, [which was] not so long ago freed from the yoke of the impious by such great labors of our fathers and by so much blood of the little Christs, may perhaps again be subjected to the impious and the blasphemous? ... Who is not moved, I say, not only to sympathize, which is easy for everyone, but also to help in any way they can and to enter into a serious undertaking?

This is the reason, Peter said, that the king and the fathers of the church and great men of the realm decided to meet at Chartres and that he himself was invited

¹³ This 'other letter' (or possibly letters) is lost, unless Eugene was referring to *Quantum predecessores* or another previous crusading bull.

¹⁴ See n. 10 above.

¹⁵ Bernard, *Ep.* 364, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 318-9 = *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 2), I, 395-6, no. 163, with notes in II, 208-9.

to attend. He was prevented from coming both by 'the many misfortunes of my body', as he wrote to Suger, and by an important meeting at Cluny to be held on the same day as the council at Chartres. 'But if another meeting is held at another time,' he wrote to Bernard, 'either in your region or in ours, your reverence should know that I shall most willingly come unless an inevitable reason again stands in the way and that either with or without a meeting I shall offer to help such a cause in any way I can.'¹⁶ Two further letters relating to the council of Chartres were sent to Suger, one by archbishop Geoffrey of Bordeaux, who was unable to attend owing to ill health and a previously scheduled meeting at St Jean-d'Angély on the second Sunday after Easter (30 April),¹⁷ and another by archbishop Humbert of Lyons, who declined to come on account of the refusal of the archbishop of Sens to recognize the primacy of the church of Lyons and of the possible danger to his church during his absence. Humbert sent in his place, however, the former archbishop of Vienne, Stephen, 'who will assist you in my place as much as he can in the cause of God' and who would also help to settle the dispute between the churches of Lyons and Sens.¹⁸

A puzzling passage in an undated letter from the provost of Ellwangen to an unknown prior C (or of C) raises the possibility that word of the Chartres meeting circulated outside France.

I advise what I hope to be of great, indeed very great, benefit for the future, that you should most urgently exhort, request, and persuade the abbot of Clairvaux to put aside for the time being all his other affairs, as if in order to be free for prayer, and to come to the meeting of the king and other princes and many religious men after Easter, and there like a pious son, because he can do more than others, he should hold the case of the holy mother church in his hand and like an armed warrior defend [it] against any attackers.¹⁹

This sounds (as Jean Leclercq, the editor of the letter, proposed) like the council of Chartres, which involved the king and princes, met after Easter, and was called to deal with a serious threat to the church. Since Ellwangen was in the diocese

¹⁶ *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 2), I, 396-400, nos. 164, 166, with notes in II, 208-9; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), nos. 286, 289; Berry, 'Peter the Venerable' (n. 5), 159-62; Gillian R. Knight, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: A Semantic and Structural Analysis* (Aldershot 2002), 200-8.

¹⁷ *Scriptores* (n. 9), IV, 536, no. 135 = *RHGF*, XV, 524, no. 109; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 288. Another, and probably later, letter from Geoffrey to Suger (n. 28 below) suggests that he started on his way but stopped at Fontevault.

¹⁸ *Scriptores* (n. 9), IV, 535-6, no. 134 = *RHGF*, XV, 523-4, no. 108; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 287.

¹⁹ Jean Leclercq, 'Lettres du temps de saint Bernard' (1951), repr. in idem, *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, II (Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi 104; Rome 1966), 337, with notes on 334-5.

of Augsburg, however, and another passage in the letter referred to the abbot of Eberbach, the meeting in question was probably held in the empire rather than in France. It seems unlikely, furthermore, that the provost of Ellwangen, even if his correspondent was the prior of Cîteaux or Clairvaux, would have written in such terms about a meeting of which Bernard was one of the principal promoters.

There is no official evidence of the business conducted at Chartres aside from a charter of Louis VII concerning a dispute between Ralph Mauvoisin and some *pauperes*.²⁰ Bernard wrote to the pope after the council saying that 'You have done well to praise the zeal of our Gallican church and to strengthen it by the authority of your letters.' This presumably refers to *Immensum pietatis* or to 'the other letter' promising advice and assistance and remission of sins, though 13 days (25 April to 7 May) was an exceptionally short time for a letter to reach Chartres from Rome.²¹ Bernard went on to say, perhaps reproaching the pope's caution, that 'Nothing should be done tepidly or timidly ... in so general and so serious a cause' and that in this passion of Christ, Who was suffering again 'where He suffered in the other passion', the pope must draw both the temporal and the spiritual swords. 'Both are Peter's: one should be drawn at his command and the other by his hand, as often as needed.' 'A special danger requires a special effort,' Bernard wrote, and the swords must be drawn now in order to defend the eastern church. He himself, Bernard told the pope, had been chosen at Chartres, against his advice, wish, and capacity, 'almost as the leader and prince of the army'. This was entirely beyond his strength and ability, not to mention his monastic profession, and he asked the pope to protect him from human desires (*humanis voluntatibus*) of this sort.²²

Bernard certainly played a leading role at the council, but what exactly he did is unknown. An entry under the year 1150 in the Premonstratensian continuation of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, and in at least two other chronicles, recorded that 'After councils were held in France, and pope Eugene agreed that

²⁰ *Scriptores* (n. 9), IV, 537, no. 139; Achille Luchaire, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris 1885), 178-9, no. 248; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 290.

²¹ Bernard travelled with great difficulty from Rome to Clairvaux in 20 days, according to Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita prima Bernardi*, IV, 1, in *Bernard*, ed. Mabillon, II.2 (=VI), 2216A. An express messenger could presumably travel faster, and in the sixteenth century, when the speed of travel was not much greater than in the twelfth, it was possible for a letter to reach Paris from Rome in ten days: Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris 1957), I, 54-5. The average time to carry a letter from Rome to Canterbury in the twelfth century was 29 days, according to Reginald L. Poole, 'The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury' (1924), repr. in idem, *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. Austin L. Poole (Oxford 1934), 263. See also Piero Zerbi, 'Remarques sur l'Epistola 98 de Pierre le Vénérable', in *Pierre Abélard – Pierre le Vénérable ... Abbaye de Cluny 2 au 9 juillet 1972* (Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 546; Paris 1975), 230 n.27.

²² Bernard, *Ep.* 256, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 163-5. For Bernard's doctrine on the two swords, see *De consideratione*, IV, 3.7, ed. Leclercq, III, 454, which was written about 1150.

the abbot of Clairvaux should be sent to Jerusalem in order to incite others, another great sermon (*sermo*) was celebrated concerning the journey across the sea, but it came to nothing entirely owing to the Cistercian monks.²³ The nature of the *sermo* is uncertain, but it seems likely that Bernard preached at the council. In an exemplum in the late-thirteenth-century MS London, British Library, Royal 7.D.i, Bernard was said to have preached to the crusaders after their return from the second crusade a sermon in which he attributed the failure to the confidence of the crusaders in their own power rather than God's help and to the fact that they sought earthly rather than heavenly things.²⁴ The story may be apocryphal, but the views expressed are consistent with those of Bernard, and he is not known to have had any other occasion to preach to the crusaders after their return. The attribution to Bernard in MS Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 1840-1848 of a sermon given at the council of Chartres shows that Bernard was thought to have preached there, though the sermon in question (as Leclercq pointed out) is in fact by Hildebert of Lavardin and was given at the council of Chartres in 1124.²⁵

After the council Bernard wrote to Peter the Venerable that 'A great and serious enterprise of the Lord has appeared in the entire world. Great indeed, since the King of heaven is losing His land, the land of His inheritance, the land "where His feet stood" [Psalm 131.7].' 'But there is none to help,' Bernard continued, citing Psalm 21.12.

The hearts of the princes have become weak; they carry a sword without a purpose; it is wrapped in the skins of dead animals and consecrated to rust. ... The Son of God has turned to you as to one of the greatest princes of His house. For 'a certain nobleman who went into a far country' [Luke 19.12] committed to you much of both his inner and his outer substance, and in his need he must have your aid and counsel.

At the council of Chartres, Bernard wrote, 'Little or nothing was done of the business of God,' and on 15 July another meeting would be held at Compiègne, which he earnestly asked Peter to attend. 'It should be done in this way; necessity, and great necessity, requires it so.'²⁶ Peter's reply to this letter is not known, but, in

²³ *Sigeberti continuatio Praemonstratensis* s.a. 1150, in *MGH, SS*, VI, 455. See also the *Chronicon S. Martini Turonensis*, in *RHGF*, XII, 474AB, and the *Appendix ad Sigebertum* attributed to the so-called 'other' Robert de Monte, in *RHGF*, XIII, 332E, which have respectively *jubente* and *annuente* in the phrase 'conivente etiam papa Eugenio'.

²⁴ See chapter 10, App. C.

²⁵ Georg Hüffer, *Der heilige Bernard von Clairvaux*, I. *Vorstudien* (Münster 1886), 237-46, see also 228. The sermon in question is published in *PL*, CLXXI, 954D-9A. See Leclercq, 'Lettres' (n. 19), 332.

²⁶ Bernard, *Ep.* 521, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 483-4. This letter was discovered by J. Satabin and published (with notes) in *Etudes religieuses* 62 (May-August 1894), 321-7, and (without notes) in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 55 (1894), 563-4. It was not known

view of the state of his health in the second half of 1150, it is unlikely that he was able to attend.²⁷ Archbishop Geoffrey of Bordeaux, in a letter probably relating to this meeting, also excused himself on the grounds of ill health.²⁸

Suger wrote to the pope at about the same time a letter that is now lost but to which Eugene replied on 19 June with *Ex eo quod*. He praised Suger's concern for the eastern church

because my heart is also disturbed by great sadness and greatly afflicted on this account. I therefore cannot withhold my assent to the request of yourself and others who have written me about this matter, although it will be very difficult for me owing to the weakness of the man on whom all the votes, with God's approval, have fallen. I therefore advise your love, as a discreet and prudent man, to show labor and zeal diligently in such a great and distinguished enterprise.

At the end of his letter the pope asked Suger and the bishop of Noyon to promote the cause of religion at Compiègne, presumably referring to the reform of the monastery of St Cornelius and incidentally confirming that the main part of the letter concerned the meeting at Compiègne.²⁹ Some scholars have questioned whether this meeting in fact took place,³⁰ but there is no serious reason to doubt that it did and that it constituted the third and final effort to organize the crusade to which Suger's biographer referred.³¹

The failure of these efforts has commonly been attributed to the reluctance of the king and barons, who were exhausted and discouraged by their efforts on the second crusade, and to the lack of firm support from the pope, whose hesitation is apparent both in his own letters and in Bernard's Letter 256, where he said that in such a cause 'Nothing should be done tepidly or timidly' and urged Eugene to draw both swords with vigor and decision. So far as is known, however, Eugene's

to Luchaire, 'Chronologie' (n. 5), 304, who said that the location of the third meeting was unknown.

²⁷ *Letters of Peter the Venerable* (n. 2), I, 379-83, nos. 158a and b, with notes in II, 205 and 250.

²⁸ *Scriptores* (n. 9), IV, 542, no. 155 = *RHGF*, XV, 524-5, no. 110; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 297. That this letter applied to the meeting at Compiègne is suggested by the reference to Geoffrey's inability to come to the council at Chartres.

²⁹ *PL*, CLXXX, 1419CD, and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, ed. Emile Morel I (Montdidier 1904), 114-15, no. 62; *JL* 9398; Cartellieri, *Suger* (n. 5), no. 295. Cf. Kugler, *Kreuzzüge* (n. 5), 154 n.1, who cited the bull as reading 'imbecillitas personae abbatis Bernardi'.

³⁰ Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 5), II, 432; Hefele, *Conciles*, ed. Leclercq (n. 5), V.1, 843 n.4; Berry, 'Peter the Venerable' (n. 5), 162; Bolton, 'Cistercians' (n. 5), 138.

³¹ If the phrase 'grandis iterum sermo de profectione transmarina celebratur' in the Premonstratensian continuation of Sigebert and other chronicles cited n. 23 above means that 'another great discussion was celebrated concerning the journey across the sea', it may refer to the meeting at Compiègne.

doubts were expressed in private letters. Publicly he issued letters promising his help and advice and remission of sins, and he approved not only the participation of Bernard of Clairvaux but also (to judge from the entry in the Premonstratensian continuation of Sigebert and other chronicles) his going to Jerusalem.³² This approval may, indeed, have contributed to the failure, since according to the chronicles, 'It came to nothing entirely owing to the Cistercians,' who may not have wanted Bernard to organize another crusade, let alone to go to the Holy Land.³³ A further damper on the endeavor was doubtless put by the refusal of Conrad III to abandon his alliance with the Byzantine emperor and the consequent collapse of the plan for a joint French and Sicilian campaign against Byzantium.³⁴ The fact that an experienced and realistic leader like Suger promoted the idea, however, and enlisted the support of Bernard, the pope, and (at least for a time) the king and that he was able to hold three councils within rapid succession shows that there was still a serious concern in France for the problems of the Christians in the east and some enthusiasm for a project which, had it come to fruition, might have been known in history as the third crusade.

Note

First published in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusading History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot 1997), 67-75.

³² Brial, 'Mémoire' (n. 5), 518, said that Bernard's *Ep.* 256 reflected the impression made by reading *Immensum pietatis* publicly at Chartres; Henri Leclercq in his edition of Hefele, *Conciles* (n. 5), V.1, 843 n.4, wrote 'La lecture de ce document à Chartres porta le coup de grâce au projet'; Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 5), II, 431, spoke of 'le mauvais effet produit par sa lettre du 25 avril'. There is no evidence that the pope's letter was read publicly, however, or that Bernard's letter recorded more than his private views. Indeed, William of St Denis in the passage cited above from the *Life* of Suger attributed the initiative in the project to Eugene, who requested and ordered Suger to do what he could to help the eastern church: see Vacandard, *Bernard* (n. 5), II, 429 n.3, calling this an error on William's part.

³³ When Bernard was preaching in Languedoc in 1145, he received 'many letters from Clairvaux' urging him to return, according to Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita prima Bernardi*, VI, 3.5-6, ed. Mabillon, II.2 (=6), 2328AB. See Robert Moore, 'St. Bernard's Mission in the Languedoc in 1145', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 47 (1974), 8; Bolton, 'Cistercians' (n. 5), 132.

³⁴ According to Wibald of Stavelot, *Ep.* 252, in *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. Philipp Jaffé (Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum I; Berlin 1864), 377, Bernard wrote to Conrad III in early March praising the king of Sicily, but by that time it was clear that Conrad would not break with Manuel.

Chapter 13

The Fourth Crusade

The crusades have a bad name today, and none of them worse than the fourth crusade, of which the eight hundredth anniversary was commemorated in 2004. Most scholars have little or nothing good to say about the expedition that was diverted or, in the opinion of many, perverted from its original goals in Egypt and the Holy Land and culminated with the capture and sack of Constantinople. 'There was never a greater crime against humanity than the fourth crusade,' said Steven Runciman in 1954, and subsequent writers have echoed his words, calling the crusade 'ungodly', 'unholy', 'obviously criminal', and 'the ultimate perversion of the crusading idea'.¹ It has cast a dark shadow not only over the participants, to whom some historians would deny the name of crusaders, but also over its promoters, including Innocent III, who has been compared to Stalin.² Jane Sayers in her biography of Innocent called the crusade 'an unqualified and dreadful disaster' with an 'ignominious and shameful outcome'.³

This negative view of the fourth crusade is in part owing to the nature of the sources, which tell us in some respects too much (if that is possible) and in other respects too little about the undertaking.⁴ For the most part they go up to, but not beyond, the conquest of Constantinople, and pay little attention to the subsequent

¹ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1951-4), III, 130. Cf. John Godfrey, *1204: The Unholy Crusade* (Oxford-New York 1980); Karsten Fledehus, 'The Idea of the Crusades', in *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brian P. McGuire (Copenhagen 1987), 257; Wayne B. Bartlett, *An Ungodly War: The Sack of Constantinople and the Fourth Crusade* (Stroud 2000); Thomas Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore-London 2003), 173 ('The sack of Constantinople was the most profitable and shameful in medieval European history'); Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York-Toronto 2004), xiii ('an episode coloured by brutality and determination, depravity and avarice, political intrigue and religious zeal'). For a more traditional judgment, see Richard Newhall, *The Crusades* (New York 1927), 63 and revised ed. (New York 1963), 77.

² Terry Jones and Alan Ereira, *Crusades* (New York 1995), 196, who elsewhere (9) described the crusaders as cannibals. John Julius Norwich, 'Wayward Christian Soldiers', *New York Times Magazine*, 18 April 1999, 140, wrote that the fourth crusade 'wasn't a Crusade at all – merely a series of deceptions, born of a cynicism almost unbelievable'.

³ Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198-1216* (London-New York 1994), 172.

⁴ On the sources of the fourth crusade, see Alfred Andrea, 'Essay in Primary Sources', in Donald Queller, Thomas Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2 ed. (Philadelphia 1997), 299-313; idem, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*

events. Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, who were both participants, give detailed, though not entirely compatible, accounts of the external events. They were the first secular, and among the first vernacular, historians of the crusades. Their works were designed to be read aloud to noble audiences, and they each had a distinctive point of view and, to some extent, an axe to grind.⁵ The letters of Innocent III and the *Deeds of Innocent III*, written about 1208, manifestly present the papal position.⁶ Gunther of Pairis, like many of the minor sources published by Paul Riant in his *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, is primarily concerned with the relics taken by the crusaders from Constantinople to the west.⁷ In these Latin sources, the capture and sack of Constantinople was the real end of the crusade. The Greek historians Choniates and Mesarites likewise concentrate on

(The Medieval Mediterranean 29; Leiden-Boston-Cologne 2000). On the problems of eyewitness sources generally, see chapter 10.

⁵ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, 2 ed. (Paris 1874) (= Villehardouin); Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Les classiques français du moyen âge 40; Paris 1974) (= Clari). The new edition of Clari by Jean Dufournet (Paris 2004) appeared too late to be used here. De Wailly's edition of Villehardouin is used rather than the more recent edition of Edmond Faral owing to its useful appendices and indices. On the style and points of view of these works see De Wailly, in Villehardouin, 440-8 (Clari), 490-520 (Villehardouin), and the separately-paginated 'Analyse historique et littéraire de Ville-Hardouin'; Peter Schon, *Studien zum Stil der frühen französischen Prosa: Robert de Clari, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Henri de Valenciennes* (Analecta romanica. Beihefte zu den romanischen Forschungen 8; Frankfurt a.M. 1960); Jean Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IV^e croisade. Villehardouin et Clari*, 2 vols paginated consecutively (Paris 1973); Gérard Jacquin, *Le style historique dans les recits français et latins de la quatrième croisade* (Lille-Paris 1986), 381-90; (on Villehardouin) Jeanette M. A. Beer, *Villehardouin: Epic Historian* (Etudes de philologie et d'histoire 7; Geneva 1968); (on Clari) Alexander Kazhdan, Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris 1984), 278-86, who stressed Clari's interest in movement, action, and direct address. Villehardouin's accuracy and veracity have been debated by scholars for many years.

⁶ *Gesta Innocentii papae III*, in *PL*, CCXIV, xvii-ccxxviii; ed. and tr. James Powell, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author* (Washington 2004), who said in the intro. (xli) that the author tried 'to portray the difficulties that confronted the pope' in 'dealing with situations in which secular and spiritual concerns were mixed'. On Innocent and the crusade, see in addition to the work of Sayers (n. 3), Joseph Gill, 'Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?', in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh 1971), 95-108, who stressed Innocent's concern for ecclesiastical union; James Powell, 'Innocent III and Alexius III: A Crusade Plan that Failed', in *The Experience of Crusading, I: Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull, Norman Housley (Cambridge 2003), 96-102.

⁷ Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, ed. Paul Riant, in *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols (Geneva 1877-1903), I, 57-126; ed. Peter Orth (Spolia Berolinensia 5; Hildesheim-Zurich 1994); tr. Alfred Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia 1997).

the events in and around Constantinople.⁸ If there were similarly detailed accounts of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the prevailing view of the first crusade might be more like that of the fourth. 'As "a crime against humanity",' Michael Angold wrote, 'the conquest of Constantinople hardly rates beside the crusader sack of Jerusalem in 1099 or the excesses of the Albigensian crusade'⁹ – or, one might add, the Holocaust or other recent atrocities.

The results of the fourth crusade have likewise been assessed negatively. 'In the wide sweep of world history,' again according to Runciman, 'the effects were wholly disastrous.' It paved the way for the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Islamization and Balkanization of eastern Europe, deepened the division between the eastern and western churches, and left a legacy of profound dislike and distrust between the Greeks and Latins.¹⁰ Archbishop Christodoulos of Athens, addressing pope John Paul II on his visit to Greece in 2001, demanded a formal apology for what he called 'the destructive mania of the crusaders'. Recent Byzantine historians have taken a more moderate position and argued that the responsibility for the conquest of Constantinople lay in part with the Greeks.¹¹

⁸ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Johannes Van Dieten, 2 vols (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 11.1-2; Berlin-New York 1975), tr. Harry Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit 1984); Nikolaos Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. August Heisenberg (Würzburg 1907) and in *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel*, tr. Franz Grabler (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1958). On Choniates see Kazhdan/Franklin, *Studies* (n. 5), esp. 278-86; on Mesarites see the references in n. 119 below.

⁹ Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (Harlow-London 2003), 116. See Rudolf Hiestand, 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems im Jahr 1099', *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlands* 49 (2002), 1-32; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades* 3 (2004), 15-75, who gives a comprehensive survey of the changing views of the massacre from 1099 until the present time. See also Kaspar Elm, 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems im Jahre 1099. Ihre Darstellung, Beurteilung und Deutung in den Quellen zur Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, Nikolas Jaspert (Campus historische Studien 29; Frankfurt-New York 2001), 31-59; Peter Christian Jacobsen, 'Die Eroberung von Jerusalem in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung', *ibid.* 335-66; Klaus Herbers, 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems 1099. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven', *ibid.* 423-66. John France, 'The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 1-17, is concerned primarily with the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in 1099.

¹⁰ Runciman, *Crusades* (n. 1), III, 130. See Ernle Bradford, *The Sundered Cross: The Story of the Fourth Crusade* (Englewood Cliffs 1967), ix-xi; Donald M. Nicol, *The Crusades and the Unity of Christendom* (Friends of Dr Williams's Library: 40 Lecture; London 1986), 9; Nikolas Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge* (Darmstadt 2003), 49; cf. Angold, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 9), 109-217, for a more moderate view.

¹¹ See the paper by Aphrodite Papayianni on 'The Fourth Crusade: The Greek Historiographical Point of View' presented at the conference on 'Half a Century of Studies on Crusades and Military Orders' held at Teruel, Spain, on 19-25 July 2001.

'From a Byzantine point of view,' according to Anthony Bryer, '1204 is only the culmination of an internal social, geographical and political disintegration which ... had so far advanced that one wonders, if the fourth crusade had not come, the Greeks would not have had to invent it.'¹² From a more positive point of view, there is still no comprehensive study of the influence on western art or religion of the treasures brought from Constantinople to the west. In this respect, as with many modern museums and libraries, Constantinople's loss was Europe's gain. A few scholars have even argued that the fourth crusade had beneficial effects in opening markets and strengthening the Byzantines against the Seljukids.¹³ In so far as it opened the way to the subsequent fall of Constantinople to the Muslims, it is also important to bear in mind Christopher Tyerman's warning that:

Only a racial and religious prejudice can assume that Turkish rule was per se worse for the inhabitants of western Asia Minor or the Balkans than that of fractious warring Christian princelings.¹⁴

It is not the purpose of this chapter to examine this question, nor that of the diversion of the crusade to Constantinople, which is still debated by scholars, in spite of the warnings of Achille Luchaire almost a century ago, and more recently of Hans Mayer, that the problem is basically insoluble and unfruitful. Jean Richard, writing in 1996, said that the theory of chance (or accidents) and the theory of premeditation (or intrigue or treason) 'will doubtless have their adherents for a long time still'.¹⁵ Personally I lean towards the view that has been called a modified

¹² Anthony Bryer, 'Cultural Relations between East and West in the Twelfth Century', in *Relations* (n. 6), 87-8. Cf. the similar views of Joan Hussey, 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1081-1204,' in *Wisconsin History*, II, 150 ('In reality a prime cause in determining the course of events was the fundamental change in the character of the empire from the eleventh century onwards.');

Angold, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 9), 5 ('The fall of Constantinople to the crusaders crystallized trends that had been working against Byzantium for centuries.');

Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow-London 2004), 209, 211 ('We may even question the extent to which 1204 really marks a cataclysm in Byzantine history.').

¹³ Peter M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London-New York 1986), 172. Cécile Morrisson gave a lecture entitled 'Opening Markets after 1204: Was there a Benefit from the Fourth Crusade?' at the conference on 'The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences' held in Athens on March 9-12, 2004 (see n. on p. 347). On 3-4 May 2004 a conference was held in Venice on 'Venice, the Fourth Crusade and the Arts', dealing among other things with 'spolia' and 'exempla', which suggests some positive assessments.

¹⁴ Christopher Tyerman reviewing Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (n. 9), and Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade* (n. 1), in the *Times Literary Supplement* no. 5274 (30 April 2004), 9.

¹⁵ Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III. La question d'Orient* (Paris 1907), 97; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 200-01, 311

theory of accidents, which posits that some participants took advantage of events to promote their own interests, but without a prior plot or conspiracy. In particular I accept the arguments against the view that the Venetians were uninterested in the religious purposes of the crusade and cynically manipulated it exclusively for their own selfish ends.¹⁶

I want to concentrate here on two aspects of the fourth crusade that seem to have been insufficiently emphasized by previous historians. The first is that for most, if not all, the participants the expedition was and remained a religious undertaking, in spite of the disagreements over its diversion and outcome. Second, in view of its strategic and religious importance, and of the long history of distrust between the Greeks and the Latins, Constantinople could be considered a legitimate goal of the crusade.

This is not the place to discuss the defining characteristics of a crusade, concerning which scholars disagree. By most criteria, however, the fourth crusade was without question a crusade. The pope issued the summons and promised spiritual and temporal privileges to participants, who made solemn vows and bore the cross of crusading. The message was spread by Fulk of Neuilly, a notable preacher who has been called 'the apostle of the poor for the crusade'.¹⁷ It was headed to the east, which is a key issue dividing the so-called traditionalists among crusader historians and the pluralists, who regard the expeditions to the Iberian peninsula and northwestern Europe as legitimate crusades. Above all it

n.103, distinguishing 'the chance theory' and 'the intrigue theory', which postulates a plot by the Venetians, prince Alexius, or Innocent III; Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris 1996), 262. See also Donald Queller, Susan Stratton, 'A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969), 235-77; *The Latin Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. Donald Queller (Major Issues in History; New York-London 1971), who distinguished the theories of accidents, treason, and 'the modified theory of accidents'; Charles Brand, 'The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations', *Medievalia et Humanistica* NS 12 (1984), 33-45.

¹⁶ Donald Queller, Gerald Day, 'Some Arguments in Defense of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review* 81 (1976), 717-37; Donald Queller, Thomas Madden, 'Some Further Arguments in Defense of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade', *Byzantion* 62 (1992), 433-73; Thomas Madden, 'Vows and Contracts in the Fourth Crusade: The Treaty of Zara and the Attack on Constantinople in 1204', *International History Review* 15 (1993), 441-68; idem, 'Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade', *International History Review* 17 (1995), 726-93. Madden in particular criticized the views of Donald Nicol, as expressed, for instance, in his *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge 1988), 422. See also the paper by Luigi Andrea Berto on 'La Quarta Crociata nella storiografia italiana degli ultimi cinquanta anni' presented at the Teruel conference (n. 11), and more generally John Bryan Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: the Genoese anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146-1148', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 30: 'The decisions of the Italian communes to participate in crusades cannot be explained solely in terms of material gain.'

¹⁷ Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2 vols (Evolution de l'humanité 38-38 bis; Paris 1954-9), II, 64 and generally 76-82.

was universally considered a crusade by contemporaries, even when they did not approve of the results. The fact that the fourth crusade was diverted, or even perverted or misused, is no reason not to call it a crusade.

The idea of an 'indirect' crusade to Jerusalem through Egypt had already been raised during the third crusade. The participants in the fourth crusade were also not the first crusaders to attack peoples and places which were not among their original objectives or to perform acts of brutality, such as the massacres of the Jews in the Rhineland by the followers of Peter the Hermit during the first crusade. Bohemund attacked Durazzo in 1107, and Richard I attacked Messina and Cyprus during the third crusade.¹⁸ The history of crusades against Christians, including schismatics, simoniacs, and others who were regarded as enemies of the church, has been traced to the turn of the millenium,¹⁹ and by the middle of the twelfth century, according to Thomas Madden, 'The definition of a crusade had expanded to include various wars in defense of the faith at home.'²⁰ The third Lateran council in 1179 authorized the use of force both against heretics and against Christians who disturbed the peace, and it promised the same spiritual privileges to participants as to crusaders to the Holy Land.²¹ Innocent III used the crusade against his political enemies, such as Markward of Anweiler, whose opponents 'wore the cross and received the same indulgences as those who fought in Palestine'.²² Some of the crusaders who responded to the call for the fourth crusade, indeed, were used against the enemies of the church in south Italy.²³ Innocent therefore had only himself to blame if the other participants attacked Christians whom they considered to be schismatics and enemies of the Roman church. His reaction to the progress of the crusade and his condemnation of the

¹⁸ See (on Bohemund) Gerhard Rösche, 'Der "Kreuzzug" Bohemunds gegen Dyrrachion 1107/8 in der lateinischen Tradition des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 26 (1984), 181-90; Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095-1197* (Harlow-London 2002), 29-30; (on Richard) Harold Fink, 'The Foundation of the Latin States', in *Wisconsin History*, I, 391; Sidney Painter, 'The Third Crusade: Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus', in *Wisconsin History*, II, 58-64.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1279* (Oxford 1985), 175-89; Norman Housley, 'Crusades Against Christians: their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff 1985), 17-36; idem, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea 1099-1128', in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem-London 1992), 31.

²⁰ Thomas Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, Md. 1999), 123.

²¹ *Conc. oec. dec.*, 224-5 (III Lateran 27), 239 (IV Lateran 3).

²² Sayers, *Innocent III* (n. 3), 184; Joseph Strayer, 'The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century', in *Wisconsin History*, II, 346.

²³ Donald Queller, Thomas Compton, Donald Campbell, 'The Fourth Crusade: the Neglected Majority', *Speculum* 49 (1974), 441-6.

attacks on Zara and Constantinople were as much an aspect of his personality and of his inability to control events – even events manifestly beyond his control – as of the illegitimacy of the undertaking.

The outcome of the crusade should not be allowed to impugn the sincerity of the participants, who regarded themselves as crusaders committed to a holy cause, though the terms *crusade* and *crusader* were not yet in common use. Modern historians have too often overlooked what has been called the ‘essentially spiritual character’ of the fourth crusade and misrepresented it ‘as a purely secular adventure’.²⁴ Whatever its secular aspects, it was, like other crusades, first and foremost a religious undertaking, though not therefore necessarily meritorious. Villehardouin referred to the participants as pilgrims (*pelerin*) and used the adjective crossed (*croisé*) and the verbs to cross oneself (*se croiser* and *s’en croiser*) and, occasionally, to take the cross. Fulk of Neuilly, he said, preached the cross on the authority of Innocent III. Robert of Clari likewise used the terms *pelerin* and *croisé* as the equivalents of the later ‘crusader’. In the Latin sources the crusade is called a *peregrinatio* and its participants *peregrini* and *crucesignati* or simply *signati*.

The principal distinctions among the participants were national and occasionally social groups. Villehardouin referred at one point to the barons and pilgrims, and elsewhere to the ranks of count, baron, knight, sergeant, and footsoldier.²⁵ As a rule, he simply distinguished the Burgundians, Champagnois, French, Germans, Lombards, Tuscans, and Venetians, though he sometimes grouped them together as Latins in contrast to the Greeks. Clari also classified the crusaders by their national origins as the men of Amiens, Champagne, Flanders, France, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, though like Villehardouin he occasionally distinguished the Latins from the Greeks. Gunther of Pairis referred at one point to the Flemish, French, and Venetian participants and at another to the French, Italians, Venetians, Germans, and, as he put it, ‘men of other nations’.²⁶ The continuator of Otto of Freising spoke of the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins and Germans.²⁷ In a few sources, including the anonymous *Deeds of the bishops of Halberstadt* and the *Devastation of Constantinople*, the Venetians were distinguished from the

²⁴ Raymond H. Schmandt, ‘The Fourth Crusade and the Just-War Theory’, *Catholic Historical Review* 61 (1975), 197; Gunther, *Historia* (n. 7), tr. Andrea, intro. 27. According to Luchaire, *Innocent III* (n. 15), 97, the crusade escaped the control of the church and ‘se laïcisa’.

²⁵ Villehardouin, XIV, 64 (38)

²⁶ Gunther of Pairis, *Historia* (n. 7), VII, XVIII, ed. Riant, 77, 102, ed. Orth, 128, 156. On the distribution of men according to place of origin and language on the Lisbon crusade in 1147, see chapter 11 n.7.

²⁷ *Continuatio Sanblasiana Ottonis Frisingensis* 49, in *MGH, SS, XX*, 332. As a rule he called the crusaders *peregrini*.

other pilgrims, who were characterized as *nos*.²⁸ Innocent III in 1204 referred to an agreement between the pilgrims and the Venetians.²⁹

Some modern historians have treated the Venetians, and the Italians generally, as if they were not 'true' crusaders and were more concerned with trade than with religion.³⁰ This position finds little support in the sources. Villehardouin and Clari did not distinguish the Venetians from the other crusaders except as a national group. Indeed, Villehardouin specifically said that after the doge Dandolo took the cross, which was sewn onto the front of a large cotton cap 'because he wanted the people to see it', the number of Venetians who took the cross gave great joy to 'our pilgrims', as Villehardouin called them.³¹ Subsequently the Venetians were themselves pilgrims like the other crusaders. The so-called anonymous of Soissons, who was also a participant, clearly included Venetians among the 'our men' (*nostri*) in contrast to the inhabitants of Zara.³² 'The fourth crusade was a primarily religious expression' for Venetian merchants,³³ wrote Alfred Andrea, as well as for French knights.

The aim of rescuing Jerusalem was never forgotten. Gunther of Pairis, writing after the crusade, gave an account of a stirring sermon given at Basel, probably by his predecessor abbot Martin of Pairis, who participated in the crusade. He stressed the need to rescue the cities of the Holy Land, above all Jerusalem, and promised not only absolution from all sins to those who took the cross and made a

²⁸ *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, in *MGH, SS*, XXIII, 117, tr. Alfred Andrea, 'The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade: Popular Religiosity in the Early Thirteenth Century', *Historical Reflections: Réflexions historiques* 22 (1996), 447-77; idem, 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*: A Special Perspective on the Fourth Crusade. An Analysis, New Edition, and Translation', *Historical Reflections: Réflexions historiques* 19 (1993), 107-49 (text on 131-8). On these two works see Andrea, 'Essay' (n. 4), 303-4, 306-7; idem, *Sources* (n. 4), 205-21, 239-64.

²⁹ Innocent III, *Reg.* VII, 203, in *PL*, CCXV, 515C. Innocent's letters are cited here from the *PL*, which is more accessible than the still-incomplete new edition.

³⁰ See the references in n. 16 above. Steven Runciman, 'Byzantium and the Crusades' (1985), repr. in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas Madden (Oxford 2002), 219, called 'the tragedy of 1204, the grand ambitious revenge of Venice on Byzantium'.

³¹ Villehardouin, XIV, 68 (38-40). On Dandolo and the fourth crusade, see Edmond René Labande, 'Pellegrini o crociati? Mentalità e comportamenti a Gerusalemme nel secolo XII', *Aevum* 54 (1980), 220-1; Madden, *Dandolo* (n. 1), 117-73, who defended Dandolo against some of the extravagant charges against him; Angold, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 9), 58 ('Dandolo was a voice of reason and caution.'). Dimitar Mollov at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds on 12-15 July 2004 gave a talk on Dandolo's moral leadership on the crusade as depicted by fourteenth-century Venetian historians.

³² Alfred Andrea, Paul Rachlin, 'Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft: The Anonymous of Soissons's *De terra Iherosolimitana*. An Analysis, Edition, and Translation', *Historical Reflections: Réflexions historiques* 18.1 (1992), 147-75 (ref. on 159). See Andrea, 'Essay' (n. 4), 307; idem, *Sources* (n. 4), 223-38.

³³ Gunther, *Historia* (n. 7), tr. Andrea, intro. 29.

sincere confession but also eternal salvation to those who died. Nor did he forget material rewards, saying towards the end:

See now brothers how great a security there is in this pilgrimage, in which there is both a secure promise regarding the kingdom of heaven and ample hope of temporal prosperity.³⁴

According to the *Deeds of Innocent III* the original agreement between the French and the Venetians was that 'some would go to Syria [that is, the Holy Land] and the rest to Egypt to capture Alexandria and the surrounding land, and thus the Holy Land might more easily be freed from the hands of the pagans'. Innocent approved this plan on condition

that they would not injure Christians unless perhaps they wrongfully impeded their journey or for some other just and necessary reason they could not act otherwise.³⁵

According to the chronicle of Novgorod, the pope and the emperor Philip of Swabia agreed in 1204 that the crusaders should go on to Jerusalem after establishing the young prince Alexius (the future emperor Alexius IV) on the throne of Constantinople.³⁶ Even after the crusaders arrived at Constantinople, and in the midst of the events leading up to its capture, the envoy of Alexius III assured the crusaders that the emperor knew that they were Christians who were going to deliver the Holy Land, the Holy Cross, and the Holy Sepulcher, and prince Alexius promised that if they placed him on the throne

³⁴ Gunther, *Historia* (n. 7), III, ed. Riant, 64, ed. Orth, 114. Cf. tr. Andrea, 71.

³⁵ *Gesta* (n. 6), 83, in *PL*, CCXIV, cxxxi BC, tr. Powell, 131-2. On Egypt as the object of the crusade see Hannes Möhring, 'Kreuzzug und Dschihad in der mediaevistischen und orientalischen Forschung 1965-1985', *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 10/11 (1988), 373; Simon Lloyd, 'The Crusading Movement, 1096-1274', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford-New York 1995), 39, who said that 'the idea of making Egypt the goal of crusade emerged as a serious alternative to campaigning in the Latin East itself' in the late twelfth century; Richard Fletcher, *The Cross and the Crescent: Christianity and Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Reformation* (New York-London 2003), 81-2, on the 'way of Egypt'; Tyerman, in *Times Literary Supplement* (n. 14), 8, on Egypt as 'the key to securing lasting control of Jerusalem'.

³⁶ Sylvain Patri, 'La relation russe de la Quatrième Croisade', *Byzantion* 58 (1988), 479.

He himself, after giving them sufficient funds, would go to Jerusalem in his own person and at his own expense for himself and his men and with the agreement of our men and would fight there for three years.³⁷

Although he never fulfilled this promise, it shows that neither the Greeks nor the Latins lost sight of the objective of the crusade. It is not true to say that after the decision was made to go to Constantinople the crusaders abandoned the plans to continue to the east.³⁸

The participants had no doubt about the religious nature of the undertaking, though it is clear that many of them questioned the diversions and were concerned, at least in retrospect, to justify the sack of Constantinople and the thefts of relics. The *Constantinopolitan history* by Gunther of Pairis in particular was written to authenticate the relics brought from Constantinople to the abbey of Pairis. For Gunther the crusade was the work of God, who arranged, he said, that the Greeks 'should be humbled by their very pride and recalled to the peace and concord of the holy catholic church'.³⁹ A more skeptical note was sounded by Burchard of Ursberg, who may have resented the acquisition by a rival abbey of so many splendid relics and who wrote under the year 1204, 'Let the reader judge whether they [the relics] were stolen (*furtive*) [and] whether the lord pope can justify such theft (*rapina*) from a Christian people, just as the theft of the Israelites in Egypt is justified by divine authority.'⁴⁰

Recent scholars have recognized the religious interests of the contemporary writers. Robert of Clari in particular emphasized the religious and symbolic significance of the events, and all the contemporary authors, both in French and Latin, drew attention to supernatural features such as miracles, prophecies, and visions and showed their interest in relics and icons even before the capture of Constantinople.⁴¹ Villehardouin saw the crusade as 'the "defensive war": "Liberanda christianitas" from her recent enslavement and insult' and described the crusaders' victories 'in terms of Christ's Gospel miracles'.⁴² Comparatively little attention has been paid, however, to the internal history of the crusade, that is, the hopes and expectations of the individual participants, nor to what has been called 'the neglected majority' of crusaders and to their diversity and 'spirit of

³⁷ Villehardouin, XIX, 143 (81); Anon. of Soissons, *De terra* (n. 32), 159; Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, 139, in *Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H. François Delaborde, 2 vols (Société de l'histoire de France 210, 224; Paris 1882-5), I, 155.

³⁸ Sayers, *Innocent III* (n. 3), 175; Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 12), 169-70.

³⁹ Gunther, *Historia* (n. 7), XI, ed. Riant, 85, ed. Orth, 137, tr. Andrea, 91; cf. intro. 17, where Andrea emphasized 'the touches of the prophetic and the miraculous' in Gunther's work.

⁴⁰ Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon* s.a. 1204, in *MGH, SS*, XXIII, 369.

⁴¹ Jacquin, *Style* (n. 5), 394.

⁴² Beer, *Villehardouin* (n. 5), 17-19.

dissent'.⁴³ Both Villehardouin and Clari, who on the whole stressed the integrity of the crusade, include countless references to discussions, councils, and parlements. Not all of the crusaders supported the plans to attack Zara and Constantinople and to restore Alexios IV. Some went to the Holy Land from Marseilles or south Italy; others, from Zara to Hungary, where they were received by the king, and, going on by ship, according to the *Deeds of the bishops of Halberstadt*, 'They happily fulfilled the vows of their pilgrimage'.⁴⁴

Some crusaders considered that they had fulfilled their vows after the fall of Constantinople. They were encouraged in this belief by the pope's representative, the cardinal-legate Peter, who released them from their vows, thus incurring the wrath of Innocent, who wrote to Peter in July 1205 reminding him that the crusaders had assumed the cross 'principally ... that they would cross the sea in support of the Holy Land'.⁴⁵ The author of the *Deeds of Innocent III* said that the conquest of Constantinople raised the hope that the Latins could free Jerusalem from the hands of the pagans.⁴⁶ Early in 1204 Innocent wrote to the bishops, abbots, and other clerics at Constantinople stressing that after the Greek church had returned to obedience to Rome, its two sisters at Alexandria and Jerusalem should be freed from subjection to the king of Egypt.⁴⁷ In a letter to the church and chapter of Soissons, written perhaps in March 1205, bishop Nivelon of Soissons expressed his hope and desire to fulfill his promise to recover 'the land on which the feet of the Lord stood'.⁴⁸

Many crusaders in fact went on to Egypt and the Holy Land, where they played a considerable role in fighting the Muslims.⁴⁹ Perhaps the most striking evidence of this determination to fulfill the crusading vow is the letter written to the pope

⁴³ Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 17), II, 76, said that 'L'armée croisée est une armée librement et quelquefois anarchiquement vivante.' See Schmandt, 'Fourth Crusade' (n. 24), 193; Queller/Compton/Campbell, 'Fourth Crusade' (n. 23); Michel Balard, *Croisades et Orient latin, XI^e–XIV^e siècle* (Paris 2001), 148.

⁴⁴ Villehardouin, XVI, 79 (44), XXI, 103 (58), XXIII, 109 (62), who regarded them as deserters; *Gesta episc. Halb.* (n. 28), in *MGH, SS*, XXIII, 117. De Wailly, in Villehardouin, 456–62, stressed especially the recalcitrance of the followers of the count of Champagne (459) and said these crises paralyzed the movements of the army; Paul Riant, *Innocent III, Philippe de Souabe et Boniface de Montferrat* (reprinted from *Revue des questions historiques*; Paris 1875), 93–7 discussed 'cette désagrégation fâcheuse', which he said was greater on the fourth than on any other crusade (93).

⁴⁵ Innocent III, *Reg.* VII, 136, in *PL*, CCXV, 700D–1A; *Gesta* (n. 6), 95, in *PL*, CCXIV, cxlii; tr. Powell, 174. According to Villehardouin, XCVIII, 427 (254), the legate granted an indulgence to the crusaders who died in battle for Adrianople.

⁴⁶ *Gesta* (n. 6), 94, in *PL*, CCXIV, cxlii; tr. Powell, 170.

⁴⁷ Innocent III, *Reg.* VII, 204, in *PL*, CCXV, 514D.

⁴⁸ Riant, *Exuviae* (n. 7), II, 60.

⁴⁹ Mahmoud Said Omran, 'Truces between Moslems and Crusaders (1174–1217 A.D.)', in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995*, ed. Michel Balard

in May 1204 by Baldwin, the new Latin emperor of Constantinople, saying that the conquest of the city was the work of God, 'since nothing was hoped for or provided for by us before it occurred', and that his coronation was 'to the honor of God and the holy Roman church and the assistance of the Holy Land'. He did not desire the pleasures of the world, he wrote, nor to put off the royal banner from his shoulders until he had seen the lands across the sea and with God's help fulfilled the purpose of his pilgrimage.

For we hope in the Lord Jesus that He who chose for us the good work of the praise and glory of His name will accomplish, confirm, and consolidate the perpetual suppression of the enemies of the cross.⁵⁰

Even taking into account that Baldwin was writing what he knew Innocent wanted to hear, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity or his sense of the obligation of the crusaders to go on from Constantinople to Holy Land. His intention became the deed in at least one chronicle, where Baldwin was said – mistakenly – to have gone to Tyre in 1204 and then on to Acre, where he stayed until 1205.⁵¹

This brings me to my second – and more speculative – topic: the legitimacy, in the eyes of contemporaries, of Constantinople as a goal of the crusade. I shall consider this question under three headings, each of which reaches back into the eleventh century and beyond: first, the widespread feeling in the west that the Greeks did not understand or support the crusades; second, the strategic importance of Constantinople to the success of the crusades and the safety of Jerusalem and the Latin states in the east; and third, the significance of Constantinople as a religious center owing to the presence there of many relics, including, after the loss of the Cross at the battle of Hattin, the single most important relic of the Cross.

The reciprocal dislike and distrust of the Greeks and Latins went back many years.⁵² Even before the schism of 1054 each side regarded the other as schismatics and at times as heretics. Among the issues between them were not only theological points such as the procession of the Holy Spirit – the notorious *Filioque* – but

(Paris 1996), 438, who said (citing Arabic sources) that 'A great number of Crusaders came to Syria in 1204 after the fall of Constantinople' and also attacked Egypt.

⁵⁰ *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen (1191- aanvang 1206)*, ed. Walter Prevenier, 3 vols (Académie royale de Belgique. Commission royale d'histoire. Recueil des actes des princes belges 5; Brussels 1964-71), II, 566, 573, 574-5.

⁵¹ *Gesta episc. Halb.* (n. 28), in *MGH, SS*, XXIII, 118. Baldwin in fact died mysteriously, probably in prison in the Balkans in 1205: see Robert Lee Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172-1225', *Speculum* 27 (1952), 289-90, who does not discuss the legend that he went to the Holy Land.

⁵² See the sources published in Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago-London 1984), 202-25 (theological differences), 356-81 (other issues).

also many visible and sometimes politically sensitive issues of ritual practice with regard to fasting, the type of bread used in the eucharist, the mixed elements in the chalice, baptismal formulas, and the marriage of the clergy.⁵³ James of Vitry in the early thirteenth century was dismayed at some of the beliefs and customs he encountered among the Greek Orthodox and Jacobites in the Holy Land, including the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist and the practice of circumcision.⁵⁴

One small but conspicuous difference, involving laymen as well as clerics, concerned the wearing of beards and shaving.⁵⁵ The Greeks had long criticized the Latin clergy for shaving. At the council of Constantinople in 1054 the patriarch Michael Cerularios accused the Latins of changing the nature of man by shaving their beards, and cardinal Humbert and the papal legates excommunicated the Greek clerics who

grow the hairs of the head and the beard and who would not receive in communion those who had cut their hair and shaved their beards according to the institution of the Roman church.⁵⁶

The crusades led to more contacts between bearded men in the east and shaven westerners. The Greek historian Choniates said that the Normans in Thessaloniki 'grabbed the beards of the natives and ridiculed the shagginess and length' and that the Greeks in Constantinople mocked the Latin patriarch Thomas Morosini because 'His beard was shaved smoother than if removed by a depilatory'.⁵⁷ When the crusaders put off shaving at the siege of Antioch, the bishop of Le Puy urged them to shave lest in battle they be confused with the enemy 'owing to the likeness of their beards'.⁵⁸ The Armenian Gabriel of Malatia was horrified when his son-

⁵³ Tia Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana-Chicago 2000), 32-87; Georgii Avvakumov, *Die Entstehung des Unionsgedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche* (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes der Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie 47; Munich 2002). See Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris 1924), 298-9, on an anonymous late eleventh-century treatise on the errors of the Greeks.

⁵⁴ Andrew Jotischky, 'The Frankish Encounter with the Greek Orthodox in the Crusader States: The Case of Gerard of Nazareth and Mary Magdalene', in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers, James Powell (Syracuse 2001), 101.

⁵⁵ See the intro. by Giles Constable to Burchard of Bellevaux, *Apologia de barbīs*, in *CC:CM*, LXII, 85-130.

⁵⁶ Cornelius Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant* (Leipzig-Marburg 1861), 153-4, 157-8.

⁵⁷ Choniates, *Historia* (n. 8), IV, 1, IX, 1, ed. Van Dieten, 304, 623, tr. Magoulias, 169, 343; intro. xxvi-vii.

⁵⁸ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, V, 6, in *CC:CM*, CXXVIIA, 206.

in-law Baldwin of Edessa threatened to cut his beard, since, according to William of Tyre

It is customary among peoples in the east, both Greeks and other nations, to grow their beards with great care and total sollicitude and to consider it a very great shame and irrevocable ignominy to have even one hair pulled from the beard with injury, for whatsoever reason.⁵⁹

The Greeks tended to look down on the Latins and had no real understanding of the western concept of crusade and Holy War.⁶⁰ Fighting in general was disapproved of by the Byzantine church and religion rarely played a part in Byzantine wars, though they were sometimes justified by self-defense, the pursuit of peace, the recovery of lost territory, breach of agreement, and, perhaps most important, the assertion of the position of the Byzantine emperor as the leader of the Christian world.⁶¹ For the Byzantines the crusades were fundamentally wars of conquest or, at best, of recovery of lost Byzantine lands. Unlike the Armenians and Syrians, who were favorably inclined towards the crusaders, at least at first,⁶² the Greeks

⁵⁹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XI, 11, in *CC:CM*, LXIII, 510-12.

⁶⁰ See in general Paul Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background of the First Crusade* (Toronto 1996), who commented on the sense of snobbery and exclusivity in Constantinople (25) but denied that Byzantium was passive or hostile towards the crusades (4-9). Claude Cahen, *Orient et occident au temps des croisades* (Paris 1983), 7, called the crusade 'un phénomène occidental' (cf. 179-80, 208-9). See also the three articles by Michel Villey, 'L'idée de croisade chez les juristes du Moyen Age'; Paul Lemerle, 'Byzance et la Croisade'; Steven Runciman, 'The Byzantine Provincial Peoples and the Crusade', in *X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, Roma 4-11 settembre 1955. Relazioni, III. Storia del Medioevo* (Florence 1955), 565, 598, 618-19, 621; Athina Kolias-Dermitzaki, 'Die Kreuzfahrer und die Kreuzzüge im Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 41 (1991), 163 (with bibliog. in n. 1); Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Byzance et l'Orient latin. Le legs de Manuel Comnène', in *Chemins d'Outremer. Etudes d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offerts à Michel Balard*, ed. Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paul Pagès, Dominique Valérien, 2 vols paginated consecutively (Byzantina Sorbonensia 20; Paris 2004), 115-35.

⁶¹ Vitalien Laurent, 'L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine', *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 23 (1946), 88, 93-4; Möhring, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 35), 367-8; Angeliki Laiou, 'On Just War in Byzantium', in *TO ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. John Langdon, Stephen Reinert, Jelissaveta Allen, Christos Ioannides, 2 vols (New Rochelle 1993), I, 153-77; Tia Kolbaba, 'Fighting for Christianity: Holy War in the Byzantine Empire', *Byzantion* 68 (1998), 194-221; generally James T. Johnson, *The Holy War Idea in Western and Islamic Traditions* (University Park 1997), esp. 37-42.

⁶² Runciman, 'Byzantine Provincial Peoples' (n. 60), 622-3; Anneliese Lüdgers, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für griechisch-römische Altertumskunde. Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 29; Berlin 1964); Kolias-Dermitzaki, 'Kreuzfahrer' (n. 60), 166; James

regarded them with suspicion and dislike. Alexius Comnenos made the leaders of the first crusade swear an oath of fealty, and possibly of homage, which bound them to serve the empire and to restore to Byzantium any towns they conquered as far as Jerusalem.⁶³ Some scholars have argued that effectively they became vassals without fiefs of the Byzantine emperor, not unlike the western mercenaries who had long been in the service of the empire and the Frankish knights who were recruited to fight the Turks in the 1070s.⁶⁴ Alexius's daughter Anna Comnena considered the participants in the second crusade to be barbarians, as did the author of the poems attributed to Manganeios Prodromos, who called them the 'wild beast from the west', and, later, Nikolaos Mesarites, who lived from 1163/4 until after 1214 and regarded the Latin barbarians as thieves, robbers, and cheats.⁶⁵ Choniates called the westerners 'boastful, undaunted in spirit, lacking all humility, and trained to be ever bloodthirsty'. For the historian Kinnamos the Venetians in particular were 'malicious and stubborn' and 'corrupt in character, jesting and rude more than any other [nation]'.⁶⁶

There was a tendency in both east and west in the twelfth century to look for differences and to characterize foreigners – the 'other' – in unfavorable terms. The Greeks increasingly called the westerners, who had previously been classified by

Ryan, 'Toleration Denied: Armenia between East and West in the Era of the Crusades', in *Tolerance* (n. 54), 55-64.

⁶³ John H. Prior, 'The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: fealty, homage – Πίστις, δουλία', *Parergon* NS 2 (1984), 111-41; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, tr. J. C. Morris, Jean E. Ridings (Oxford 1993), 8-28. On the relations between Alexius I and the crusaders see several articles by Jonathan Shepard, most recently 'Cross-Purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade', in *First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester-New York 1997), 107-29. In the second crusade Manuel Comnenos also tried to impose conditions on the crusaders: see Lemerle, 'Byzance' (n. 60), 604-5.

⁶⁴ Möhring, 'Kreuzzug' (n. 35), 367-8.

⁶⁵ See Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford 1929), 440-1 and the entry for 'crusaders' in the index (539), which has sixteen entries for 'turbulent and alarming', eleven for 'garrulous and boorish', and eight for 'other vices'. See Kolia-Dermitzaki, 'Kreuzfahrer' (n. 60), 176; Johannes Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit* (Berliner historische Studien 33. Ordensstudien 15; Berlin 2001), 77 n.80.

⁶⁶ Choniates, *Historia* (n. 8), II, 7, ed. Van Dieten, 199, tr. Magoulias, 113, cf. intro. xxiv-vi; John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, IV, 14, VI, 10, ed. August Meineke (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae; Bonn 1826), 170, 280, tr. Charles Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* ([Columbia] Records of Civilization 95; New York 1976), 130, 210; cf. intro. 4. See Alexander Kazhdan, 'Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki Laiou, Roy Mottahedeh (Washington 2001), 88. Cf. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, 'The "Wild Beast from the West": Immediate Literary Reactions in Byzantium to the Second Crusade', *ibid.* 110 (on Manganeios Prodromos); Kazhdan/ Franklin, *Studies* (n. 5), 242 (on Mesarites).

their nationality, *Latinos*, and described their characteristics and habits with scorn and dislike.⁶⁷ The westerners returned the compliment. The abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, who wrote treatises against the Jews, Saracens, and Petrobrusian heretics, did not in fact write one against the Greeks, but he held them in low esteem. In a letter to king Roger of Sicily written after the failure of the second crusade Peter described 'the very bad, unheard of, and lamentable treachery of the Greeks and their evil king concerning our pilgrims, that is, the army of the living God'.⁶⁸ There was little sense on either side of the unity of Christendom or the common cause of all Christians.⁶⁹

From the beginning of the crusades the westerners were aware of the reservations and hostility of the Byzantines and their emperor Alexius, whom Guibert of Nogent described as a usurper and a tyrant.⁷⁰ After he refused to send assistance to the crusaders at Antioch in 1101, according to Ordericus Vitalis, William of Poitou urged them to

take up arms immediately, and let us return and lay siege to Constantinople. Let us blockade the city boldly and not retreat until we have either slain the perfidious emperor or else extorted by force his unwilling consent to our demands. He has destroyed countless thousands of the faithful by his deceits and therefore, unless I am mistaken, anyone who by whatever means takes the life of a man who cumber the earth and is a menace to multitudes will offer a sacrifice acceptable to God.

Some of William's followers actually returned and besieged the city for three days.

Bad feelings therefore sometimes led to active hostilities between the Greeks and Latins in which the Muslims sometimes allied with the Greeks against the

⁶⁷ Kazhdan, 'Latins' (n. 66).

⁶⁸ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 162, ed. Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols (Harvard Historical Studies 78; Cambridge, Mass. 1967), I, 395. On Peter's polemical treatises see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000-1150* (Paris 1998).

⁶⁹ See, however, William M. Daly, 'Christian Fraternity, the Crusades, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204: the Precarious Survival of an Ideal', *Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1960), 43-91; Nicol, *The Crusades and the Unity of Christendom* (n. 10).

⁷⁰ Leib, *Rome* (n. 53), 303-4; Shepard, 'Cross-Purposes' (n. 63); Pahlitzsch, *Graeci* (n. 65), 75-9. According to Runciman, 'Byzantium' (n. 30), 217, 'Within ten years of the Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem there was a general feeling in the West that somehow Byzantium was a traitor to the Christian cause.' See also Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford 1985), 168-75; Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 12), 170, who said that except for the period 1158-80 'the Byzantines had always represented an obstruction to crusades'; Phillips, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 1), 185.

Latins.⁷¹ Bohemund at his marriage in 1106 to Constance, the daughter of king Philip of France, spoke from the pulpit of the cathedral at Chartres urging all arms bearers to rise against the Byzantine emperor and promising them rich rewards. Many of his listeners took the cross and the road to Jerusalem, Ordericus said, 'like men hastening to a feast'. Ordericus later reported that when in 1137 the emperor John besieged Antioch, which was then in Latin hands, count Raymond was told that the Greeks were cowards and frightened them away by shouting. Ordericus did not always take the side of the crusaders. He attributed Bohemund's 'crusade' against Durazzo, for instance, to greed and 'the lust to rule the dominions of another'. William of Malmesbury, on the other hand, gave Bohemund's reason as Alexios's 'injury of the pilgrims'.⁷²

The best-known expression of the bad feelings between the Greeks and Latins is found in *On the journey of Louis VII to the east* by Odo of Deuil, who accompanied Louis on the second crusade:

From the time when we entered his [Manuel Comnenos's] territory we endured the robberies which his people perpetrated on us because our strength did not equal theirs ... If our priests celebrated mass on Greek altars they afterwards purified them with propitiatory offerings and ablutions, as if they had been defiled ... Every time they celebrate the marriage of one of our men, if he has been baptized in the Roman way, they rebaptize him before they make the pact. We know other heresies of theirs, both concerning their treatment of the eucharist and concerning the processions of the Holy Ghost ... Because of this we judged them not to be Christians, and the Franks considered killing them a matter of no importance and hence could with the more difficulty be restrained from pillage and plundering ... Let no one think [Odo concluded this passage, which is one of many] that I am taking vengeance on a race of men hateful to me and that because of my hatred I am inventing a Greek whom I have not seen. Whoever has known the Greeks will, if asked, say that when they are afraid they become despicable in their excessive debasement and when they have the upper hand they are arrogant in their severe violence to those subjected to them.⁷³

⁷¹ As in 1108 against Bohemund: Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, tr. Hamilton A. R. Gibb (London 1932), 91.

⁷² Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, X, XI, XIII, ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford 1969-80), V, 331 (William of Poitou), VI, 70-1 (Bohemund), 100-5 (Raymond), 505 (Bohemund); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, IV, 387, ed. Roger A. B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson, Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols (OMT; Oxford 1998), I, 692. See the references in n. 18.

⁷³ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, III, ed. Virginia Berry ([Columbia] Records of Civilization 42; New York 1948), 54-8. On Odo and his hostility to the Greeks, see Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. Marc Anthony Meyer (London-Rio Grande

The sense among the Latins that the Greeks were not really Christians was based not only on the differences in religious doctrine and practices but also on the knowledge that they had made truces and anti-crusader treaties with the Muslims and that many Muslims lived and worshipped in Constantinople.⁷⁴ Starting probably in the eleventh century as prisoners who were granted permission to worship, the Muslims in Constantinople formed a substantial community by the middle of the twelfth century.⁷⁵ Saladin in particular was concerned for the maintenance of Islamic worship in Constantinople and gave the emperor Isaac Angelos a *maumeria*, which was probably a mimbar or pulpit but was widely believed in the west to be an idol. In 1190 Isaac assured Saladin not only that Muslim prayer was permitted in the mosque at Constantinople but also that he had tried to destroy the army of Frederick Barbarossa.⁷⁶ This alliance, which was well known in Europe, even in England, where it was mentioned by William of Newburgh, Richard of London, and Ralph Niger, did irreparable damage to the reputation of Byzantium in the west.⁷⁷

There was never a real chance of a united Greek and Latin front against Islam, Paul Lemerle argued, because the Greeks were in some respects closer to the Muslims than to the Franks.⁷⁸ The Greeks were well aware of what Choniates

1993), 225-41, dating the *De profectione* in early 1150 (231); Beate Schuster, 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, ed. Gert Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge 2002), 253-78, who regarded Odo 'as a fictional narrator rather than as a historical author' of a 'literary construction' (256-7) and 'the criticism of the Greeks as a critical self-commentary on the creation of the *De profectione*' (275); Jonathan Phillips, 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a Source for the Second Crusade', in *Experience of Crusading* (n. 6), 84-90, who stressed the theme of vengeance for the First Crusade.

⁷⁴ According to Clari, 73 (72), some preachers said that the Greeks were worse than the Jews.

⁷⁵ Nicol, *Byzantium* (n. 16), 139; Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 4), 145; Yaarov Lev, 'Prisoners of War during the Fatimid-Ayyubid Wars with the Crusaders', in *Tolerance* (n. 54), 11-27. See Gerd Mentgen, 'Kreuzzugsmentalität bei antijüdischen Aktionen nach 1190', in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen 1999), 292-3 on Muslims and Jews in Constantinople at the time of the fourth crusade.

⁷⁶ Charles M. Brand, 'The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade', *Speculum* 37 (1962), 172, 176-9.

⁷⁷ On this and other Byzantine alliances with the Muslims in the 1180s and 1190s see Raymond H. Schmandt, 'Orthodoxy and Catholicism: Public Opinion, the Schism, and the Fourth Crusade', *Diakonia* 3 (1968), 293-4; Hussey, 'Byzantium' (n. 12), 147; Omran, 'Truces' (n. 49); Phillips, 'Odo of Deuil' (n. 73), 69. According to Brand, 'Byzantines' (n. 76), 180, 'The alliance with Saladin added much to the rising Western hostility for Byzantium which culminated in the diversion of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin capture of Constantinople.'

⁷⁸ Lemerle, 'Byzance' (n. 60), 618.

called 'the Roman [that is, Greek]-hating temperament of the Latins'.⁷⁹ Patriarch Michael III of Constantinople, who died in 1178, said:

Let the Muslim be my mentor in outward things rather than the Latin dominate me in matters of the spirit. For if I am subject to the Muslim, at least he will not force me to share his faith. But if I have to be under the Frankish rule and united with the Roman church, I may have to separate myself from God.⁸⁰

It is not surprising that some crusaders and their supporters at home were uncertain who the real enemy was. Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 told his son Henry to advise the pope to call a new crusade 'against the enemies of the cross ... particularly against the Greeks'.⁸¹

By the time of the fourth crusade, therefore, Constantinople had long been a thorn in the side of the crusaders. The idea of taking the city as a step towards the recovery of the Holy Land was in the air.⁸² Benzo of Alba in the second half of the eleventh century urged Henry IV to be crowned in Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem, and the concept of the 'last emperor' who would conquer Constantinople and the entire east was part of the eschatological background of the early crusades.⁸³ Richard the Pilgrim in his *Chanson* concerning the first crusade regretted that the crusaders had not taken the city.⁸⁴ The Normans in Sicily had long had designs on Constantinople, more for secular than religious reasons,⁸⁵ and Conrad III was said to have planned to take the city during the second crusade, when the bishop of Langres, according to Odo of Deuil, 'distrusting their [the Greeks'] pledge, scorning their favors, and foretelling the injuries we later endured', urged the crusaders to capture the city, adding:

⁷⁹ Choniates, *Historia* (n. 8), VII, 1, ed. Van Dieten, 551, tr. Magoulias, 302, cf. intro. xxvi. Cf. Gunther of Pairis, *Historia* (n. 7), VIII, ed. Riant, 78, ed. Orth, 129, tr. Andrea, 83-4, and intro. 52.

⁸⁰ Cited by Bryer, 'Cultural Relations' (n. 12), 80.

⁸¹ *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. Anton Chroust (MGH, SS r.g. NS 5; Berlin 1928), 43.

⁸² Jotischky, *Crusading* (n. 12), 163, and (on the persistence of this idea) Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford 1992), 55.

⁸³ Hannes Möhring, 'Benzo von Alba und die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens', in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst-, und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag ... dargebracht*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Enno Bünz (Stuttgart 1998), 177-86, commenting among other things on the legend of the armed pilgrimage of Charlemagne to Constantinople and the Holy Land; idem, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit. Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung* (Mittelalter-Forschung 3; Stuttgart 2000), 16-75.

⁸⁴ Runciman, *Crusades* (n. 1), I, 332. On Richard see Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940), 13-16.

⁸⁵ Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler Between East and West*, tr. Graham Loud, Diane Milburn (Cambridge 2002), 16, 84, 88.

that Constantinople is Christian only in name, not in fact, and that whereas for her part she should not prevent others from bringing aid to Christians, her emperor had ventured a few years previously to attack the prince of Antioch.⁸⁶

When the rumor of a possible attack on Constantinople arose again during the preparations for the third crusade, in 1188, the Byzantine emperor threatened to deny the crusaders passage through Bulgaria. The plans of Barbarossa's son Henry VI to conquer Constantinople in 1195-6 were averted only by his death.⁸⁷

The situation was complicated by the presence in Constantinople of many westerners, whose opinions concerning the crusade appear to have been divided and whose role in the fourth crusade has been comparatively little studied. Among them were a few important persons, like Agnes of France, the daughter of Louis VII and his second wife, Adela of Champagne, and the sister of Philip Augustus, who apparently asked the crusaders to assist her husband.⁸⁸ She had married successively the emperors Alexius II and Andronicos I, after whose death she formed a connection with, and later married, a Byzantine nobleman named Theodore Branas. Villehardouin called her the empress and the sister of the king of France and said that she took refuge in the palace of the Boukoleon before its capture and then left Constantinople with emperor Alexius V Dukas, known as Murtzuphlos. When the barons visited her after the fall of Constantinople, according to Robert of Clari, 'She saluted them very badly' and said that she knew no French, addressing them through an interpreter.⁸⁹

There were also western merchants, perhaps as many as 80,000. They were mostly Italians, including Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, living in their various quarters, some of which went back to the eleventh century. Many of them had adopted Greek ways, either 'going native', as Bryer put it, or creating a distinctive

⁸⁶ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione* (n. 73), 68-9. Odo himself regretted that the crusaders had not attacked Constantinople (58). For Conrad, see Jeffreys, 'Wild Beast' (n. 66), 108. Anna Comnena believed that the leaders of the first crusade, especially Bohemund, planned to take Constantinople: *Alexiad*, X, v, 10, ed. Bernard Leib, 3 vols (Paris 1937-45), II, 209. Her father the emperor Alexius prepared the city for an attack: *ibid.* X, v, 3, ed. Leib, II, 208. Peter the Venerable tried to promote an alliance against Byzantium after the second crusade: *Ep.* 162, ed. Constable (n. 68), I, 394-5. On the alliance against Manuel of Louis VII and Roger II in 1150: see chapter 12.

⁸⁷ *Historia de expeditione* (n. 81), 15-16; Hussey, 'Byzantium' (n. 12), 148-9. See Paolo Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*, 2 vols (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo: Studi storici 14-18, 22-25; Rome 1955-7), II, 285, on the western view that the elimination of Byzantium was indispensable to the crusade.

⁸⁸ *Devastatio* (n. 28), 132; Andrea, *Sources* (n. 4), 292. On Agnes see Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August König von Frankreich*, 4 vols (Leipzig 1899-1922), I, 29 n.6, dating her birth before 1171, II, 58, 118; Lamma, *Comneni* (n. 87), II, 294, 302; Charles Brand, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols (New York-Oxford 1991), I, 37.

⁸⁹ Villehardouin, LV, 249 (146), LIX, 226 (156); Clari, 53 (54).

Levantine sub-culture.⁹⁰ They did not always get on well with one another, or with the Greeks, who had conducted a mass arrest of the Latins in 1171 and a massacre in 1182. The fire in 1203, according to Villehardouin, especially created a rift between the Greeks and the resident Latins, who left the city and passed over to the crusaders and, he said, 'proved very useful to the pilgrims'.⁹¹ Some of them remained, however. A certain Venetian, 'a former household servant and client' of Choniates, helped him 'in those troubled times':

Putting on his armor and transforming himself from a merchant to a soldier [Choniates said] he pretended to be a companion in arms and speaking to them [the crusaders] in their own barbaric tongue, claimed that he had occupied the dwelling first.

Eventually he took Choniates 'to another house where Venetian acquaintances of ours resided', from which he and his family escaped from Constantinople.⁹² Not all the Venetians favored the crusaders, therefore, while a few Greeks were pro-Latin.

The Hospitallers, who had come to Constantinople in the 1160s with the support, and possibly at the invitation, of the emperor Manuel, played no part, so far as is known, in the conquest of the city, though they were later patronized, together with the Templars, by the emperor Baldwin.⁹³ The attitude of the other westerners in the city, especially the mercenaries in the service of the emperor, was almost certainly hostile to the crusaders. According to Choniates, there were Italians and Iberians in Byzantine military service; Villehardouin and Clari referred to Englishmen and Danes who fought on the Greek side; and Hugh of St Pol to Danes, Pisans, and Genoese, who may have supported the Greeks on account of their traditional hostility to the Venetians.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Bryer, 'Cultural Relations' (n. 12), 85-7. See also the old but still useful work of Jean Armingaud, *Venise et le Bas-Empire. Histoire des relations de Venise avec l'Empire d'Orient* (Extrait des Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 25.4; Paris 1868), 85-114; Nicol, *Byzantium* (n. 16), 59, 88-90, 122-3; Paul Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale* (Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 9; Paris 1996), 85-90; Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 4), 143-5; Jotischky, *Crusades* (n. 12), 211, who estimated the number at 10,000/20,000. Among Greek sources see Choniates, *Historia* (n. 8), II, 5, VI, 2 ed. Van Dieten, 171, 538-9, tr. Magoulias, 97, 295; Kinnamos, *Epitome* (n. 66), VI, 10, ed. Meineke, 280, tr. Brand, 210-11.

⁹¹ Villehardouin, XLIV, 205 (118-20). See also *Devastatio* (n. 28), 134, on anti-Latin feelings.

⁹² Choniates, *Historia* (n. 8), IX, I, ed. Van Dieten, 588, tr. Magoulias, 323.

⁹³ Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers in Twelfth-Century Constantinople', in *Experience* (n. 6), 225-32.

⁹⁴ Choniates, *Historia* (n. 8), III, 1, ed. Van Dieten, 233, tr. Magoulias, 132; Villehardouin, XXXV, 171 (96), XXXIX, 185 (106); Clari, 74 (73). See Andrea, *Sources*

These divisions of loyalty within Constantinople were all the more significant in view of the strategic importance of the city to the success of the crusade. Long experience showed the difficulty of making progress without a supportive, or at least neutral, government in Constantinople. In spite of some doubts about the legitimacy of the conquest, therefore, there was widespread rejoicing in the west. A few years later archbishop Arnold Amaury of Narbonne ranked the capture of Constantinople with the Albigensian crusade and the great Christian victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in Spain, saying that Innocent thus triumphed over 'the types of wanton men and enemies in his holy church, namely, the eastern schismatics, the western heretics, and the southern Saracens'.⁹⁵ Even the Muslims recognized that the possession of Constantinople by the crusaders 'made it easier for them', as the historian al-Athīr put it, to attack the Muslims.⁹⁶ From its origins some of the participants in the fourth crusade planned to capture Alexandria in order to free the Holy Land, and Innocent III approved the plan on condition that they injured no Christians except from necessity or because 'they wrongfully impeded their journey', which suggests that he foresaw the possibility of an attack on the Greeks. When one group of crusaders at Zara wanted to go directly to Syria without attacking Christians, the other group argued that the only way to rescue the Holy Land was to go by way of Egypt or Greece. Gunther of Pairis recognized that a safe passage through Greece to Syria could be secured 'by assuring a friendly Constantinople'.⁹⁷ The decision to take Constantinople thus made strategic sense, in addition to the arguments put forward by the leaders that they had an obligation to restore the rightful heir to the Byzantine throne and to bring the Greeks into obedience to the Roman church.⁹⁸ As Dandolo wrote to Innocent III in 1204, 'We

(n. 4), 191-2; Nicol, *Byzantium* (n. 16), 135.

⁹⁵ G. Ibañez de Segovia, marqués de Mondjédar, *Memorias históricas de la vida y acciones del rey D. Alonso el Noble, octavo del nombre* (Madrid 1783), 181, cited by Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia 2003), 72, 244 n.74. See Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 17), 95, who said the conquest of Constantinople marked the collective subconscious of the Latin world; Runciman, *Crusades* (n. 1), III, 127-8; Bernard Hamilton, *The Crusades* (Thrupp 1998), 50: 'The capture of Constantinople was excellent publicity. During the next half century crusading reached the peak of its popularity.' Cf. Siberry, *Criticism* (n. 19), 187-8, on the alleged disillusionment with the crusades in the thirteenth century.

⁹⁶ Omran, 'Truces' (n. 49), 438-9.

⁹⁷ Villehardouin, XX, 97 (54); Gunther, *Historia* (n. 7), VIII, ed. Riant, 77, ed. Orth, 129, tr. Andrea, intro. 30.

⁹⁸ See among others Villehardouin, XIX, 93 (52), XXXIX, 188 (108), XLIX, 224 (128-39); Clari, 39 (40), 72 (71); Gunther of Pairis, *Historia* (n. 7), XI, ed. Riant, 85, ed. Orth, 137, tr. Andrea, 90. Alphandéry, *Chrétienté* (n. 17), II, 82, said that the means but not the end of the pilgrimage changed; Franco Cardini, *Studi sulla storia e sull'idea di crociata* (Rome 1993), 269: the Latin empire was presented 'come il trampolino per la conquista della Terrasanta'; Madden, *Vows* (n. 16), 463: 'reclaiming Constantinople for Catholicism would become the equivalent of reclaiming Jerusalem for Christendom'.

decided that the city of Constantinople had to be conquered for the honor of God and the holy Roman church and for the assistance of Christianity (*Christianitatis subventionem*).⁹⁹

Finally, Constantinople as a holy city could itself be regarded as a goal of the crusade. Some crusaders clearly believed that they had fulfilled their vow by taking Constantinople, and they were encouraged in this belief by the papal legate. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher were central to the crusading movement since its inception, but not always in the physical sense of the city and tomb in the Holy Land.¹⁰⁰ Churches dedicated to the Holy Cross and the Holy Sepulcher existed all over Europe and were sometimes regarded as equivalent to Jerusalem. Indeed, Jerusalem was wherever there were relics of the cross or of other events associated with the life of Christ.¹⁰¹ Places of exceptional holiness, such as the monasteries of Cluny and Clairvaux, were called Jerusalem, as were the goals of the crusaders, even when they were far from the earthly city in the Holy Land. In a letter written in 1107/8 promoting a campaign against the Slavs in north-eastern Europe, 'our Jerusalem', which was originally free but had been enslaved by the pagans, was compared to the Jerusalem freed by the Franks.¹⁰² The crusaders on

⁹⁹ Innocent III, *Reg.* VII, 202, in *PL*, CCXV, 512B.

¹⁰⁰ See, in addition to many older works, Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Paris 1987), 260 (calling Jerusalem 'l'âme collective de la croisade'), 290; Peter Raedts, 'Jerusalem: Purpose of History or Gateway to Heaven? Apocalypticism in the First Crusade', in *Church, Change and Revolution. Transactions of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch Church History Colloquium (Exeter, 30 August – 3 September 1988)*, ed. Johannes van den Berg, Paul G. Hoftijzer (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden NS 12; Leiden 1991), 31-40; Franco Cardini, *Gerusalemme d'oro, di rame, di luce. Pellegrini, crociati, sognatori d'Oriente fra XI e XV secolo* (Milan 1991); Housley, 'Jerusalem' (n. 19); Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), 695-713; Sylvia Schein, 'Jérusalem. Objectif original de la Première Croisade?', in *Autour de la première croisade* (n. 49), 119-26, who argued for the importance of the Holy Sepulcher; Yvonne Friedman, 'The City of the King of Kings: Jerusalem in the Crusader Period', in *The Centrality of Jerusalem*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis, Chana Safrai (Kampen 1996), 190-216; Kaspar Elm, *Umbilicus Mundi. Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden* (Instrumenta canonissarum regularium Sancti Sepulcri 7; Brugge 1998).

¹⁰¹ Alphonse Dupront, *Le mythe de croisade*, 4 vols paginated consecutively (Paris 1997), (III) 1490.

¹⁰² *Urkundenbuch des Erzstiftes Magdeburg. Teil 1 (937-1192)*, ed. Friedrich Israëel, Walter Möllenberg (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und des Freistaates Anhalt NS 18; Magdeburg 1937), 251, no. 193. See Housley, 'Jerusalem' (n. 19), 37-8; chapter 8 above.

the fourth crusade would therefore have been familiar with the concept of the displaced Jerusalem.¹⁰³

As a holy city and repository of relics Constantinople was second only to Jerusalem itself. It had been known since late antiquity as the city of Christ and was dominated in the twelfth century by a great cross on top of the column of Constantine.¹⁰⁴ It was the New Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵ According to archbishop Anthony of Novgorod, writing in 1200, there was a *splendida capsula, Ierusalem [dicta]* – probably a reliquary, lamp, or censer – in the church of Santa Sophia.¹⁰⁶ Constantinople possessed the most important relic of the cross before the discovery of the cross at Jerusalem in 1099 and once again after 1187, when the Jerusalem cross was lost at the battle of Hattin.¹⁰⁷ The loss of the cross at Hattin, indeed, and the failure either to recover it or discover its whereabouts, was in many ways more serious than the military defeat and was widely known in the west.¹⁰⁸ Innocent III described in 1198 ‘the ignominious translation from us of the vivifying cross’.¹⁰⁹ And the anonymous author of the *Book on the conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin* equated the loss of the cross with the loss of faith, saying that ‘I truly believe that I am lessened because the faith of the cross of the Son has vanished,

¹⁰³ See Giles Constable ‘The Dislocation of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages’, in *Norm und Krise von Kommunikationen*, ed. Alois Hahn, Gert Melville, Werner Röske (Geschichte. Forschung und Wissenschaft 24; Münster 2006), 355–70.

¹⁰⁴ Raymond Van Dam, ‘The Many Conversions of the Emperor Constantine’, in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Kenneth Mills, Anthony Grafton (Princeton 2003), 147; Oliver Nicholson, ‘Constantinople: Christian City, Christian Landscape’, in *The Making of Christian Communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Mark Williams (London 2005), 43 (with references on 162 n.104). The statue of Constantine fell in 1106 and was replaced with a cross by Manuel Comnenos.

¹⁰⁵ Jeffreys, ‘Wild Beast’ (n. 66), 110, called this ‘a regular part of the Byzantine thought-world’.

¹⁰⁶ Riant, *Exuviae* (n. 7), I, 221. On this work see *ibid.* II, ccvii–ix; André Grabar, ‘Le reliquaire byzantin de la cathédrale d’Aix-la-Chapelle’ (1967), repr. in *idem, L’art de la fin d’antiquité et du moyen âge*, 3 vols paginated consecutively (Paris 1968), [I] 430–1, who said the correct translation of the Russian is ‘le Jérusalem lumineux/resplendissant’.

¹⁰⁷ Anatole Frolow, *Recherches sur la déviation de la II^e Croisade vers Constantinople* (Paris 1955), 73–94. On the importance of the relics and pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem see Raedts, ‘Jerusalem’ (n. 100), 36; Friedman, ‘City of the King’ (n. 100), 206–7 on the Holy Sepulcher as a martyrion, the center of the world; Nikolas Jaspert, ‘Vergegenwärtigungen Jerusalems in Architektur und Reliquienkult’, in *Jerusalem* (n. 9), 256–7.

¹⁰⁸ Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d’un culte* (Archives de l’Orient chrétien 7; Paris 1961), 69–70; *idem, Recherches* (n. 107), 67–71; Penny Cole, ‘Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin’, *Al-Masāq* 6 (1993), 9–39, esp. 10, 14–15.

¹⁰⁹ Innocent III, *Reg.* I, 336, in *PL*, CCXIV, 308B.

since it is impossible to please God without faith.¹¹⁰ The loss of the Jerusalem cross inevitably heightened the importance of the Constantinopolitan cross.¹¹¹

The relic of the cross at Constantinople is mentioned in many accounts of early pilgrimages to the east, including the two treatises *On holy places* by Adamnan, who discussed the cross and the miraculous image of the Virgin, and by Bede, who described the basilica, as he put it, 'which contains the cross of the Lord'.¹¹² The city also had many other relics, of which the importance was stressed in the alleged letter from the emperor Alexius at the time of the first crusade.¹¹³ Robert the Monk in his history of the first crusade discussed the remains of the prophets, apostles, and martyrs which were gathered in the royal city of Constantinople 'as the safest fortress of holy ... relics' and which made the city second as a sanctuary only to Rome.¹¹⁴ William of Malmesbury in his *Deeds of the English kings* gave a list of the three apostles, three prophets 'and many others', the evangelist Luke, 'innumerable martyrs', confessors, virgins, 'and all the saints whose bodies the emperors could convey there from every region'.¹¹⁵ Even Peter the Venerable, who was no admirer of the Greeks, wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople in 1122/43 expressing his desire to see, as he put it:

¹¹⁰ *De expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum*, in Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (RS 66; London 1875), 227, see xviii-xix on the author, who may have been a Templar or Hospitaller. He went on to say that the cross deserted those who believed in it because it was itself deserted.

¹¹¹ Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 107), 69-70; Gary Dickson, *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West* (Variorum CS 695; Aldershot 2000), IV, 48.

¹¹² Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, III, 1-5; Bede, *De locis sanctis*, XIX, 2-3, in CC: SL, CLXXV-VI, 226-34, 279-8; see the index under Constantinople. On the cross at Constantinople see Frolow, *Relique* (n. 108), 62-3, 73-94, and on other relics Riant, *Exuviae* (n. 7), II, 204-36; Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 107), 49, who called Constantinople 'le dépôt de reliques le plus important de l'Orient et du monde entier'; Paul Magdalino, 'L'église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VII^e - VIII^e - XIII^e siècles)', in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. Jannie Durand, Bernard Flusin (Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies 17; Paris 2004), 15-30; Holgar A. Klein, 'Constantine, Helena, and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople', *ibid.* 31-59, who said (59) that the translation of the cross to Constantinople by Justin II and Herakleios established the city 'as a new center of the cult of the True Cross in the Mediterranean'.

¹¹³ Riant, *Exuviae* (n. 7), II, 203-10; Einar Joranson, 'The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders', *American Historical Review* 55 (1950), 811-32 (815 on relics at Constantinople); Geanakoplos, *Byzantium* (n. 52), 200, no. 144.

¹¹⁴ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, II, 20, in RHC, *Hist. occ.*, III, 750-1. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione* (n. 73), 66, said that Louis VII visited the 'loca sancta' in Constantinople on the second crusade. Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae*, IV, 9, in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. John S. Brewer, James F. Dimock, George F. Warner, 8 vols (RS 21; London 1861-91), IV, 282, stressed the number of churches and monasteries in Constantinople, which he called 'the new Rome'.

¹¹⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, IV, 356, ed. Mynors a.o. (n. 72), I, 626-8.

the city founded in Christ by Jesus Christ the king of heaven and the worldly ruler Constantine and to see and adore there not the buildings or decoration but the faith [meaning the relics] of the rulers subject to God and of the prophets, apostles, evangelists and many martyrs translated there from various parts of the world like a public cemetery.¹¹⁶

More detailed lists of the relics at Constantinople are given in the Old Icelandic account of the pilgrimage from Iceland to Jerusalem of abbot Nikulas Bergsson of Munkapverá between 1149 and 1153;¹¹⁷ by Anthony of Novgorod, who listed hundreds of relics in Constantinople and its surroundings in his *Peregrinus or description of the holy places in the imperial city*;¹¹⁸ and also by Mesarites both in his discussion of the church of the Holy Apostles, where saints Luke, Andrew, Timothy, John Chrysostom, and Gregory the Theologian were said to live,¹¹⁹ and especially in the *Palace Revolution of John Comnenos*, which was written in 1201. After listing the relics of Christ preserved at the Great Palace, beginning with the crown of thorns, Mesarites wrote that:

This church, this place is a second Sinai, a new Bethlehem, a second Jordan, a new Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethany, Galilee, Tiberias: here are for a second time the washing of the feet, the Last Supper, Mt Thabor, the palace of Pilate, and Calvary which is in Hebrew called Golgotha. He [Christ] was born here, baptized here, here he went to sea, traveled on foot, worked unheard-of wonders, humbled Himself in the basin [washing feet],

¹¹⁶ Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 76, ed. Constable (n. 68), I, 210.

¹¹⁷ Bergsson apparently did not go to Constantinople himself but derived the list of fifty-four relics from another pilgrim: Alfraedi Íslenzk. *Islandsk Encyklopaedisk Litteratur. I. Cod. Mbr. AM 194, 80*, ed. Kristian Kålund (Copenhagen 1908), 25-6. See Janus Møller Jensen, 'Vejen til Jerusalem. Danmark og pilgrimsvejen til det Hellige Land i det 12. Århundrede: en islandsk vejviser', in *Ett Annat 1100-Tal. Individ kollektiv och kulturella mönster i medeltidens Danmark*, ed. Peter Carelli, Lars Hermanson, Hanne Sanders (Gothenburg-Stockholm 2004), 284, 337, and, generally on pilgrims from Iceland to the Holy Land, Benjamin Z. Kedar, C. Westergård-Nielsen, 'Icelanders in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (1978-9), 197-211; Friedman, 'City of the King' (n. 100), 212.

¹¹⁸ Riant, *Exuviae* (n. 7), I, 218-30. Anthony gave an account (221-2) of a miracle he witnessed in Santa Sophia involving a relic of the cross.

¹¹⁹ Nikolaus Mesarites, *Description of the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, 13, 39, in August Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins*, II. *Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel* (Leipzig 1908), 27, 81, tr. Glanville Downey, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* NS 47.6 (1957), 869, 891. On Mesarites, see Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche*, 1-8; Kazhdan/Franklin, *Studies* (n. 5), 236-42.

and so on.¹²⁰ Thus through the power of relics Constantinople was in effect transformed into the Holy Land, and pilgrims could visit and experience there all the places and events associated with the life of Christ and His disciples.

These writings were presumably not known to the crusaders, but there were many references to the relics at Constantinople in twelfth-century vernacular literature and in the works of Villehardouin and Clari, not to mention the Latin accounts of the fourth crusade.¹²¹ Clari in particular gave an account of the relics at Constantinople, and while this may reflect knowledge gained after the fall of the city, he was probably aware of their presence before the attack.¹²² Since there are no specific references in the sources to the Holy Cross or other relics as reasons for capturing the city, scholars are disagreed on the extent to which they served as a prior *excitatorium* or a subsequent *excusatio* for an enterprise of which the moral validity was a matter of doubt even at the time.¹²³ It is hard to believe, however, that individual crusaders were motivated only by greed, ambition, and vengeance and not to some extent by the knowledge of the relics of Christ in Constantinople and the sight of the great cross on the column of Constantine. They may well have felt that they had in a spiritual and perhaps even in a physical sense reached Jerusalem, just as pilgrims to Rome visited Jerusalem, the monks of Clairvaux lived in Jerusalem, and the crusaders in Spain and north-east Germany resembled the crusaders who set out to rescue Jerusalem. For them the capture of Constantinople, in spite of its excesses, was, like the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the fulfillment rather than the perversion of their vow.

Note

This chapter was originally presented as a lecture at International Medieval Congress in Leeds on 12-15 July 2004, and is published here for the first time. The volume entitled *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Réalités byzantines 10; Paris 2005) appeared too late to be taken fully into consideration here.

¹²⁰ Mesarites, *Palastrevolution* (n. 8), 31-2, and in *Kreuzfahrer*, tr. Grabler (n. 8), 289-90.

¹²¹ Dufournet, *Ecrivains* (n. 4), (I) 113-35 (Villehardouin), (II) 347-56 (Clari). See Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris 1865), 341-2 on the riches said to have been brought back from Constantinople.

¹²² Clari, 82-3 (81-4).

¹²³ Frolow, *Recherches* (n. 107), 58-9. See Mayer, *Crusades* (n. 15), 200. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 2 ed. (Princeton 1990), 87, attributed the sack of Constantinople to 'Italian envy of the East's great store of saints' and said that 'The events of 1204 were the climax of a tradition already four centuries old.' A skeptical note was sounded, however, by Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* (n. 4), 285 n.69.

This page intentionally left blank

Appendix A

The Terminology of Crusading

In these articles as they were originally published there were several sections on the terminology of crusading, which are brought together here in summary form, without repeating all the notes. The material will be presented in two sections devoted to the terms used for expeditions (and the corresponding verbs) and for the participants.¹

There was no concept of crusading as a distinctive activity in the twelfth century and no single term for what later came to be called crusades. Christopher Tyerman concluded his discussion of the language of crusading, 'The linguistic profligacy, euphemism, imprecision, malleability, archaism and spurious uniformity should give pause before the crusade is defined as a concrete institution with an existence outside the interpretation of observers and promoters.'² At their origins the crusades were commonly called, in both Latin and the vernacular, pilgrimages or more general terms indicating travel or movement, such as *via*, *iter*, *itinerarium*, *profectio*, and *passagium*, which was later divided into general or special and across or on this side of the sea.³ *Peregre* or *peregrinandi desiderium* might be added to make clear that the journey was a pilgrimage. Among the corresponding terms in the vernacular were *pèlerinage*, *voie*, *voiage*, and *muetre* in French, *passatge* and *pelegrinatge* in Occitan, and *gottes vart* and *vart über mer* in German. The religious character of the expedition might be indicated by a reference to God or Christ and its object as the Holy Land, the Holy Sepulcher, the Temple, or, most frequently, Jerusalem, which was used as both a

¹ The single best discussion of crusading terminology in both Latin and the vernacular is David Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Geneva 1988), 31-70. See also Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 340-2; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London-Basingstoke 1977), 12; Paul Rousset, *Histoire d'une idéologie. La croisade* (Lausanne 1983), 51-7; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and St Peter', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Keder, Hans E. Mayer, Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem 1982), 59-60; Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré. Croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Paris 1987), 239-63; Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 14; Christopher J. Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 576; Alphonse Dupront, *Le mythe de croisade*, 4 vols paginated consecutively (Paris 1997, but presented as a dissertation in 1956), 1301, 2070-1 n.31; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke-London 1998), 49-55; and other works cited below.

² Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 1), 55.

³ Nikolas Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge* (Darmstadt 2003), 49.

noun and an adjective, and sometimes simply as *volens Jerusalem* and *voluntas de Jerusalem*. Phrases like *orationis gratia*, *pia devotio*, and *pro peccatis meis* leave the precise nature of the undertaking, aside from its religious purpose, in doubt. The military character might be shown by calling it the *agmen*, *bellum*, *expeditio* or *expugnatio* of God or Christ and describing it as *ad debellandos paganos* or a similar phrase. Sometimes it was the *causa*, *negotium*, or *opus Dei*, and later, simply *crux*. The earliest known uses of *crozada* were in southwestern France and Spain in the early thirteenth century, but it remained unusual, as did *croiseri* and *croisade* in French.⁴ *Kreuzfahrt* and *Kreuzzug* in German and *crusade* in English were not common before the eighteenth century. Philippe de Mézières in the fourteenth century called the crusade ‘the hunt of God ... to capture the rich prize’,⁵ and for Thomas Fuller in the seventeenth century the crusade was simply the holy war.

Joined to these nouns were a variety of verbs indicating travel, movement, and search, such as *aggredere*, (*ad*)*ire*, *pergere*, *petere*, *proficere*, *tendere* (*ad*, *in*, *versus*), and most often *peregrinare*. Ambroise in his history of the third crusade, which was written in 1190-2, when the term ‘crusade’ was soon to appear, used *croiser* and *se croiser* in addition to *prendre la croix*.⁶

The participants in these expeditions were most frequently called *peregrini*. James Brundage wrote that ‘The term “peregrinus” was consistently, indeed almost invariably, used to describe crusaders from the time of the first crusade up to the end of the twelfth century, when more specific terms, of which *crucesignatus* was the most common, began to come into use.’⁷ They were also known as *milites* and *bellatores* of God or Christ, penitents, *pauperes*, friends, followers, servants, and athletes of God, like the early monks and martyrs. Sometimes they were called

⁴ See the charter of October 1212 in Santos A. Garcia Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalem. Siglos XII-XIII*, I. *Estudio preliminar* (Pamplona 1957), 149, no. 145; Peter Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 278; Göppingen 1980), 31-4, who cited the use of *crozada* at about the same time in the *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*. See also Garcia Lorca, Montalban Villoslada, *Historia de la iglesia católica*, II. *Edad media (800-1303)*, 4 ed. (Madrid 1976), 367 n.15; Vincente Cantarino, ‘The Spanish Reconquest: A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?’, in *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of Intercultural Relations*, ed. Khalil I. Semaan (Albany 1980), 103 n.26; Tyerman, *Invention* (n. 1), 27.

⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, ed. and tr. George W. Coopland (Liverpool 1975), 101. See Joan Williamson, ‘Philippe de Mézières and the Idea of Crusade’, in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot-Brookfield 1994), 358-64.

⁶ See also Rutebeuf, *Poèmes de l'infortune et poèmes de la croisade*, tr. Jean Dufournet (Traductions des classiques français du moyen âge 28; Paris 1979), 91-2.

⁷ James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison-London 1969).

Jerusalemites, Christians, and *christicolae*, which is found in several early sources.⁸ Franks and other national groups were used especially in the vernacular sources. They were also referred to as carrying the cross (*cruceferi*, *crucegeruli*, *cruce muniti*, either in one word or in two) and as signed with the cross (*crucesignati* and *crucizatur*), though the cross did not become the exclusive mark of crusading, as distinct from other types of pilgrimage, before the end of the twelfth century, when *crucesignati* could still apply to unarmed pilgrims.⁹ It is uncertain whether the *palmiferi* in a charter of William of Warenne in 1140 were crusaders, as some scholars have assumed, because all pilgrims to the Holy Land customarily brought back palm leaves.¹⁰ The *crusiati* who went to Jerusalem in about 1190, however, when Reginald of Thionville made a grant to Longueville, were almost certainly crusaders.¹¹ In the Old French sources the crusaders were described as 'crossed' and called *croisés* as well as *pèlerins* and Franks. Collectively they were the *populus*, *plebs*, and *gens* of God or Christ, the *spirituale militia* (as Urban II called them in his letter to the monks of Vallombrosa in 1096),¹² and the *militia*, *exercitus*, and *agmen* of God, whose enemies were the *inimici crucis Christi*, *infideles*, *barbari*,

⁸ Albert of Aix, for instance, used *Christiani* rather than *milites Christi*: Colin Morris, 'The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as Seen Through the Eyes of Albert of Aachen', in *Saints and Saints' Lives: Essays in Honor of D. H. Farmer* (Reading Medieval Studies 16; Reading 1990), 106. Ordericus Vitalis used pilgrims, Christians, and occasionally *cruciferi*: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford 1969-80), VI, xiii. *Christicolae* was used in the letter written from Antioch by Bohemund and others to Urban II in 1098: Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck 1901), 165, no. 16.15 and among others by Ekkehard of Aura, Walter of Antioch, and Hugh of Rouen, who used *cruce signatus* as well as *christicolae*: *Vita sancti Adjutoris monachi Tironensis*, in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. Edmond Martène, Ursin Durand, 5 vols (Paris 1717), V, 1012-13A (BHL 81).

⁹ Michael Markowski, 'Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), 158. *Cruce signati* in two words (at least as printed) was used in the letter of patriarch Simeon of Jerusalem and bishop Ademar of Le Puy in 1097: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* (n. 8), 142, no. 6.5.

¹⁰ William Dugdale, *Monasticon anglicanum*, ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London 1846), VI.2, 729.

¹¹ *Chartes du prieuré de Longueville*, ed. Paul Le Cacheux (Rouen-Paris 1934), 55, no. 45.

¹² Wilhelm Wiederhold, 'PU in Florenz' (1901), repr. in Paul Fridolin Kehr, *PU in Italien*, 6 vols (Acta romanorum pontificum 1-6; Vatican City 1977), III, 216.

pagani, and Saraceni.¹³ The Muslims almost invariably referred to the crusaders simply as Franks (Franji).¹⁴

¹³ See Erdmann, *Idea of Crusade*, 340; the article by Johann Auer in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* X (Paris 1980), 1210-23; the articles in '*Militia Christi*' e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. *Atti della undecima settimana internazionale di studio*. Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989 (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scienze storiche 48. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13; Milan 1992); Horst Richter, '*Militia Dei*: A Central Concept for the Religious Ideas of the Early Crusades and the German *Rolandslied*', in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara Sargent-Bauer (Kalamazoo 1992), 107-26.

¹⁴ See Joseph-Toussaint Reinaud, in Joseph François Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, 4 vols (Paris 1829), IV, 2-4; Richard Fletcher, *The Cross and the Crescent: Christianity and Islam from Muhammad to the Reformation* (New York-London 2003), 84.

Appendix B

The Numbering of the Crusades

Very little is known about the history of numbering the crusades. ‘The crusades have been numbered as if they were a series well-defined and easily counted’, according to W. B. Stevenson in *The Crusaders in the East*:

Some eight of all the bands and armies which passed by sea or land to Syria have been selected as the eight crusades. They are chosen on no clear principle. Those generally named are not uniformly the largest nor the most successful. But why should even size or success be made the test? No expedition which went to help the Latins can be refused the name crusade. Together they form a continuous stream for the greater part of the 12th and 13th centuries. The numbering of a selected few obscures this fact. Only the first crusade is rightly defined by the numeral attached. The meaning is definite and the name appropriate. Similar expressions applied to other crusades should seldom or never be used.¹

Hans Eberhard Mayer likewise said that ‘The numbering of the crusades lacks all consistency. Many scholars do not count the Damietta crusade at all and, for them, Frederick II’s crusade of 1228-9 is the fifth and St Louis’s first crusade (1248-50) the sixth. Others count the Damietta crusade but not Frederick II’s. Still others count the Damietta crusade as the fifth, Frederick II’s as the sixth, and St Louis’s as the seventh.’² No scholar, among either the so-called traditionalists (who consider only expeditions to the east as crusades) or the pluralists (who include other expeditions), gives a number to the minor undertakings or to the ‘crusades’ in Spain and northeastern Europe, the Albigensian crusade, the Children’s and other popular crusades, the Mongol crusade of 1241, and other expeditions which meet the usual definitions of a crusade and are commonly referred to as crusades.³ There is no tradition of numbering the crusades in Islamic historiography.

¹ William B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge 1907), 3.

² Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, 2 ed. (Oxford 1988), 314 n.117. This statement is unchanged in the tenth (German) edition, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart 2005), 397 n.134. In a personal letter dated 26 February 1997 Mayer wrote that ‘Even the numbering of crusades I-IV is a dubious affair. It is accepted by everyone but it only counts the general expeditions in which more or less all of Europe was involved. It made people blind for the smaller crusades.’

³ See among other works, Marcus Bull, ‘The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade’, *History* 78 (1993), 354, repr. in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas Madden (Oxford 2002), 174-5; Nikolas Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge* (Darmstadt 2003), 44-5.

Crusading in the twelfth century was an event rather than an institution, and there was no practice of numbering the expeditions, in spite of the growing awareness of precedents and of the first crusade in particular as an example.⁴ When Ordericus Vitalis, writing in the 1130s, called the expedition of 1107 'the third expedition of the westerners to Jerusalem', he was probably counting those in 1096-7 and 1101-2 as the first and second.⁵ They are now regarded as continuations of the first crusade, which covered the whole period from 1096 to 1107, and even later as the response to Urban II's appeal at Clermont continued to spread after the initial burst of enthusiasm. A tradition of crusading developed particularly in families whose members had participated in earlier expeditions. 'By the 1140s,' wrote Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'the crusading experiences of previous generations, and pride in them, had been locked deeply in the collective memory of some cousinhoods.'⁶ Prior Peter of the Augustinian house of St John at Sens wrote to bishop Hato of Troyes soon after he became a monk at Cluny, probably late in 1145 or early in 1146, that Urban at Clermont 'by his words moved almost the entire Latin world [and] with miraculous power sent [it] to liberate Jerusalem'.⁷

The reference to predecessors in the opening words of the bull *Quantum predecessores*, by which pope Eugene III summoned what has come to be called the second crusade, reflected his knowledge of former crusading expeditions.⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux in his letter to the bishops of eastern Francia and Bavaria, written in 1146, wrote that 'On the previous expedition, before Jerusalem was captured, there was a certain man by the name of Peter, of whom (unless I am mistaken) you have often heard mention' and whose example, Bernard went on to say, should be avoided.⁹ In the east the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos wrote a letter to the pope on the eve of the second crusade demanding that the

⁴ David A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Geneva 1988), 28-9; James M. Powell, 'Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140-ca. 1300', in *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995*, ed. Michel Balard (Publications de la Sorbonne 14; Paris 1996), 131.

⁵ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 19, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (OMT; Oxford 1969-80), III, 182, 183 n.2. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997), 9, 109, cites references in other sources to the 'first' and 'second' expeditions.

⁶ Ibid. 102; cf. idem, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York 1992), 101-8.

⁷ Giles Constable, 'The Letter from Peter of St John to Hato of Troyes', in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956. Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death* (Studia Anselmiana 40; Rome 1956), 51.

⁸ Powell, 'Myth' (n. 4), 135.

⁹ Bernard, *Ep.* 363.8, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 317.

crusaders pay him homage as in the time of his grandfather.¹⁰ Louis VII may have had some knowledge of the first crusade, since in deciding his route across Asia Minor, according to Odo of Deuil, he was unwilling 'to undertake what he heard the Franks had never done' and later said 'Let us follow the route of our fathers, to whom their incomparable probity brought fame in the world and glory in heaven.'¹¹ The window given to the church of St Denis by Suger, which no longer exists but which was reproduced by Montfaucon in *Les monuments de la monarchie française*,¹² shows that the memory of the first crusade survived at St Denis, where Odo of Deuil was a monk and later abbot.¹³ There is no evidence, however, that it was referred to as the first as distinct from the second crusade. In the description of the second crusade in the fifth version of his *Historia anglorum*, which goes down to 1149, Henry of Huntingdon wrote that 'The army of the French king and the emperor had been more splendid and larger than that which earlier conquered Jerusalem, and yet they were crushed by very few men and were divided and destroyed like a spider's web.'¹⁴ Only considerably later, in the second recension of the so-called *Royal annals* of Cologne, is there an entry under 1148 (which was perhaps changed, according to the editor) that 'The second expedition to Jerusalem was made from every kingdom of the west.'¹⁵

The numbers given to the crusades by later scholars also deserve to be studied. The humanists Jean Carion and Henri Bullinger both listed 12 expeditions, counting the third crusade as three.¹⁶ Thomas Fuller, though he called the crusades 'the Holy War' in the singular, listed in his chronological table 13 voyages (or pilgrimages, as he called them in his text) between 1095 and 1269, including in addition to the presently numbered crusades the expeditions of 1101, Henry of Saxony in 1197, the king of Hungary in 1216, Theobald of Navarre in 1239, and

¹⁰ Venancé Grumel, 'Au seuil de la II^e croisade. Deux lettres de Manuel Comnène au pape', [*Revue des*] *Etudes Byzantines* 3 (1945), 144.

¹¹ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, III, VII, ed. and tr. Virginia Berry ([Columbia] Records of Civilization 42; New York 1948), 58-9, 130-1.

¹² Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, 5 vols (Paris 1729-33), I, pl. L-LIV (see fig 2.7 on p. 75).

¹³ Cf. André Wilmart, 'Le dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger', *Revue Mabillon* 32 (1942), 80-118. This work is dedicated to Odo and includes a passage (103) on the second crusade, which is called 'itinerarium ... pristina illius peregrinationis' on which the Christians were exterminated at Antioch or Jerusalem.

¹⁴ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia anglorum*, X, 27, ed. Diana Greenway (OMT, Oxford 1996), 752-3.

¹⁵ *Chronica regia Coloniensis* s.a. 1148, ed. Georg Waitz (*MGH, SS* r.g. 18; Hanover 1880), 82.

¹⁶ Ludwig Schmutge, *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht der humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber* (Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel 21; Basel-Frankfurt 1987), 34.

Richard of Cornwall in 1241.¹⁷ Louis Maimbourg in the late seventeenth century counted seven crusades, as did Edward Gibbon in the eighteenth century. Georg Christoph Müller in his Nüremberg dissertation of 1769, however, counted only five, in 1096, 1147, 1190, 1217-29, and 1246.¹⁸ Friedrich Wilken in the early nineteenth century used no system of numbering.¹⁹

Among modern scholars there is some uniformity in numbering the first four crusades, down to 1209, but not, as Mayer stressed, the later crusades. Bernhard Kugler called Frederick II's crusade the fifth and St Louis's the sixth, whereas for Reinhold Röhricht the fifth crusade was in 1217-18 and the sixth in 1225-7.²⁰ In the Wisconsin *History* the crusades are numbered from one to five, down to 1217, but not later. Jean Richard dates the fifth crusade in 1212, the sixth in 1227, and the seventh apparently in 1246-7, but for Michel Balard the fifth crusade was in 1217-19, the sixth in 1228-9, the seventh in 1248-54, and the eighth in 1270.²¹ In Germany, Adolf Waas numbered the first five crusades, down to 1217-22, and identified subsequent expeditions by their leaders, whereas Martin Erbstösser numbered the two crusades of Louis IX (1246-54, 1270) six and seven.²² After numbering the first four crusades, Christopher Tyerman said that 'Other crusades are defined by objective, location, participants, or motive.'²³ Many scholars follow the prudent practice of identifying the crusades only by date.

¹⁷ Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge 1629), chronological table.

¹⁸ Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke-London 1998), 111.

¹⁹ See the references to these works pp. 11-14 above.

²⁰ Bernhard Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin 1880); Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge im Umriss* (Innsbruck 1898).

²¹ Jean Richard, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris 1996); Michel Balard, *Croisades et orient latin, XI^e – XII^e siècle* (Paris 2001). Cf. Cécile Morrison, *Les croisades*, 6 ed. (Que sais-je? Paris 1992), who dates the fifth crusade 1217 and the sixth 1228.

²² Adolf Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols (Freiburg 1956); Martin Erbstösser, *Die Kreuzzüge. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig 1977; 3 ed. 1996).

²³ Christopher Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford 2004), 32-5.

General Index

The index includes the names of monasteries, prominent individuals, and secondary writers cited in the text. The names of persons of incidental interest and of many churches are omitted. The following abbreviations are used:

abt	abbot
abp	archbishop
bp	bishop
ct	count
pr	prior
vct	viscount

- Aachen 200
 N. of 199, 211
 Abelard 149, 265-6
 Absie 101
 Accolti, Benedetto 10
 Acre 332
 Adalbero of Bremen, abp 230
 Adam of Ebrach, abt 260
 Adam of Fountains,
 abt of Meaux 100, 136
 Adam of St Victor 52
 Adamnan 48, 345
 Adams, George Burton 33, 42
 Adams, Henry 33
 Adela of Champagne, wife of king Louis
 VII of France 340
 Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror
 215
 Adelelmus of Cluny 226
 Adelelmus of La Chaise-Dieu, pr of
 Burgos 82
 Adelgot of Magdeburg, abp 199, 203, 211
 Ademar of Le Puy, bp 69, 156
 Adjutor of Tiron (Vernon) 107, 135
 Admont 131, 258
 Adrian IV, pope (Nicholas Breakspear)
 172, 250, 278, 291
- Afflighem 124
 Agnes of France, daughter of Louis VII
 340
 Al Mahdia, bps of 252
 Alan of Lille 53, 81, 90
 Alan of Redon, bp 313
 al-Athīr *see* Ibn al-Athīr
 Alberic of Trois Fontaines 219, 223
 Albert of Aachen, historian 7, 9, 21, 219,
 220
 Albert the Bear of Brandenburg 230
 Albuin of Merseburg, bp 199, 211
 Alcobaça 262
 Alcuin 48
 Alegret, troubadour 246
 Alexander II, pope 274
 Alexander III, pope 111, 125, 162, 175,
 277, 302
 Alexander of Cologne, abt of Grandeselve
 249
 Alexandria 331, 342
 Alexius I Comnenos, emperor 3, 34, 219,
 223, 227, 228, 335, 345
 Alexius II Comnenos, emperor 340
 Alexius IV Angelos, emperor 329, 336
 Alexius V Ducas, emperor 340
 Alfonso I of Aragon, king 248

- Alfonso VI of León-Castile, king 190, 191,
 192, 194, 196
 Alfonso VII of León-Castile, king 230,
 244-7, 249, 252, 270, 273, 274
 Alfonso Henriques of Portugal, king 230,
 236, 251, 257, 261, 275, 302, 303,
 305
 Alfonso of Toulouse, ct 229, 231, 260
 Algarve 302
 Almada 251
 Almeria 230, 236, 242-5, 247, 249, 250,
 252, 308
 Almoravides 246
 Alonso of Cartagena, bp of Burgos 23
 Alphandéry, Paul 17, 20, 21, 23, 26, 39,
 167
 Alvis of Arras, bp 279
 Amadeus III of Savoy, ct 229, 231-2, 262,
 278
 Amalarius of Metz, bp 48, 56
 Anastasius IV, pope 181
 Anastasius, hermit 189, 191
 Anchin 279
Ancren riwle 150
 Andrew of Montbard, Templar 283, 314
 Andronicos I Comnenos, emperor 340
 Angers 112
 St Albinus 97
 Angold, Michael 323
 Angoulême 100, 132
 bp of 103
 St Peter 100
 Aniane 131
 Anjou
 cts of 69
 see also Fulk Nera
 countess *see* Hildegard
 Anna Comnena 3, 65, 160, 221, 335
 Anse, councils (994, 1025) 195
 Anselm of Canterbury, abp 49, 52, 57
 Anselm of Havelberg, bp 166, 173, 271,
 272, 280, 281, 294, 295
 Anthony of Novgorod, abp 344, 346
 Antioch 232, 234, 311, 313, 315, 333, 337
 battle of 79, 82, 107, 223
 patriarch *see* Michael I
 prince of 340
 siege of, in 1099 82, 84, 154
 Antwart 257
 Aquileia 70
 Archimbald of Mâcon, vct 185
 Arles, abp of 195
 see also William
 Armagnac, ct of 140
 Armenians 40, 65, 284, 334
 Arnold Amaury of Narbonne, abp 342
 Arnold of Cologne, abp 304
 Arnulf of Lisieux, bp 277, 279, 291
 Arrouaise 171
 art, architecture 189, 196, 324
 Artler, Georg 201
 Ascalon 82, 220, 235
 Astorga, bp of 245
 Atiya, Aziz 38
 Attila of Bobbio, abt 47
 Auch 140
 Augustine, church father 46, 56, 286
 rule of 174
 Aureil 95, 110, 133
 Autun 61, 62, 78, 161
 Avignon, bp of 195

 Baeza 247
 Baigne 139
 Balard, Michel 356
 Baldric of Bourgeuil, abt 8, 63
 Baldwin of Ardre 127
 Baldwin of Boulogne (Edessa), king of
 Jerusalem 7, 82, 124, 219-20, 334
 Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople 332,
 341
 Baldwin of Ford, abp of Canterbury 149-50
 Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem 87, 235,
 289, 313, 315
 Baldwin of Josaphat, abt 68
 Baldwin, Marshall 40
 banners 54-5, 255
 Barbastro 26, 192
 Barber, Malcolm 173
 Barcelona 244, 247
 bp *see* Oleguer
 ct of 209
 see also Ramon Berenger IV
 Bari 84
 pontifical 89
 Barraclough, Geoffrey 5, 115

- Bartlett, Robert 205
 Basel 81, 84, 328
 council (1431-49) 23
 Bayeux tapestry 54-5
 beards 333-4
 Beauvais, bp of 126
 Bede 47, 345
 Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte 51
 Belchite, order of 246, 274
 Belval sculpture 57, 59, 61, 77
 Benedict, rule of 149, 174, 178
 Benedict of Peterborough 308
 Benzo of Alba, bp 339
 Berchtesgaden 127
 Berengarius of St Maximin of Trier, abt 45
 Bergsson, Nikulas, abt 346
 Berichdoldus, provost 199, 211
 Bernard of Clairvaux, abt 100, 149, 150,
 160, 165, 242, 249, 259, 262, 270,
 273, 276-9, 286-7, 292, 316, 354
 chimera of his age 144
 and cross 87, 91, 255
 crusading letters 260-2, 276, 319-20
 crusading project of 1150 313-18, 320
 crusading theory 262-3, 266-8, 283,
 285-6, 291, 297
 and Eugene III 269, 271-2, 295
 In praise of the new army 153, 172,
 178-9, 182
 and Jerusalem 209, 320
 and Lisbon crusade 237-8
 preaching of crusades 205, 235, 292-4,
 296-9, 318
 reaction to failure of second crusade
 282-3, 285, 291, 296-9
 Bernard of Tiron 152
 Bernard of Toledo, abp 191
 Bernold of Constance (St Blaise) 64, 68,
 152, 191
 Bernward of Hildesheim, bp 51
 Besalú, ct of 209
 Besançon, abp of 135
 see also Humbert
 Beumann, Helmut 202, 204
 Bèze 133
 biblical citations used in crusading texts
 210
 Biondo, Flavio 10
 Boase, Thomas S. R. 39
 Boehm, Laetitia 4, 13
 Bohemund of Taranto (Antioch) 7, 78, 326,
 337
 Boissonade, Pierre 26
 Bologna 158, 161
 Bongars, Jacques 11
 Boniface, missionary 47
 Bonneval, abt of 85
 Bonnevaux 180
 Borenius, Tancred 241
 Boso, cardinal 254
 Bourges 215, 223, 224
 St Ambrose 217, 223
 St Sulpicius (Sulpice) 104, 216, 218,
 223
 vct *see* Gilo, Stephen
 Brackmann, Albert 203, 204
 Braga 302
 abp of 304
 see also Maurice
 Branas, Theodore 340
 Breakspear, Nicholas *see* Adrian IV
 Brial, Michel-Jean-Joseph 312
 Bridrey, Emile 162
 Brienne, ct of 134
 Brindisi 229
 Brogne 130, 134
 Brückner, Alexander 197
 Bruges, St Donation 199
 Brundage, James 158, 162, 350
 Brüske, Wolfgang 202, 204
 Bryer, Anthony 324, 340
 Bull, Marcus 167
 Bullinger, Henri 355
 Bünding-Naujoks, Margret 204
 Burchard of Ursberg, chronicler 330
 Burchard (I) of Worms, bp 145
 Burchard (II) of Worms, bp 294
 Burgundy
 men from, participating in crusades
 192-3, 327
 duke *see* Hugh, Odo, Philip the Good
 Caesarea 186
 Caesarius of Heisterbach 87
 Caffaro di Caschifellone 9, 243-4, 249-50,
 252, 308

- Cahen, Claude 16, 30
 Cairo 220, 221
 Calatrava 175, 247
 knights of 171
 Calixtus II, pope 66, 71, 157, 159, 255, 274
 Canterbury 317
 abp *see* Anselm, Baldwin, Theobald
 Cantor, Norman 42
 Capelle, Bernard 55
 Capelle-Brouch 127
 Carion, Jean 355
 Carrión 186
 Cartellieri, Alexander 307
 Carthusians 170, 171
 Caspar, Erich 263
 Cassian 147-8
 Castile 190, 192, 247
 king of 82
 see also Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII
 Catalonia 273
 Celestine III, pope 276
 Cerami, battle of 54, 84
 Cerdaña, ct of 209
 ceremonies for taking cross 89-90
 Cerone, Francesco 253
 Champagne, ct of 129, 290
 see also Henry of Meaux
 Charlemagne 246, 247
 Charroux 114
 Chartres 95, 313, 315-16
 council of (1150) 285, 318
 St Peter 95, 111, 136
 vct of 163
 see also Hugh of Le Puiset
 Châtillon-sur-Seine 123
 Chaume, Maurice 192
 Chaumes 104
 Cheminon, abt of 70
 Chezal-Benoît 217, 219, 223
 Chézery 107, 114, 131
 Chodorow, Stanley 42
 Choniates, Nicetas, historian 322, 333,
 335, 338-9, 341
 Chosroes 90
 Cintra 251
 Cistercians 128, 149, 170, 285
 Cîteaux 149, 150
 order of 87, 171
 Civitot 222, 227, 228
 Clairvaux 128, 149, 258, 270, 271, 295,
 343, 347
 clerics, crusading 103-4, 132, 152-4, 185-
 6, 207, 212, 290
 Clermont 6, 65, 70, 78, 81, 82, 102, 205,
 354
 council of (1095) 50, 63, 97, 152, 157,
 162
 St Andrew 106, 134
 Cluniacs 170
 Cluny 98, 99, 108, 113, 137, 149, 155,
 183-96, 215, 220, 224, 316, 343,
 354
 abts *see* Hugh, Maiolus, Odilo, Odo,
 Peter the Venerable, Pontius
 Cocheril, Maur 175
 Coimbra 302
 Cologne 200, 262, 355
 abp of 200
 see also Arnold, Frederick
 Comnenos (Comnena) *see* Alexius I, II,
 Andronicos, Anna, John, Manuel
 Compiègne 313, 319-20
 St Cornelius 319
 Compostela (Santiago) 58, 157, 242
 abp *see* Diego Gelmirez
 Conrad III, king of Germany 96, 120, 229,
 231, 241-2, 254, 259, 280-1, 288,
 291, 302, 307, 339
 correspondence with Wibald 234-5,
 257
 decision to join crusade 27
 sign on clothing 65, 69
 and Eugene III 283, 295
 and Manuel I 311, 320
 and Roger II 252
 Constance, daughter of king Philip I of
 France 337
 Constantine 53, 64, 73, 78, 83, 84, 255,
 344, 347
 Constantinople 49, 219, 221, 223, 229,
 234, 253, 280, 323-5, 329-32, 339,
 342
 attack in 1204 30, 102, 321, 327, 331,
 342-3
 council in 1054 333
 holy city 343-7

- Muslims in 338
 patriarch (John IX or Leo Stypes)
 345-6
 see also Michael Cerularios,
 Michael III, Thomas Morosini
 plan to attack in 1195-6 340
 relics 322
 Santa Sophia 344-5
 westerners in 340-1
 contrition and confession 267-8
 conversion as motive for crusade 31, 191,
 204-5
conversus (lay brother) 165, 171, 176
 Corbaran of Oliferne 222, 223
 Corbie, annals 54
 Corfu 233
 Corvey 200, 294-5
 abt *see* Erchanbert, Wibald
 Cosack, Harold 295
 Councils *see* Anse, Basel, Chartres, Cler-
 mont, Compiègne, Constantinople,
 Fritzlar, Lyons, Rheims, Rome,
 Trullo
 Cowdrey, John 95
 Cramer, Valmar 264, 265, 267
 Cressac 80, 81
 cross, crusading 45-92, 99-100, 255-6,
 266-7
 on bodies 69-5, 67-8
 design, color 67, 73-7, 88
 internal 68
 material 67
 position 77-81
 significance 85-91
 see also ceremonies, pilgrims, True
 Cross
 cross, eschatological 55
 crucifix, speaking and moving 48
 crusader states *see* Latin Kingdom of
 Jerusalem
 crusades
 against Christians 30, 326-7
 costs 108-10
 definition and idea 18-26, 101, 253-5,
 325-6
 see also Bernard, Eugene III
 financing 17-42
 numbering 24, 183, 353-6
 as pilgrimage 96-7, 257-8
 see also pilgrims, pilgrimage
 risks 105-7
 terminology 18, 69-70, 97-8, 143, 327,
 349-52
 see also privileges, vows
 Cuno of Disibodenberg, abt 304, 306
 Dalmatius Geret, legate of Hugh of Cluny
 192
 Damascus 83, 235, 289, 307, 309, 311
 Damiani *see* Peter Damiani
 Damietta 353
 Dandolo, Enrico, doge 86, 328, 342
 Daniel, Norman 8
 Daventry 227
 David, Charles 237
 Delaruelle, Etienne 17, 39, 49, 91, 161,
 187, 296, 297
 Denmark 240, 277
 kings of 199, 208
 Devailly, Guy 216
Didascalia apostolorum 46
 Diego Gelmirez, abp of Compostela 190
 Digby, Kenelm 14
 Dijon 294, 295
 St Benignus 98, 111
 St Stephen 133
 vct *see* Gisbert
Divina dispensatione (I) (1146) 270
 Domène 128
 donations, nature of 129-30
 Doré, Gustave 14
 Dorylaeum 234
 Dozy, Reinhart 247
Drang nach Osten 203, 241, 272-3
 Drogo of Ostia, cardinal 51
 Dubois, Jacques 144
 Dun 215, 218, 223
 Duncalf, Frederic 35, 36
 Duodechin of Lahnstein 237-8, 304, 306
 Durand, Ursin 197
 Durazzo 229, 326, 337
 Eadmer 57
 Eberbach, abt of 317
 Ebrardus, hermit 104
 Edessa 229, 264, 302

- Egeria, pilgrim 48
 Egmond 290
 Egypt 321, 326, 342
 see also Cairo
 Ekkehard of Aura 6, 64, 67, 68, 84, 89, 156
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, queen 102
 Elias of Maine, ct 81
 Ellwangen, provost of 316, 317
 Elm, Kaspar 176
 Elmare (Zeeland), annals 237, 307
 Emerias of Alteias 66, 135
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo 32
 Emicho of Flonheim, ct 65, 67, 68
 Empurias, ct of 209
 Ephesus 49
 Ephraim of Bonn, rabbi 121
 Ephraim Syrus 46
 Erbstösser, Martin 356
 Erchanbert of Corvey, abt 199, 211
 Erdmann, Carl 17, 24-6, 38, 39, 40, 99,
 145, 194, 204, 238
 Ermengarde, vctess of Narbonne 250
 Eugene III, pope 77, 100, 153, 168, 181,
 259, 270-8, 294-5
 crusade project in 1150 313-14, 317-19
 crusading bulls and letters 9, 125-6,
 162, 242, 263-4, 273, 274-5, 277,
 283, 292, 319, 354
 crusading policy and theory 257, 267-
 71, 281, 283
 legates 279-81, 290-1
 preaching of crusade 278-9
 reconquista in Spain 275-6
 Wendish crusade 272, 294-5
 Everard of Barres, master of Templars 314
 Eynsham 87, 103

 failure of second crusade, reasons for 236,
 281-92, 298
 see also Bernard of Clairvaux, Tem-
 plars
 Farfa 49
 Faro 229, 238, 307- 9
 Fécamp 221, 222
 Firmat, William 61
 Fitero, St Mary 175, 247
 Flach, Jacques 119
 Flanders 200, 212, 327

 ct of 68, 113, 277, 290
 see also Philip, Robert II,
 Theoderic
 Flemings 207, 212, 302
 Fleury 108, 109, 115-17, 120, 124, 126-7
 abt *see* Macharius
 Floreffe 134
 Flori, Jean 86
 Forey, Alan 174, 176
 Fraga 247, 249, 250
 Franconians 207, 212
 Frankfort 294
 diet of (1147) 241, 272
 Franks 207, 208, 304, 305, 352
 Frederick I Barbarossa, emperor 72, 78,
 157, 235, 338, 339
 Frederick II, emperor 21, 353, 356
 Frederick of Cologne, abp 199, 211
 Fried, Johannes 48
 Fritzlar, council of (1118) 294
 Fulbert of Chartres, bp 52
 Fulcher of Chartres, historian 7, 8, 63, 67-
 9, 73, 82, 102, 145, 155, 159
 Fulda, abt of 292
 Fulk Nera of Anjou, ct 96, 168
 Fulk of Neuilly, preacher 325, 327
 Fuller, Thomas 11-13, 24, 350, 355

 Gabes 253
 Gabriel of Malatia 333
 Galland of Reigny 147, 154
 Garrisson, Francis 158
 Garsten 107
 Gelasius II, pope 159, 274, 275, 276
 Genoa 243, 245, 273, 327
 Genoese 243, 244, 248-9, 252, 256, 275
 Geoffrey of Auxerre (Clairvaux) 260, 281,
 282
 Geoffrey of Bordeaux, abp 316, 319
 Geoffrey of Bourges, vct 217
 Geoffrey of Chalar d 87
 Geoffrey Malaterra, historian 54
 Geoffrey of Vigeois 170, 290
 Geoffrey of Villehardouin 78, 86, 322,
 327-8, 330-1, 340-1, 347
 George of Antioch 230
 Gerald of Aurillac 51, 154, 193-4
 Gerard, founder of Hospitallers 181

- Gerard, secretary of St Bernard 260
 Gerhoh of Reichersberg, provost 153-4,
 256-7, 284, 286-7, 289
 Gerlach of Rein, abt 260
 Germans 303, 327
 participation in second crusade 271-2,
 294-5
 Germany, king of 188, 199
 see also Conrad, Frederick I, II, Henry
 Gersdorf, Ernst 201
 Gibbon, Edward 13, 24, 26, 165, 356
 Gilo of Sully, vct of Bourges 215, 216, 217
 Gisbert of Dijon, vct 107, 133
 Glaser, Hubert 298
 Gleber, Helmut 259, 271, 295
globus cruciger 71, 78, 255
 Godfrey VI, duke of Lower Lorraine 199,
 211
 Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower
 Lorraine 7, 9-10, 50, 114, 124, 136,
 154
 Godfrey of Langres, bp 127-8, 132, 279,
 291, 314
 Godric of Finchale, hermit 61
 Goscelin of Canterbury, historian 155
 Goslar 200
 Göttweig 111, 139
 Grafschaft 197, 200, 202
 Graindor of Douai 221-3, 227
 Grandeselve 249
 abt *see* Alexander of Cologne
 Grandmont 169, 170
 Gratian 171, 265, 293
 Gregory the Great, pope 144-5, 150, 151
 Gregory VII, pope 25, 145, 191, 194, 274
 Gregory IX, pope 29
 Gregory XIII, pope 11
 Gregory of Nyssa 46
 Grierson, Philip 307
 Grousset, René 4, 16
 Guibert of Nogent 6, 8, 64, 67-8, 76, 78,
 82, 87, 124, 146, 159, 185, 219,
 220, 336
 Guibert of Tournai, preacher 88
 Guido, cardinal deacon of SS Cosmas and
 Damian 295
 Guido, cardinal priest of San Chrysogonus
 279, 281, 290
 Guigo of La Chartreuse 178
 Gunther of Pairis, abt 81, 322, 327-8, 330,
 342
 Hagenmeyer, Heinrich 65
 Halberstadt 200
 bp *see* Reginhart
 Harnack, Adolf von 24
 Hartbrecht of Brandenburg, bp 199, 211
 Hartmann of Aue, troubadour 69
 Haskins, Charles Homer 35
 Hato of Troyes, bp 134, 187, 354
 Hattin, battle of 83, 332, 344
 see also True Cross
 Hauck, Albert 201
 Hehl, Ernst-Dieter 21-2
 Helena, mother of Constantine 56, 82, 90
 Helmold of Bosau 239, 306
 Henry I, king of England 103, 126
 Henry II, king of England 77, 101, 121-2
 Henry III, emperor 187-8
 Henry IV, emperor 188, 220, 339
 Henry V, emperor 200, 202, 205, 208
 Henry VI, emperor 339, 340
 Henry, son of Conrad III 294
 Henry of Cologne, martyr 305
 Henry of Huntingdon, historian 153, 287,
 308, 355
 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony 230
 Henry of Mainz, abp 260, 261, 294
 Henry of Marcy (Albano) 62
 Henry of Meaux, ct of Champagne 261
 Henry of Olmütz, bp 280
 Henry of Paderborn, bp 199, 211
 Henry of Portugal, ct 192, 193, 303
 Henry of Susa (Hostiensis) 22, 23, 29, 88,
 171
 Henry of Winchester, bp 153, 224
 Heraclius, emperor 90, 345
 Herbert of Losinga, bp of Norwich 70, 150
 Herman of Tournai, crusading monk 152,
 277
 hermits, crusading 104, 207
 see also Peter the Hermit
 Herwig of Meissen, bp 199, 211
 Hezilo of Havelberg, bp 199, 211
 Hilbig, Herbert 197
 Hildebert of Lavardin, abp of Tours 318

- Hildegard of Anjou, countess 97, 102
 Hildegard of Bingen, abbess 149
Historia compostelana 190
 historiography of crusades in Europe 3-32
 in Europe
 11-17th century 3-11
 17-19th century 11-16
 20th century 17-32
 in United States 16, 32-44
 Holy Land *see* Jerusalem
 Holy Sepulcher *see* Jerusalem
 Honorius II, pope 30, 274
 Hormayr, Joseph von 257
 Horn, Johannes Gottlob 197, 201
 Hospitallers 77-8, 87, 167-72, 176, 181, 248, 263, 341
 Hostiensis *see* Henry of Susa
 hostility between Greeks and Latins 332-3, 336-9
 Hourlier, Jacques 176, 195
 Housley, Norman 29, 173
 Hoyt, Robert 42
 Hüffer, Georg 261
 Hugh I of Burgundy, duke 193, 194
 Hugh I of Cluny, abt 66, 87, 99, 137, 183, 184, 186, 188, 189, 191, 193, 194
 Hugh II of Chalon, ct 193
 Hugh of Amiens, abp of Rouen 136, 267
 Hugh Capet, king of France 119
 Hugh of Flavigny, chronicler 195
 Hugh of Lacerta 146
 Hugh of Le Puiset, vct of Chartres 163
 Hugh of Payens (Payns),
 master of the Templars 178, 180
 Hugh of Poitiers, chronicler 61
 Hugh of St Victor 145, 180, 266
 Hugh of Toucy, crusader 99, 105
 Hugh of Troyes, ct 160
 Humbert of Besançon, abp 105
 Humbert of Lyons, abp 315, 316
 Humbert of Romans 81, 179
 Humbert II of Savoy, ct 185
 Humbert of Silva Candida, cardinal 333
 Hunt, Noreen 193
 Hussey, Joan 37
 Ibn al-Athīr 83, 125, 342
 Ibn al-Jauzi 83
 Iceland 346
 Iconium (Konya) 289
 Imād ad-Din 83
 indulgence 265, 267, 281
 Innocent II, pope 168, 178, 181, 269
 Innocent III, pope 7, 30, 88, 153, 157, 158, 321, 322, 326, 327, 329, 331, 342
 Quia maior 7, 153, 158
 Innocent IV, pope 29, 172
 Isaac II Angelos, emperor 338
 Isaac of L'Etoile, abt 167, 180
 Isarnus of Toulouse, bp 66, 103, 135
 Isidore of Seville 56
 Ivo of Chartres, bp 145, 159, 160, 162, 163
 Jaffa 82, 219
 James of Vitry 77, 170, 172, 177, 333
 Jerome, church father 52, 286, 293
 Jerusalem (Holy Sepulcher, Holy Land) 11, 87, 93, 96, 107, 124, 125, 135, 156, 166, 177, 183, 204, 205, 220, 318, 332, 335, 343
 army 82
 capture 8, 323, 355
 cross 88, 315, 345
 crusade to free, recover, rescue 9, 21, 27, 30, 162, 207-8, 284, 328, 331
 displaced in land of Slavs 208-9, 212, 344
 depiction 79
 holy places 178
 kings *see* Baldwin I, Baldwin III
 loss 88
 money sent 121-2
 see also Saladin Tithe
 patriarch 172, 209
 see also Simon
 pilgrimage (goal, object of) 61, 66-7, 70-1, 73, 86, 97-115, 117-18, 120, 123, 128, 130-4, 136-41, 146-7, 154, 157-8, 163, 169, 184-6, 194, 219, 239-40, 256-7, 270-1, 278-9, 285, 291, 308, 329, 337, 339, 346-7, 351, 354
 prayer, directed to 55-6
 spiritual 22, 110-11
 Jews 27, 40, 121, 123, 126, 336
 Joachim of Fiore 167, 171, 176

- Jocelin of Salisbury, bp 276, 277
 John II Comnenos, emperor 227, 337
 John of Casa-Maria, abt 286-7, 297
 John of Ford, abt 299
 John of Joinville 70
 John of Salerno 188
 John of Salisbury 170, 172, 180, 279, 290, 291
 Johnson, Edgar 41
 Jonas of Orléans, bp 47
 Joranson, Einar 119
 Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir 10, 65
 Jotischky, Andrew 20
 Juan Manuel 7
- Kehr, Paul 201
 Kinnamos, John, historian 335
 Klewitz, Hans-Walter 269
 Klocke, Friedrich von 202
 Knoch, Peter 202, 205
 Kötzschke, Rudolf 203
 Krabbo, Hermann 202
 Krey, August 35, 36
 Kugler, Bernhard 356
 Kurth, Friedrich 307
- La Cava 188
 La Chapelle-Aude 129
 La Charité-sur-Loire 139, 215, 224, 225
 La Grande Chartreuse 154
 La Grasse, abt of 250
 La Platière 136
 La Réole 114
 Lacger, Louis de 302
 Ladner, Reginald 293
 Lambert of Ardres, chronicler 69
 Lambert of Lobbes, abt 260
 Lambert, archdeacon (of Tournai?) 199, 211
 Lambrecht pontifical 69, 89
 Lamego 276
 LaMonte, John 35-9, 40, 253
 Lanercost, chronicle of 86
 Langres 273
 bp *see* Godfrey
 Laon 313-15
 bp *see* Walter of St Maurice
 Las Navas de Tolosa 342
- Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 28-9, 39, 332
 kings *see* Baldwin I, Baldwin III
 Le Blanc, Etienne 10
 Le Mans 112
 Le Puy 120
 bp of 82, 333
 see also Ademar
 Le Valasse 107, 135
 Lea, Henry Charles 33, 42
 Leclercq, Jean 48-9, 316
 Leictoure, bp of 97
 Lemerle, Paul 338
 Leo IX, pope 189, 293
 Leo the Great, pope 46
 León 192
 bp of 245, 247
 kings of 190
 see also Alfonso VI, VII
 Leopold of Austria, duke 88
 Lepanto, battle of 11
 Lerida 247, 249, 250, 276, 278
 Letcombe-Regis 126
 Liège 200
 bp *see* Otbert
 St James 66, 100, 140
 Lille, St Peter 136
 Limoges
 Ste Marie de la Règle 73, 74
 St Martial 139, 224
 Lironville 135
 Lisbon 64, 82, 83, 124, 229-31, 236-40, 242, 251, 276, 287, 301-3
 St Vincent 303, 305
 Lobbes 147, 254, 277
 abt *see* Lambert
 Lombard, Peter 265
 Longpont 224
 Longueville 101, 351
 Lotter, Friedrich 202, 204
 Louis IV, king of France 216
 Louis V, king of France 216
 Louis VI, king of France 226, 279
 Louis VII, king of France 7, 96, 114, 125, 126, 162, 229, 231-4, 242, 254, 259-61, 263, 267, 283, 287, 291, 296-7, 302, 313, 317, 337, 355
 alliance with Roger II 311
 blamed for failure of crusade 290, 297

- crusade insignia 65, 71
- crusade levies 108, 117-21, 121
- regulation of crusaders 256, 270
- Louis IX, king of France 10, 353, 356
- Louis 'der Springer' of Thuringia, ct 199, 200, 211
- Lucca 187
- Luchaire, Achille 119, 324
- Lucinge, René de 10
- Lucius II, pope 227, 274, 275
- Lunt, William 119-20
- Lupus Protospatarius, chronicler 84
- Lyons, council (1274) 29
 - abp *see* Humbert
- McGarry, Daniel 42
- McGinn, Bernard 86
- Macharius of Fleury, abt 108, 117
- McLellan, Joyce 40
- Mâcon, St Vincent 114, 133
 - vct *see* Archimbald
- Madden, Thomas 326
- Magdalen College, Oxford, pontifical 62, 89
- Magdeburg, 197
 - abp *see* Adelgot
- Maimbourg, Louis 13, 24, 356
- Mainfred of Brescia, bp 262
- Maiolus of Cluny, abt 188, 196
- Manasses of Rheims, abp 187
- Manegold of Lautenbach 149
- Manuel I Comnenos, emperor 233, 234, 253, 261, 269-70, 280, 288-90, 311, 320, 335, 337, 341, 354
- Map, Walter 169, 180
- Marbod of Rennes, bp 153
- Marcabru, troubadour 246, 247, 248, 251
- Marcigny 112, 224
- Markward of Anweiler 326
- Marmoutier 110
- Marseilles 331
- Martène, Edmond 197
- Martha, sister of Mary 207, 212
- Martin of Pairis, abt 84, 328
- Martin of Tours, abp 52
- Mary, sister of Martha 207, 212
- Mathilda of Sully 215
- Maurice of Braga, abp 186
- Maxentius, emperor 73
- Mayenne 95
- Mayer, Hans Eberhard 5, 28, 38, 40, 86, 324, 353
- Meaux 100, 135
- Meersseman, G. G. 169
- Melrose 242
- Merseburg 200, 212
 - bp *see* Albuin
- Mesarites, Nikolaos,
 - bp of Ephesus 322, 335, 346
- Messina 326
- Metz 256
 - bp *see* Amalaricus
- Michael I, patriarch of Antioch 65, 179, 313
- Michael III, patriarch of Constantinople 339
- Michael Cerularios, patriarch of Constantinople 333
- Michaud, J. F. 14
- Milo of Thérouanne, bp 304
- Minden 200
 - N. of 199, 211
- Minorca 230, 250, 252
- Moissac 186, 224
- Molesme 111, 138
- monasteries
 - as institutions of credit 117-42
- monks, crusading 152, 185-6, 285, 286
 - crusaders considered monks 171, 172-6, 178-9
 - crusaders who became 154-5, 168, 186, 223, 249
 - see also* clerics, Herman of Tournai, Odo Arpinus
- Montiéramey 102
- Montiérrender 134
- Moreuela 175
- Morigny 290
- Mortemer 84
- motives of crusaders 258-9
- Mouthier-Haute-Pierre 129, 135
- Moutier-la-Celle 129
- Müller, Georg Christoph 356
- Muniones 192
- Munro, Dana 28, 34, 35, 39-41

- Narbonne 250-1
 abp *see* Arnold Amaury
 vctess *see* Ermengarde
 Naumburg, bp of 200
 Navarre 247
 king *see* Sancho
 Nevers, ct of 61, 109
 St Stephen 109
 see also William II
 Nicaea 50
 Nice, bp of 195
 Nicetas of Nicomedia 280
 Nicholas, David 42
 Nicholas of Montiéramey 147, 154, 260
 Nicholas, St, translation 68
 Nigel of Canterbury 170
 Nivelon of Soissons, bp 123, 331
 Nonantola 49
 Norbert of Xanten 159, 294
 Norden, Walter 280
 Norwich, John Julius 31
 Noue, François de la 10
 Novgorod, chronicle of 329
 Noyon, bp of 319
 nuns 170
 Nur al-Din 80, 302, 311, 314

 oaths *see* vows
 Odilo of Cluny, abt 48, 188, 190, 191,
 194-6
 Odo I of Burgundy, duke 111, 193
 Odo Arpinus, vct of Bourges 154, 186,
 215-28
 Odo of Cheriton 87
 Odo of Cluny, abt 154, 188, 194, 196
 Odo of Deuil, historian 7, 76, 152, 232-6,
 256, 278, 282, 288, 312, 337, 339,
 355
 Oleguer of Barcelona and Tarragona, bp
 175
 Oliver of Paderborn, preacher 85
Omne datum (1139) 168
 Oña 190
 Ordericus Vitalis 50, 68, 69, 78, 87, 168,
 183, 218, 219, 220, 223, 227, 336,
 337, 354
 Otbert of Liège, bp 199, 211
 Otto of Ballenstedt, ct 199, 211

 Otto of Freising, bp 73, 166, 173, 235, 236,
 240, 255, 282, 288, 327
 Otto of Lucca 266
 Otto of St Nicola in Carcere, cardinal 132
 Ottokar of Styria, duke 107, 134

 Paderborn 200
 bp *see* Henry
 Paetow, Louis J. 35
 Painter, Sidney 41
 Palermo 252
 Palmela 251
 Paris 270
 St Martin-des-Champs 104, 132, 187,
 224
 Paschal II, pope 65, 155, 163, 223-5, 227,
 274
 peace and truce of God 21, 26, 50, 194-5
 penance 136, 156-7, 160-1, 254, 257, 265-7
 Perun, Slavic god 206
 Peter of Blois 123, 149-50
 Peter Capuano, cardinal, papal legate 331
 Peter the Chanter 152
 Peter Comestor 152, 171
 Peter Damiani, cardinal 49, 52
 Peter of Gabarret, vct of Béarn 250
 Peter the Hermit 3, 7, 9, 17, 21, 27, 65,
 104, 183, 222, 293, 326, 354
 Peter of St John at Sens, pr 187, 354
 Peter Tudebode 68, 78
 Peter the Venerable, abt of Cluny
 crusade finances 121, 123, 126
 crusade project in 1150 313-5, 318
 crusade terminology 156
 letter to Roger II 252, 336
 letters to Greek emperor and patriarch
 227, 345
 sign of cross 49, 51
 Templars 165-6, 173
 Peterson, Eric 55
 Philip I, king of France 217-9
 Philip Augustus, king of France 77, 103,
 119, 122, 125, 131, 340
 Philip of Flanders, ct 77
 Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy 9-10
 Philip of Harvengt 153, 154
 Philip of Oxford 56, 87
 Philip of Swabia, emperor 329

- Philippe de Mézières 350
 pilgrims, pilgrimage 56-62, 71, 101, 143,
 158-60, 193, 241, 254, 256
 cross of pilgrimage 89
 crusaders as pilgrims 155-6, 161-2,
 350-1
 see also Jerusalem
 Pirenne, Henri 201
 Pisans 250
 Pius II, pope 10
 Pöhlde 289
 Poitiers, bp of 115
 St Hilary 66
 Poitou, ct of 103
 Pontius of Cluny, abt 224, 226
 Pontoise 101, 136
 Poole, Reginald Lane 277
 Porto, bp of 262
 Portugal 73, 192, 229, 236-9, 251, 257,
 273, 301-9
 ct *see* Henry
 king *see* Alfonso Henriques
 queen *see* Tharasia
 Prawer, Joshua 28
 prayer, direction and position *see*
 Jerusalem
 preaching 102, 113, 191, 259, 292-4
 see also Bernard of Clairvaux, Guibert,
 Oliver, Rudolph
 Premonstratensians 170
 Preston, Helen 35
 Pripegala, Slavic god? 206, 207, 212
 privileges, crusading 162-3, 168, 256-7
 Prodromos, Manganeios, poet 335
 Prully 293
 Pseudo-Turpin 246
- Rabanus Maurus 145
 Ralph of Caen, historian 7, 146
 Ralph of Diceto 119
 Ralph Glaber, historian 56, 191
 Ralph Niger, chronicler 160, 285, 290, 338
 Ramla 220
 Ramon Berenger IV of Barcelona, ct 230,
 243-5, 247-8, 250, 275, 278
 Ranke, Leopold von 14, 19
 Raol, priest on Lisbon crusade 64, 65, 83,
 236, 237
- Rassow, Peter 261, 263
 Raymond of Aguilers, historian 7, 68
 Raymond of Galicia, ct 192, 193
 Raymond IV of St Gilles, ct of Toulouse
 (Antioch) 7, 9, 69, 311, 313, 337
reconquista see Spain
 Regensburg, diet of (1147) 260
 Reginbert of Passau, bp 107, 132
 Reginhart of Halberstadt, bp 199, 200, 211
 Reichenhall 127
 Reimbald of Liège 88
 Rheims, councils (1119, 1131) 157
 abp *see* Manasses
 Riant, Paul 322
 Richalm of Schönthal, abt 51-2
 Richard I of England, king 7, 78, 326
 Richard, canon of Holy Trinity, London
 338
 Richard the Pilgrim 339
 Richard of Poitiers, chronicler 166, 173
 Richard, Jean 28, 324, 356
 Riley-Smith, Jonathan 4, 9, 22, 25, 28, 86,
 95, 113, 167, 173-4, 176, 354
 Riley-Smith, Louise 95
 Robert II of Flanders, ct 136, 199, 211
 Robert of Clari 322, 327, 328, 330, 331,
 340, 347
 Robert the Monk, historian 70, 78, 205,
 345
 Robert of Nazareth, bp 82
 Robert of Rheims, historian 8, 81, 102
 Robert of Torigny, historian 119, 231, 242,
 252
 Robinson, Francis 30
 Rodez, bp of 194
 Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, historian 175
 Roger I of Sicily, king 54
 Roger II of Sicily, king 30, 230, 252-3,
 280, 311, 320, 336
 Roger of Hoveden, historian 77, 103, 308
 Röhrich, Reinhold 94, 123-4, 307, 356
 Rolduc 69, 71, 124-5, 127, 239, 258
 Romano-Germanic pontifical 52
 Romans, St Barnard 128
 Rome 48, 209, 223, 317, 347
 councils
 Lateran I (1123) , 157, 255
 Lateran II (1139) 157

- Lateran III (1179) 326
 Lateran IV (1215) 104, 122, 132, 153, 162, 326
 Rotrocus of La Perche, ct 163
 Rousset, Paul 39, 95
 Roussillon, ct of 209
 Rowley, Thomas 13
 Rudolph, monk of Clairvaux 260
 Runciman, Steven 5, 16, 31, 41, 321, 323
 St Albans psalter 57, 60, 61, 78, 148, 150
 St Amand-de-Boixe 103, 132
 St Denis-en-France 61, 73, 75, 355
 St Evroul (Normandy) 220
 St Gondon-sur-Loire 216
 St Hubert, chronicle 149
 St Jean-d'Angély 106, 130, 316
 St Maxentius (diocese Poitiers) 98
 St Orens 103, 135
 St Sulpice-en-Bugie 66
 Saintes 104, 110, 133
 Saladin 338
 Saladin Tithe 122, 125
 Salisbury, bp of 270
 Salzburg, bp of 125
 Sancho the Great, king of Navarre 175, 190
 Santa Sophia *see* Constantinople
 Santarem 230, 251, 257
 Santiago, knights of 171
 Sauxillanges 112, 115, 139, 185
 Savigny 61, 131
 Saxo Grammaticus 240
 Saxons 207, 212
 Sayers, Jane 321
 Scheffer-Boichorst, Paul 34
 Schlesinger, Walter 203, 205
 Schreiber, Georg 170
 Scott, Sir Walter 13
 Seneca 298
 Sens 316
 abp 163, 316
 St Columba 152, 258
 abt *see* Theobald
 St John 226-7
 pr *see* Peter
 Sergius IV, pope 26, 186
 Setton, Kenneth 5, 35, 36, 37, 38
 Sézanne, St Julian 225
 Sicily, kings of *see* Roger I, Roger II
 Sigebert of Gembloux 170, 240, 242, 252, 317, 320
 Silos, Santo Domingo 57, 58, 78
 Simon of Jerusalem, patriarch 69
 Slavs 239, 240, 270, 272
 see also Wends
 Soissons, anonymous of 328
 bp *see* Nivelon
 ct 128
 St Crispin 128
 Solomon bar Simson 65
 Spain 168, 175, 189-93, 209, 239, 242, 253, 255, 274
 Speyer 262
 Stavelot triptych 73, 76
 Stephen of Blois, crusader 215, 220
 Stephen of Blois, king of England 51, 126, 276
 Stephen of Bourges, vct 215, 216
 Stephen of Garlad 153
 Stephen of Grandmont 169
 Stephen of Lisbon, precentor 302
 Stephen of Obazine 147
 Stephen, St, relic at Cluny 186
 Stephen of Tournai, bp 123
 Stephen, abp of Vienne 316
 Stevenson, William B. 353
 Strabo, Walafrid *see* Walafrid
 Strasbourg, diet (1147) 295
 Strayer, Joseph 41
 Suger of St Denis, abt 120, 234, 313-6, 319, 355
 Susa, San Giusto 278
 Sybel, Heinrich von 4, 13, 14

 Talo (Teilo) of Llandaff, bp 61
 Tanchrad, philosopher 199, 211
 Tancred, crusader 146
 Tangl, Michael 201, 203
 Tarragona 209, 275
 bp *see* Oleguer
 Tasso, Torquato 11
 Tegernsee 66
 abt of 254
 Templars 144, 165-73, 175-6, 179, 222, 248, 251, 275, 283, 308, 315, 341
 blamed for failure of second crusade 235, 289

- insignia 77, 78-81, 87
- master *see* Everard, Hugh of Payens
- papal privileges 178
- rule 177-8, 238
- tertiaries 177
- Tertullian 45, 56
- Teruel, conference in 2001 43, 173, 176, 323, 325
- Teutonic knights 77, 173
- Tharasia (Teresa), queen of Portugal 303
- Theobald I of Chalon, ct 192, 193
- Theobald, abt of St Columba, Sens 152, 156
- Theobald of Canterbury, abp 128
- Theoderic of Flanders, ct 258, 291
- Theodwin, cardinal-bp of Santa Rufina 279, 281, 294
- Thomas Morosini, Latin patriarch of Constantinople 333
- Thompson, A. Hamilton 258
- Thompson, James W. 41, 203
- Throop, Palmer 40
- Tierney, Brian 41
- Toledo 82, 192
 - abp of 245, 247
 - see also* Bernard
- Tortosa 230, 238, 243-5, 247, 248, 256, 275, 278, 308, 309
- Toucy 138
- Toulouse
 - ct *see* Alfonso, Raymond
 - St Sernin 97
- Tournai 124, 277
 - archdeacon *see* Lambert
 - bp *see* Stephen
- Tours
 - abp *see* Hildebert, Martin
 - St Julian 66
- travel times 317
- Triglow, Slavic god 206
- Troarn 267
- Troyes 270, 295
- True Cross 81-2
 - loss at Hattin 83-4, 332, 344
- Trullo, council in (691-2) 49
- Tudebode *see* Peter
- Tulln 200
- Tyerman, Christopher 22, 23, 161, 324, 349, 356
- Tyre 332
 - siege of 125
- Ulger of Angers, bp 172
- Urban II, pope 112, 113, 136, 166, 193, 218
 - crusade appeal at Clermont 25, 27, 34, 78, 82, 102, 145-6, 205, 254
 - crusade cross 63-4, 78, 86
 - crusade letters 158, 159, 161, 209, 251
 - crusade policy and theory 22, 87, 152, 162, 187, 264
 - crusade in Spain 274, 275
- Urban, William 31, 42
- Uzerche 104
- Vacandard, Elphège 123, 261
- Valasse *see* Le Valasse
- Valence (Avignon), St Rufus 277
- Valencia 302, 303
- Valensole 195
- Valladolid 276
- Vallombrosa 218, 351
- Valous, Guy de 173
- Vaullore 250
- Vaux-de-Cernay 129
- Vendôme 130
 - La Trinité 97, 111, 123, 131, 138
- Venetians 325, 327, 328, 335
- Venice 189
 - Sta Croce 227
 - doge *see* Dandolo
- Verneuil, siege of 119
- Versailles, Salle des Croisades 14, 93-4
- Vézelay 71, 76, 107, 135, 139, 255, 259, 263
- Vienne, St Andrew 128
- Vierzon 216
- Vigeois 97, 129, 130
- Villey, Michel 21, 40, 162
- Vincent, St 301-3
 - see also* Lisbon
- Vincent of Prague, annalist 240, 241, 290
- Viseu 276
- visions 84-5, 87, 287, 330
- Vitaterne 139

- Vlasto, Alexis Peter 203
 Vogel, Cyrille 55, 157
 Voltaire 13, 26
 vows (oaths) of crusaders 99, 107, 134-5,
 159-60, 237-8, 244-5, 255-6

 Waas, Adolf 356
 Walahfrid Strabo 56
 Waleran of Meulan (Worcester), ct 107,
 135
 Walram of Naumburg, bp 199, 211
 Walter of St Maurice, bp of Laon 305
 Ward, John 6, 25
 warfare
 attitude of Greeks 334-5
 spiritual 147-51
 Wattenbach, Wilhelm 197, 201, 206
 Watton 136
 Weineke, Erwin 206
 Weinrich, Lorenz 197
 Wendish Crusade 272, 280, 281, 290, 295
 Wends 71, 73, 205, 230, 236, 239-42, 253,
 256, 259, 261
 Werden 96, 98, 137
 Wibald of Stavelot (Corvey), abt 234, 235,
 257, 281, 294, 295
 Wicbert (Wiprecht) of Groitzsch, ct 199,
 200, 211
 Widukind, historian 54
 Wilken, Friedrich 14, 24, 312, 356
 William II of Nevers, ct 155

 William II of Ponthieu, ct 267
 William IV of Montpellier, ct 249
 William VI of Montpellier, ct, abt of
 Grandeselve 245, 248, 249, 260
 William of Arles, abp 278
 William the Conqueror, king of England
 215, 227
 William the Fat of Albemarle 100, 135
 William of Malmesbury 8-9, 337, 345
 William of Moncada 248, 250
 William of Newburgh, historian 338
 William of Poitou, ct 336
 William of St Denis 279, 287, 298, 312-13,
 314
 William of St Thierry 149
 William of Tyre 77, 172, 173, 179, 334
 Wilmart, André 49
 Wisconsin *History of the Crusades* 16, 28,
 32-9, 41, 42, 356
 women on crusades 102-3
 see also Emerias, Isarnus
 Wratislav of Bohemia, duke 254
 Wulfric of Hazelbury, hermit 147, 299
 Würzburg, annals of 115-16, 258-9, 283-7,
 289

 York helmet 54

 Zaborov, Mikhail A. 4
 Zara 30, 327, 331, 342
 Zatschek, Heinz 295

This page intentionally left blank

Index of Biblical Citations

Num 25.3, 5: 212
Deut 21.20: 212
Deut 32.30: 296
Jos 6.20: 212
1 Reg 2.3: 213
2 Reg 24.24: 160
3 Reg 7.11: 213
Tob 13.10: 212
Tob 13.21-2: 213
Ps 18.10: 291, 297
Ps 21.12: 318
Ps 21.27: 213
Ps 26.12: 211
Ps 27.8: 212
Ps 43.2: 296
Ps 43.10: 296
Ps 48.3: 283
Ps 50.20: 213
Ps 64.4: 211
Ps 78.10: 211
Ps 88.11: 214
Ps 117.25: 212, 214
Ps 131.7: 99, 138, 318
Prov 31.10: 283
Cant 2.10: 213
Cant 2.12: 213
Cant 4.8: 213
Cant 4.14: 213
Cant 4.16: 213
Is 2.12: 296
Is 3.6: 213
Is 21.5: 212
Is 44.20: 212
Lam 3.64: 257
Ezech 9.4: 45
Ezech 18.21: 267
Dan 10.13: 213
Joel 1.14: 212
Joel 2.15-16: 212
Joel 2.17: 211
Joel 3.9, 10, 11: 212
Hab 1.8: 194
1 Macc 2.11: 212
1 Macc 3.58: 212
Matt 5.15, 16: 213
Matt 7.14: 159
Matt 10.20: 213
Matt 10.38: 46
Matt 16.24: 46, 66
Mark 8.34: 46
Lk 9.23: 46
Lk 10.42: 213
Lk 11.33: 213
Lk 14.27: 46
Lk 14.31: 160
Acts 4.32: 178
Rom 13.4: 178
1 Cor 4.16: 212
1 Cor 11.1: 212
2 Cor 11.26: 179
2 Cor 13.3: 213
1 Tim 5.4: 257
2 Tim 2.3: 144, 149
Heb 11.30: 212
1 John 3.16: 256

This page intentionally left blank

Index of Papal Documents listed in JL

5401: 209	8999: 278
†5467: 63	9009: 278
5670: 152, 285	9017 (<i>Divina dispensatione</i> II) 270-1, 273, 295
†5675: 63	9095: 279, 280
5789: 218	9110: 281, 295
5840: 274	9164: 267
5863: 274	9165: 267
6127: 225, 227	9166: 267
6127a: 225	9255: 274
6400: 226	9296: 281
6405: 226	9325: 229, 281
6406: 226	9344: 283
6485: 274	9347: 291
6636: 274	9385 (<i>Immensum pietatis</i>) 291, 314, 317
6665: 274	9398 (<i>Ex eo quod</i>) 291, 319
7116: 71, 255	9594: 275
8572: 227	9667: 125
8796 (<i>Quantum predecessores</i>) 9, 125, 162, 263-4, 267-9, 271, 275, 354	9930: 168, 182
8821: 264	10546: 291
8829: 263	10796: 125, 162
8876 (<i>Quantum predecessores</i> II): 269	11064: 175
8914: 284	11218 (<i>Quantum predecessores</i> III) 277
8922: 284	14360: 111
8959: 270	

